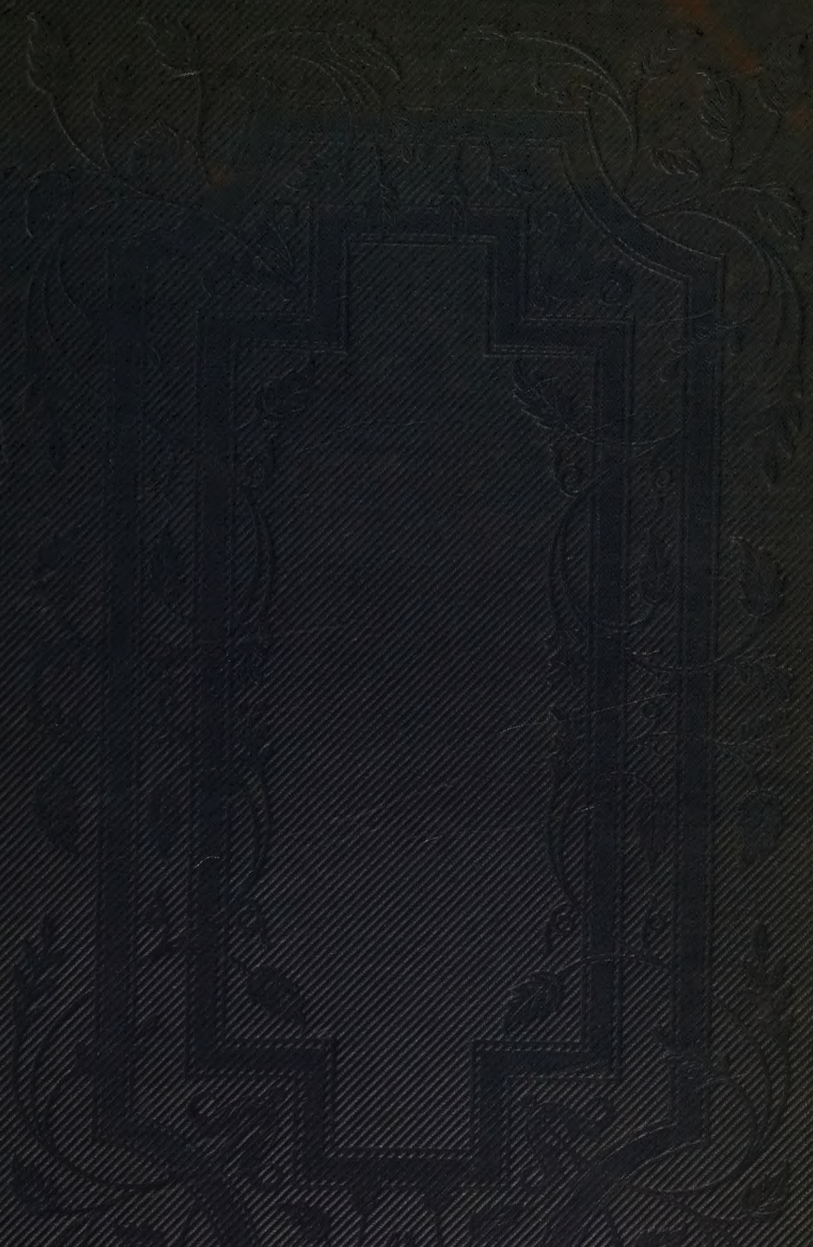

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A
CHRONOLOGICAL INTRODUCTION
TO THE
HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

A
CHRONOLOGICAL INTRODUCTION
TO THE
HISTORY OF THE CHURCH,

BEING

A NEW INQUIRY INTO THE

TRUE DATES OF THE BIRTH AND DEATH

OF

Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ;

AND CONTAINING

AN ORIGINAL HARMONY OF THE FOUR GOSPELS,
NOW FIRST ARRANGED IN THE ORDER OF TIME.

BY THE
REV. SAMUEL FARMAR JARVIS, D.D., LL.D.,
HISTORIOGRAPHER OF THE CHURCH;
MEMBER OF THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA; THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES OF BOSTON; THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY OF WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS; THE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES OF NEW-YORK AND CONNECTICUT; CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE AT WASHINGTON, ETC., ETC., ETC.

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PREFACE.

The immediate occasion and motives of the following work will be best shown by the annexed extracts from the Journals, for 1838 and 1841, of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. The Introductory Chapter will also explain all that needed to be said at the beginning concerning its purpose and plan. It remains now, after the task has been accomplished, to give the reader a concise statement of the results.

n the First Part, appertaining to ancient history in general, the following have been obtained:

First. The ancient dates have been accurately adjusted to the modern, from the year 776 *before* to the year 238 *after* the received Christian æra; a period of 1014 solar or tropical years.

Secondly. The supposed discrepancy of one year, between the computations of Varro and the Fasti Capitolini, and other public records of the Roman government, has been shown not to exist.

Thirdly. The consular chronology of Rome has been corrected. The computations of Bianchini, in opposition to those of Petavius and other moderns, have been proved to be the most correct; while the untenable hypothesis of

Bianchini, of a suppressed consulship at the close of the reign of Caligula, has been disproved; and the consulship suppressed, *not by the ancients, nor by any act of authority, but by the moderns, in consequence of an error of computation*, is shown to have been taken from the last year of the reign of Antoninus Pius.

Fourthly. By a careful induction from the Greek and Latin historians of the Roman empire, aided by astronomical calculations, the true dates of the deaths of Julius Cæsar, Augustus, and Tiberius, are shown to have been each one year earlier than the dates assigned to those events by modern, *in opposition* to ancient, writers.

Fifthly. The interesting subject of the three times in which the temple of Janus was shut by Augustus, is illustrated by a careful comparison and examination of ancient historians; and the truth of the *facts* recorded by Orosius and other Christian writers, established as distinct from the *dates* of Orosius, which are proved to be incorrect.

Sixthly. The exact date of the associate or proconsular government of Tiberius is shown to have been so much earlier than his sole reign, as to make the nineteenth year of the one coincide partly with the fifteenth year of the other.

Seventhly. The chronology of the Roman emperors has been accurately adjusted by consulships, from the destruction of the republic to the death of the Maximini, and the accession of the younger Gordian. That being the year in which Censorinus wrote, the correctness of his dates, and the exact series of the consulships herein given, are thereby confirmed and demonstrated.

In the Second Part, appertaining to our Lord's personal history, the following results have been obtained:

I. That the ministration of John the Baptist began about the great day of Atonement, at the beginning of

Pilate's administration, the fifteenth year of the associate government of Tiberius, and the twelfth of his sole reign.

II. That our Lord's ministry began with his baptism, in the fifteenth year of the associate government, and the twelfth year of the sole reign of Tiberius; and was ended by his crucifixion, in the nineteenth year of that associate government, and in the fifteenth year of his sole reign.

III. That our Lord was exactly thirty-three years and three months old at the time of his passion.

IV. That the annunciation of his birth by the angel Gabriel probably took place in the very same month in which Augustus shut the temple of Janus the third time, in token of universal peace.

V. That our Lord's birth most probably took place on the day in which it is now celebrated; and that the confusion and apparent uncertainty with regard to this subject arises principally from the neglect of direct testimony, and from uncertain and even contradictory computations.

VI. That the year of his birth preceded the common Christian æra six years, having taken place in the 747th year of Rome, the year silently adopted by the French Benedictines in their learned work on the Art of Verifying Dates.

When it is recollected that the present work is strictly and truly written from original evidence, unbiassed by theory, and untrammeled by any previous investigation of modern writers, the fact that its results should be in such perfect harmony in various points with some of the most learned and laborious of modern computations, affords internal evidence of its truth, and is in itself a sufficient recommendation to public favour.

In saying that it has been written from original evidence, the author must except the calendar of Julius Cæsar, and that of the ancient Church, in the third chapter of the

First Part, which he took from Blondel's "Calendrier Romain." On communicating this calendar, after it was in print, to a learned English friend, various objections were raised to the sixth column, in which the rising and setting of constellations and single stars are mentioned as occurring on certain days. It was further objected, that "Sirius" is never used for the constellation, but only for the brightest star in it; and that Sirius and the Pleiades rise and set every day, but *heliacally* only at one particular time. On the whole, the calendar has been pronounced to be a patchwork from Greek, Egyptian, and Chaldean fragments; showing plainly, if it be Cæsar's calendar, that the Romans had no science of their own. And it has been earnestly recommended that the author should add a note upon the subject, if it be only to shelter himself from the imputation of ignorance. But to this he has been averse, for many reasons. That the sixth column is of Roman origin, is evident from the notices it contains of the festivals of the Roman religion, and the dates of political events, many ot which relate to the reign of Augustus Cæsar, and do not come down later. They were added, therefore, *after* the formation of the calendar, and *before* the reign of Tiberius. This affords strong internal evidence that the calendar is genuine; and the question whether the Romans were or were not correct, has no special bearing upon the author's purpose. His argument does not depend upon the accuracy or inaccuracy of astronomical terms. For the benefit of the English reader, a literal translation is given, first, from the French of Blondel, who was no mean astronomer, and, secondly, from the Latin of Petavius, who has given the same calendar in substance as gathered from Ovid, Columella, and other Latin writers. Of what consequence is it whether *oritur* and *occidit* are translated "rises" and "sets," or "ascends" and "descends"? The latter may be more consistent with astronomical accuracy, in relation to those stars which never sink below the horizon, but the purpose for which the calendar is inserted in the following work is not thereby affected. As far as the astronomical notices in the sixth column are concerned, that purpose was merely to show that the ancients were too observant of the movements of the heavenly bodies, to depart very materially from the true length of the tropical year. But the great use of the calendar, for which it was principally inserted in this work, is of a much higher and more useful nature. It exhibits, first, the origin of the *Sunday* from the *nundinal* series of letters; and, secondly, the pains taken by the ancients in arranging the golden numbers, so as to calculate the lunations of any given year. By the calendar of the ancient Church, the reader will be able to find the approximate new and full moons at any epoch of the Julian period. On account of the præcession of the equinoxes, it will be only an approximation; but even this will greatly assist his labours, if he wishes to arrive at astronomical accuracy. Any year of the Julian period divided by 19, will give him the golden number, and opposite to that number the new moon of each month, and the number of lunations in the given year. The same may be done by Cæsar's calendar, if it be examined by Cæsar's cycle. His reformation of the calendar having taken place 45 solid years before the common Christian æra, that number being added to any year of Christ, until the change of the Gregorian calendar, and divided by 19, will give the golden number according to Cæsar's arrangement. Opposite to that number is the day of the new moon. A difference of from one to two days will invariably be found between that and the Nicene computation; but this, it is believed, only shows the progress which astronomical science had made between Cæsar's time and the fourth century after Christ.

Other suggestions have been made by English friends, principally with a view of meeting objections which may arise from the celebrity of modern writers, whose computations or conjectures differ from the results obtained in the following pages. But to meet objections is always an odious as well as an endless task; and the author can only repeat here in less quaint language, what he has elsewhere said, that if truth be established, error will fall of itself.* He venerates, for example, the labours and the name of Niebuhr; but that great historian, in his remarks on the Roman computation of time, has committed mistakes; principally from relying too implicitly upon the confident assertions of Scaliger, and neglecting in some cases his own canon, of always examining the original sources of evidence. This canon the author of the present work has endeavoured always to follow; grateful for the aid of profound thinkers and clear writers, but never willing "jurare in verba magistri."

Owing to his retired situation, he had not had the advantage of consulting Mr. Clinton's admirable "Fasti Hellenici," till he arrived in London; and, during his residence there, the most learned "Ordo Sæclorum" of Mr. Browne was published. Both, however, have adopted the faulty arrangement of the Consular Chronology, probably from considering it as definitively settled; and so far they differ from the present work. With this exception, the author has been happy to find a great deal of harmony between their inductions and his own: and it is very satisfying to perceive so many points of agreement among writers in distant countries who are simultaneously pursuing like objects of inquiry. Mr. Greswell's learned and laborious work the author has had no opportunity to examine; but if Mr. Browne's judgment of it be correct, the method pursued is the very reverse of that which has here been followed.

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* Allusion is here made to a note relating to Pagi, the learned commentator on Baronius. The concluding paragraph of that note is in bad taste, and the author intended to have cancelled it; but in the haste with which a part of the work has been sent to press, he found to his mortification that it was printed before his correction was received.

It may here be proper to remark, that the author's anxiety to give his quotations accurately, has led to some apparent unsteadiness, and even contradiction in spelling, especially proper names. In his own writing he has endeavoured to preserve correctness and uniformity; sometimes, however, variations have occurred from inadvertence; and sometimes where common usage is unsteady, one or the other practice has been indifferently followed.

In order to render the present work more useful, the plan of a new harmony of the Gospels, the result of preceding proofs and calculations, and a synoptical table of the hundred years from the birth of Augustus to the death of Tiberius, have been added as the concluding chapters of the Second Part. According to the arrangements recommended in the first, the reader may easily arrange for himself the Evangelical history; and the last he will find of great use, if he keeps it before him, and at every step of his progress refers to it as he reads, whenever dates are mentioned, and the course of history is pursued.

The author cannot close his preface without acknowledging, as he does most gratefully, the uniform kindness and encouragement which he has received, both in England and America, in the prosecution of his laborious work. His thanks are more especially due to the Rev. H. H. Norris of Hackney, his earliest English friend; the Rev. T. Bowdler; the Rev. T. H. Horne; the Rev. W. Palmer, the well known author of the Origenes Liturgicæ, and other learned works; the Rev. W. Scott, of Christ Church, Hoxton; and the Rev. Lancelot Sharpe. The two last-named have kindly aided in revising the press, and the author is greatly indebted to their critical acumen and accuracy. Among the laity of the English Church, Sir R. H. Inglis aided him much by his influence. To his beloved friend Mr. Faulkner of Phillippines, whose acquaintance he first formed in Italy, who then relieved him by his sympathy in hours of deepest anguish, and who has, ever since, been more like a brother than a friend, he wishes to pay this public tribute of regard, not only for his aid in the present work, but for all that he has done heretofore.

The labour of superintending the press confined the author in London, and prevented his enjoying the delight of visiting the venerable Catholic remainder of the Scottish Church; but her bishops have cheered him by their correspondence and kind encouragement.

As to his own country, beside the sanction given to his work by the proceedings of the bishops, which will be found in the following extracts from the Journals of the General Convention, he is happy to say, not only that the members of the Protestant Episcopal Church generally, but many other intelligent and pious persons, who are not of his own communion, have evinced an interest in the undertaking highly honourable to their charity. But he is bound more especially to return his thanks to the friends who first suggested and counselled his voyage to England. To that suggestion and counsel he is ultimately indebted for one of the brightest periods of his clouded life. But there is one, to whose open hand and generous heart an especial tribute is due. Others can bear like testimony for most efficient and vigorous assistance; and indeed there is no one, and especially no American, whose labours tend to promote the cause of learning and science, and who has come within the reach of his influence, who will not join with the author in this tribute of heartfelt gratitude to Mr. R. K. Haight, of New York.

And now having discharged what he deemed a duty towards his fellow-Christians, the author cannot conclude without humbly imploring the Divine blessing on the work now submitted to the public eye. Though a distinct work in itself, it is only the commencement of those labours which the office of an historiographer of the Church requires. But all depends on HIS will, "without whom nothing is strong, nothing is Holy." Vigour of body, and healthiness of mind—a discernment of truth amid conflicting opinions—a charity ever warm though dispassionate among angry assailants—an enduring patience under the fatigues of research,—all these are as much the gifts of the Holy Spirit now, as were those more expanded gifts which on the day of Pentecost were shed abroad on the infant Church. May the same Holy Spirit dwell in the author's heart, and in the hearts of all who shall read these pages.

Extracts from the Journals, of 1838 *and* 1841, *of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church.*

House of Bishops, Saturday, 16*th September* 1838.

"On motion of the Right Rev. Bishop Hopkins, the two following resolutions were passed, and sent to the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies for concurrence.

"*Resolved*, (the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies concurring), That the Rev. Samuel F. Jarvis, D.D., LL.D., be appointed Historiographer of the Church, with a view to his preparing, from the most original sources now extant, a faithful Ecclesiastical History, reaching from the Apostles' times, to the formation of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States."

The second resolution had reference to the History of the Protestant Episcopal Church, by the Rev. Dr. Hawks.

House of Deputies, Journal, p. 79.

"A message was received from the House of Bishops, transmitting certain resolutions, appointing the Rev. Drs. Jarvis and Hawks to prepare an Ecclesiastical History.

"Whereupon, on motion, the House concurred with the House of Bishops in passing the said resolutions."

House of Bishops, Wednesday, October 13th, 1841.

"A letter from the Rev. Dr. Jarvis, Historiographer of the Church, accompanied by certain manuscripts, was read as follows:

RIGHT REVEREND FATHERS IN CHRIST:—Having been honoured by the General Convention of 1838, with the appointment of "Historiographer of the Church," I think it my duty to report to the House of Bishops, with whom the resolution originated, the progress which has been made.

It seemed to me that in order to effect the object proposed, it would be necessary, if possible, to settle several contested points, in such a manner as to satisfy both learned and unlearned readers. This could be done in no other way than by laying before them in English, that evidence which is now locked up in foreign languages, and scattered through a great number of volumes, and which, from the paucity of public libraries in our country, is inaccessible even to persons who by their education are fitted to examine the original authors. It is obvious, indeed, that this cannot be done in the whole course of ecclesiastical history, without swelling the work to an enormous extent. It must be confined, therefore, to points of great importance; and with respect to the rest, much must be left to the fidelity and accuracy of the historian. But if he be found faithful, and accurate in the discussion of these important points, he will establish a character, both as a reporter and a judge, which will make his readers more ready to trust him when called upon to credit his assertions.

The exact time of the birth and death of our Saviour, the key-stone by which prophecy as well as history must be sustained, seemed to be one of those important points. This I have attempted to ascertain; and the attempt has succeeded beyond my most sanguine expectations. With no theory to sustain, and fearing to be misled by the theories of others, I have made use of modern writers, only so far as to be led by them to their authorities. In all cases where it was possible, I have gone back directly to ancient heathen as well as Christian authors, as being, in the language of your resolution, "the most original sources now extant." Not only has every question been settled on their testimony, but the testimony itself has also been exhibited. With regard to Latin writers, the original text has been generally subjoined. The fear of swelling the work too much and increasing the expense of publication, has prevented the addition of Greek quotations ; an omission which I regret, but which I have endeavoured as much as possible to remedy by exact references.

I have laboured hard to finish the work before the session of the present Convention ; but the cares of a parish, the necessary instruction of pupils, and domestic afflictions, have rendered it impossible to get it ready for the press. I am obliged, therefore, to lay it before you in an imperfect state, but it is sufficiently advanced to show its plan, its object, and its success.

If it be honoured, Right Reverend Fathers, with your approbation, I propose, after it is published, to add some other dissertations which are nearly ready for the press, and then to go on with the Ecclesiastical History, down to the great schisms by which the Catholic Church was rent in the fifth century. Whether I shall be able to accomplish this, or more than this, depends upon the will of Him, "to whom alone belong the issues of life and death."

Being unable myself to attend the General Convention, I have requested my assistant, the Rev. John Williams, to proceed to New York, for the purpose of submitting my manuscript to your venerable body.

I have the honour to remain, Right Reverend Fathers,

Your faithful son, and servant in the Lord,

SAMUEL FARMAR JARVIS,

Rector of Christ Church, Middletown.

"Whereupon, on motion of Bishop Hopkins, seconded by Bishop Doane, it was *resolved*, that the letter and manuscripts be referred to a committee of the House.

"Bishops Hopkins, Doane, and Whittingham, were appointed the Committee.

"The Committee to whom were referred the letter and manuscripts of the Rev. Dr. Jarvis, reported as follows:—

The Committee to whom were referred the letter and the manuscripts of the Rev. Dr. Jarvis, Historiographer of the Church, beg leave to report as follows :—

That they regard, with great satisfaction, the progress which the learned author has made, in preparing for the press the first volume of the series which his appointment as Historiographer was designed to bring forth: and consider it a duty on the part of the Church, to give all the encouragement in their power to its publication. It appears to them, as well from the synopsis of its contents, as from the best examination which their limited time would allow, to be a thorough and comprehensive analysis of all the evidence extant, whether sacred or profane, upon the most difficult and important points in ecclesiastical chronology, namely, the precise years of the birth and death of our Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ. And the Committee take pleasure in the acknowledgment, that notwithstanding their familiarity with the author's long-established reputation for deep and accurate learning, they were struck with the extraordinary research and exact fidelity exhibited in the work submitted to them, and hail its production as being calculated to reflect honour upon himself, and the body to which he belongs. With these views, the Committee respectfully recommend the following resolution:—

Resolved, That the House of Bishops receive with great satisfaction, the assurance that the first volume introductory to the Ecclesiastical History of the Rev. Dr. Jarvis, their Historiographer, is now ready for publication. They have examined and approve the plan of the work, and commend it to the patronage of the Church.

John H. Hopkins,
G. W. Doane.
W. R. Whittingham.

"Whereupon, on motion of Bishop de Lancey, seconded by Bishop Onderdonk of New York.

"*Resolved*, That the resolution appended to the Report be adopted."

INTRODUCTION.

It is an old and familiar observation, that Chronology and Geography are the two eyes of History. Without a knowledge of both, no historian can write accurately; and no lover of history can read with complete satisfaction or profit. Yet it must be obvious to every one who has at all attended to sacred or profane history, that in both the above-named sciences many disputable points still exist. Among those of chronology are the precise dates of the birth and death of our Lord Jesus Christ. Not surely that any one who takes a Christian view of history can suppose for a moment that either of those events was in itself obscure. Both were predicted, even from the fall; and a succession of prophecies, brighter and clearer as they advanced, prepared the minds of men for the coming of the Saviour. At the very time of our Lord's birth an intense expectation prevailed. Many were waiting for redemption in Jerusalem. It was revealed to the aged Simeon that he should not die till he had seen the Lord's Christ. Even among the heathen, as we learn from Virgil, Suetonius, Tacitus, and the Magi, rumours of this expected and extraordinary event had gone forth. The heavenly host announced the day and place to the shepherds; and the providence of God so ordered, that a census was taken in Bethlehem, by command of the Roman emperor, at the very moment in which the Virgin brought forth, and both she and her infant son were then and there enrolled.

In like manner the death of our Lord took place under the cognizance and by the express permission of the Roman government. Any one who adverts to the jealous scrutiny of that government, and especially to the gloomy and suspicious character of Tiberius, must be convinced *à priori* that such an event would be noticed in the annual returns of administration sent to Rome.

In a word, the birth and death of our Lord Jesus Christ are the centre around which all history moves. These events alone can unfold the operations of the Divine government from the beginning to the end of time; and therefore they furnish the key to the civil as well as ecclesiastical history of man.

No two events in history being then more certain, how comes it to pass that the generality of ecclesiastical historians have left almost unnoticed the chronology of our Saviour's life?—have abandoned the subject in despair, and pronounced it to be utterly impossible to ascertain the day of his birth, or the year of his crucifixion? It may well be asked, whether this general abandonment does not proceed, either from an exaggerated estimate of former labours, or from a reluctance to engage anew in dry and laborious investigation.

At the revival of learning, many illustrious men engaged with ardour and untiring effort in the attempt to reconcile the ancient with the modern computations of time; and it may safely be said that no one applied himself to it without clearing up some difficulty, and adding something to the stock of general knowledge. But their labours were progressive. Errors were rectified. New discoveries took place. Inscriptions, coins and medals, were continually found, which ascertained dates, and narrowed the grounds of controversy. Lost works were from time to time recovered, either in their original languages or in ancient translations. Even now the researches of the learned are often rewarded with valuable fruit, and the stores of antiquity are found to be yet unexhausted. The progress of astronomical science has shed light upon the dates of ancient history, by the more accurate calculation of eclipses; and from time to time there have been some, though few, who have ventured, in opposition to the tendencies of the age, to investigate anew and with success the vexed questions of remote antiquity. Where an object, therefore, is of importance, there is no reason to despond, because men of great names have failed, or because much or all of the ground which they have trodden is to be gone over again, and the way is beset with thorns, and is difficult and tedious.

If it be asked why the author feels himself called upon to undertake this task anew, the only answer is that he thinks it his duty. By the terms of his appointment he is required to prepare "from the most original sources now extant, a faithful Ecclesiastical History." He could not meet this requisition fully without a new examination of the original evidence concerning the true time of our Saviour's birth and death. If he fails, he will only share the fate of far abler and riper scholars than himself. If he succeeds, he will be fairly entitled to the thanks of the Christian world.

It is no presumption in him to say that the obscurity of the dates now to be made the subject of renewed inquiry, has arisen in great measure from the faulty methods of modern investigation. Some writers have had pre-existing theories to support, by which their judgments have evidently been biassed. Others have taken up the inquiry at wrong points. They have built on the foundation of ancient dates and epochs supposed to have been established by preceding writers. Where those writers are at variance, they have often, from various motives, decided in favour of one, without duly weighing the contradictory evidence advanced by others. In this way they have been led into untenable hypotheses; and instead of untangling the mazes of controversy, have rendered the whole subject still more perplexed and intricate. Mistakes of this nature may be looked upon as floating lights in a passage of difficult navigation, warning the cautious mariner to avoid the shoals and rocks which have occasioned former shipwrecks.

There is another defect in the character of all former treatises on this subject, which it is important to avoid. They have been written only for the learned, and have *referred to*, but not *produced* their authorities. The author, on the contrary, writes for the unlearned as well as the learned; and his object will be in every case to make his readers acquainted as fully as himself with the testimony on which the decision of every question must be founded. For this purpose the following work will be divided into two parts,—the first appertaining to ancient history in general,—the second, to the history of our Lord in particular.

The first part, concerning ancient history in general, will be occupied in giving the evidence from original sources of the ancient methods of computing time, and exhibiting the certain laws by which they are to be connected with modern computations now in use. This has been neglected or erroneously stated by most of the writers who have attempted to determine the true dates of our Lord's birth and death. Yet the establishment of the one is absolutely essential to the due computation of the other. The first is the foundation,—the second, the superstructure. Unless the foundation be strongly and firmly laid, the superstructure will be weak, and liable to be overturned. But if both are of solid materials, the whole building will be fitly framed together, being compacted by that which every joint supplieth.

In the prosecution of this plan, the rules which the writer lays down for his own guidance are the following:

1. To take nothing for granted. Every necessary question, from beginning to end, must be examined on its own merits, and decided by acknowledged authorities from history, verified, wherever the case allows it, by astronomical observations, and arithmetical computation.

2. With regard to all such questions, conjecture is never to be allowed. In the adjustment of a series of events, where the truth is to be arrived at by approximation, and in the absence of positive

testimony, probabilities are to be weighed. But in all cases they are carefully to be distinguished as probabilities only. The reader must be enabled to see where certainty ends, and where probability begins: so that even if the reasoning of the author be found inconclusive on any point of this nature, the certainty of established facts will not thereby be weakened. The ordeal of criticism may consume the perishable, but cannot demolish the solid parts of the building.

3. No theory before examination is to be assumed. Testimony is to be followed, whithersoever it may lead. The two great objects to be constantly kept in view must be the investigation of truth for its own sake, and the lucid communication of that truth to others.

4. In the examination of testimony, the original author is, if possible, to be consulted. This rule is as necessary, in order to arrive at the truth of history, as it is in a court of justice to reject hearsay evidence. A fruitful source of error is the copying authorities from the works of modern writers on chronology. Each generally brings forward such testimony as he thinks adapted to sustain the point he wishes to prove. They are special pleaders arguing a case. Undoubtedly they are entitled, from their learning and ability, to great respect, and all they say is to be duly weighed; but the judge notes down the authorities they offer, and then examines them for himself.

5. The testimony of the original witnesses is, as far as possible, to be laid before the reader in the very language of each witness. It has been usual, in writing for the learned, to give only a summary of the ancient testimony, in the modern writer's own words, because it is presumed that the learned will examine the authors referred to for themselves. But with the best intentions, the modern writer may make mistakes; and even if he quote correctly, the passage, separated from its context, may convey wrong impressions to the reader. Nor to the reader can there be the same

satisfaction in the mere statement of evidence, as there is in having the very language of the witness laid before him, with such account of the context as will show that no violent disruption takes place, and no perversion of the author's meaning. The present work being designed for the unlearned as well as the learned, literal translations are given in all cases; and the original text is placed in the margin, or cited so accurately, that the reader who possesses the original may easily turn to it. The author's pains will be amply rewarded, if the subject be placed in so clear a light that any man of plain common sense, who reads his own vernacular tongue, may thereby be enabled to comprehend it.

With such rules for his own guidance, the plan he has made for himself in the first part of the work is the following.

The Olympiads, being the earliest certain measure of time among profane historians, are the first to be considered; and their proper adjustment with the modern computations of time, the first question to be decided.

The next subject of attention must be the age of Rome. The Latin historians often speak of events as occurring in such or such a year after the building of the city. Hence it is absolutely necessary to determine the connexion of that event, as far as possible, with the Olympiads.

After the expulsion of the kings, annual consuls were appointed, and their office became, in consequence, the measure of time. Events are said to occur in such or such a consulate; and that consulate was understood as denoting a year. Therefore the consideration of the Roman method of computing their years becomes necessary. We must ascertain whether we can rely on their computations as denoting what we mean by the astronomical, solar, or tropical year. The Roman calendar, therefore, as it existed in the different changes, from the building of the city to its reformation by Julius Cæsar, must be carefully examined.

As the reformed calendar of Julius Cæsar became the basis of all our modern computations of time, the next object must be to state the methods taken by modern chronologers to create an universal measure applying equally to ancient and modern computations. Hence the formation of Scaliger's Julian Period, and its adaptation must be explained.

The mode by which this most important arrangement was accomplished being ascertained, the next step must be to connect with it all the ancient computations of time necessary to our purpose.

And, lastly, the verification of the whole must be subjected to a rigid examination of historical testimony, and, wherever it can apply, of astronomical computation. This will occupy the remainder of the first part, appertaining to ancient history in general, and serving only as the foundation of the present inquiry.

The second part, relating to the personal history of our Lord, until his ascension into heaven, and the descent of the Holy Ghost, with which great event the history of the Apostolic Church begins, will be arranged in the following manner.

The reign of Herod the Great must, in the first place, be carefully examined, and the date of his death determined as far as it can be, on the testimony of Josephus. This decides the latest possible date of our Lord's birth.

The next step will be to determine the extreme limits within which the death of our Lord could have happened, by ascertaining the beginning and end of Pilate's administration.

This being decided, the testimony of the Christian Church as to the year of his death must be laid before the reader.

It will then be proper to enter into a careful examination of the Gospel history;—first of his passion; then of the duration of his ministry, which began from his baptism; and, lastly, of his age at that time.

These points being ascertained, we can then count back to the year of his birth, exhibit the evidence as to the month and day in which it took place, and examine the calculations of the learned, by which, on the supposition of its utter uncertainty, they have endeavoured to establish their respective opinions.

Such is the plan which the author has formed for his own guidance, and which at the outset he thinks proper to lay before his readers, as a sketch or outline of his design, that they may, with the more satisfaction and confidence, accompany him in the arduous investigation on which he is now about to enter

per lo cammino alto e silvestro.

PART I.

APPERTAINING TO ANCIENT HISTORY IN GENERAL.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE OLYMPIADS.

SECTION I. Proposition to be solved.—Extract from Geminus to show the Grecian methods of computing time.—Direct proofs from Pindar and his scholiasts.—Inductions from Ptolemy, Diodorus Siculus, Thucydides, Plato.—SECT. II. Correct list of Olympiads, from the Armenian version of the long-lost Chronicon of Eusebius, part 1.—SECT. III. Method of adjusting the Olympiads to the modern computation of time. I. Historical evidence; Censorinus on the authority of Varro. II. Astronomical computation; eclipses mentioned by Thucydides.—Calculation of these eclipses given by Petavius.

§ I.—THE Olympic Games were celebrated from the eleventh to the sixteenth of the first month after the summer solstice, at the beginning of every fifth year.

But before we attempt to prove this, or to show the connexion of the Olympiads as measures of time with other fixed and determinate standards of computation, it is necessary to our purpose to lay before the reader some evidence of the manner in which the ancient Greeks reasoned on the general computation of time. This we prefer to do, so far as a translation can represent the thoughts of the original, in the very language of a Greek philosopher who flourished about a hundred years before the Christian era. Geminus wrote an "Introduction to the Study of Astronomy," first printed at Altdorf, by Eno Hilderic, in 1590, and afterwards collated, and more accurately edited, by Pétau, or Petavius, in his "Uranologium." From this edition we here insert "Chapter VI—concerning Months."

"A month is the time from one conjunction to another, or from one full moon to another. A conjunction takes place when the sun and moon come to the same place in the circle; that is, about the Triacas [ἡ τρίακας] or thirtieth day of the moon. The full moon is so called when the moon is diametrically opposite to the sun; and that is about the Dichomenia [ἡ δίχομηνία] or middle of the month. The monthly interval consists of $29\frac{1}{2}+\frac{1}{33}$ days;* and in this monthly interval, the moon passes through the entire circle of the zodiac, and also that periphery which the sun passes over in the same monthly interval into the subsequent signs of the zodiac, or as nearly as possible one sign. In the monthly interval, therefore, the moon moves nearly through thirteen signs. The exact monthly interval, as hath been said, is $29\frac{1}{2}+\frac{1}{33}$ days; but the monthly intervals, as they are generally taken for civil computation, consist of 29½ days, and so the time of two months amounts to 59 days; for which cause the civil months are computed alternately full [30 days] and hollow [29 days], because the two lunar months together make 59 days.

"From these, the lunar year is computed to have 354 days; for, if we multiply the 29½ days in each month by 12, the days of the lunar year will amount to 354. The solar year differs from the lunar. The solar, is the revolution of the sun through the twelve signs of the zodiac, which takes place in 365¼ days; but the lunar comprehends only the time of 12 lunar months, which is 354 days. Since, then, neither the month, nor the solar year, consists of whole days, it became a question among the astronomers to find a period of time which might comprehend whole days, whole months, and whole years.

"It was the purpose of the ancients to measure the months by the progress of the moon, and the years by that of the sun. For it was commanded, both by the laws and by the oracles, that the country rites required sacrifice to be made according to three particulars: months, days, and years. All the Greeks agreed in the rule of measuring years by the sun, and days and months by the moon. To measure years by the sun, is for the purpose of offering the same sacrifices to the Gods at about the same seasons of the year; the spring sacrifice continually in the spring, that of the summer in the summer, and in like manner that the same sacrifices should fall according to the remaining seasons of the year; for this they conceived to be acceptable and agreeable to the Gods. But this could not otherwise be done, but by having the solstices and equinoxes arrive at about the same places. To measure the days according to the moon, consists in making the denominations of the days follow the illuminations of the moon; for, from the illuminations of the moon, the denominations of the days are formed.

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* According to our method this would be equivalent to $29^{d}\ 12^{h}\ 43'\ 38''\ 10'''\ 54\frac{18}{33}''''$

"The day on which the new moon shines, is called by the compound word νεομήνια, new-moon. The day on which it assumes its second phase, is called the second; and that phase of the moon which takes place in the middle of the month, they called from the event itself *dichomenia* [διχομηνία] or middle-month. And generally, all the days they named from the illuminations of the moon. Wherefore, also, the thirtieth, or last day of the month, they named from the event itself *triacas* [τρίακας] *i. e.* Thirty-day."

After quoting a passage from the poet Aratus, he thus proceeds:

"That it is correct to measure days by the moon, is shown by the fact, that the solar eclipses always fall upon the Triacas, for then the moon is in conjunction with the sun; and according to the same fixed law it is, that the eclipses of the moon take place in the night which precedes the dichomenia [διχομηνία], for then the moon is diametrically opposite to the sun, and falls into the earth's shadow. When, therefore, the years are accurately computed according to the sun, and the months and days according to the moon, then the Greeks suppose that they sacrifice according to their country rites, that is, that the same sacrifices are offered to the Gods at the same seasons of the year."

After a digression concerning the Egyptian method of computing time, he proceeds to show how the Greeks attempted to reconcile the motions of the sun and moon: 1st, by the Octaëteride, or period of eight years; 2nd, by the Heccædecaëteride, or period of sixteen years; 3rd, by the Metonic period of nineteen years; and 4th, by the Calippic period of 19×4, or seventy-six years.

Octaëteride.—"The ancients, therefore, computed the months as having thirty days, and also the intercalary months in each year. But they soon found, for the truth was detected by the celestial phenomena themselves, that the days and months did not accord with the moon, nor the years with the sun. Hence they sought for a period which, as to years, might harmonize with the sun, and as to months and days, with the moon, and which might also contain within it whole months, whole days, and whole years. And first they established the octaëteride, or period of eight years, which contains ninety-nine months, three being intercalary, 2,922 days, and eight years. This octaëteride they established in the following manner: As the solar year consists of 365¼ days, and the lunar year of 354 days, they found that the excess of the solar above the lunar year, was 11¼ days. If, therefore, we measure the months in the year according to the moon, we shall want 11¼ days for the solar year. They sought, therefore, how often these days should be multiplied to make whole days and whole months; and they found that, by multiplying eight times, the days and months became whole,—the days 90, the months 3. Since, therefore, in each solar year we want 11¼ days, it is manifest that, in eight solar years, we shall want 90 days, which are equal to three months. For which cause, in each octaëteride, are introduced three intercalary months, that the deficiency occurring in each solar year might be made up, and thus, when the eight years were accomplished, the festivals might be again adjusted to their proper seasons. When this was done, the sacrifices would be perpetually offered to the Gods at the same seasons of the year.

"In the arrangement of the intercalary months, their object was to make them, as far as possible, equal. On the one hand, they ought not to wait till the monthly variation became perceptible; nor ought they, on the other, to anticipate, by a whole month, the course of the sun. For this cause, they arranged the intercalary months so as to take effect in the third, fifth, and eighth years; two months with two years falling between them, and one month with but one year intervening.* There would be no difference, however, if any one should make the same arrangement of intercalary months in other years. The lunar year is reckoned as 354 days; for which cause, they supposed the lunar month to be 29½ days, and the time of two months 59 days. Hence, because the two lunar months consist of only 59 days, a hollow and full month are reckoned alternately, there being in a year six full and six hollow months, which, together, make 354 days. For this cause, therefore, they computed month by month, full and hollow.

Heccœdecaëteride, or period of Sixteen years.—"If, then, it were

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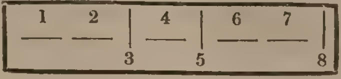
* This will be better understood, if the years are represented by lines as follows: the whole parallelogram representing the Octaeteride, the horizontal lines the years not intercalated, and the perpendicular lines those which were.



necessary for us only to agree with the solar years, it would have been sufficient, in using the aforesaid period, to agree with the celestial phenomena. But, since we must carry on, not only the years according to the sun, but also the months and days according to the moon, they [the ancients] considered how this end also might be accomplished. Wherefore, since the lunar month, by accurate computation, consists of $29\frac{1}{2}$ days and $\frac{1}{33}$, and there are in the octaëteride, with the intercalary months, 99 months, they multiplied the days of each month, $29\frac{1}{2}+\frac{1}{33}$, into 99 months, which produces $2{,}923\frac{1}{2}$ days. Therefore, in eight solar years, there ought to be reckoned, according to the moon, $2{,}923\frac{1}{2}$ days; but in the solar year there are $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, and in eight solar years 2,922 days, because the days of each year multiplied by eight, produce that number. Since, then, the days, according to the moon, amount in eight years to $2{,}923\frac{1}{2}$, we shall fall short, in each Octaëteride measured by the moon, one day and a half; and in sixteen years we shall fall short, by the moon, three days. For which cause, in every heccædecaëteride [or period of sixteen years], according to the course of the moon, three days are intercalated, that we may compute the years according to the sun, and the months and days according to the moon.

"But this correction being made, there follows another error. For the three days intercalated in the sixteen years, according to the moon, in sixteen decaëterides [or 160 years], exceed the solar time thirty days, or a whole month. For this cause, in every 160 years, one of the intercalary months is subtracted from the octaëterides, so that instead of three months, which should be added in the eight years, only two are inserted; and thus, beginning again, a month being subtracted, an adjustment is made to the moon with respect to months and days, and to the sun with regard to years.

Cycle of Meton, or period of Nineteen years.—"But even when this correction was made, there was not an entire agreement with the celestial phenomena. For the result was that the whole octaeteride was erroneous, both with regard to months and days and intercalations; for the monthly interval was not accurately taken. The monthly interval, when accurately taken, amounts to 29 days, thirty-one sixtieths of primes, fifty of seconds, eight of thirds, and twenty of fourths. Wherefore it would sometimes be necessary in sixteen years to insert four for the intercalary days.* Whence in no period could the hollow and full months be equal, but the full months would exceed the hollow. For if the monthly interval were only $29\frac{1}{2}$ days, it would be right to reckon the full and hollow months as equal; but now there is a small but perceptible portion of time in the monthly interval which augments the daily magnitude, and for this cause the full months must exceed the hollow in number. Nor in the eight years are there three intercalary months. For if the lunar year consisted of 354 days, the excess of the solar year would be $11\frac{1}{4}$ days, and these multiplied by eight would make up the three intercalary months. But now the lunar year is accurately 354 days and about one third. If, therefore, we subtract $354\frac{1}{3}$ from $365\frac{1}{4}$, there will remain $10\frac{11}{12}$ days, and these multiplied by eight, will give as nearly as possible $87\frac{1}{3}$ days, which do not complete three months. For which cause we must be aware that in eight years there cannot be three intercalary months. This is made manifest by the period of nineteen years (ἡ ἐννεακαιδεκαετερίς). For in nineteen years there are seven intercalary months, and the period of nineteen years will accord with the progress of the months for a greater number of years. In eight periods of nineteen years there will be 56 intercalary months. But in the octaëteride there are reckoned three intercalary months. Therefore in 19 octaëterides, amounting to 152 years, there are 57 intercalations; whereas in the same time reckoned by periods of nineteen years, which accords with the celestial phenomena, there are but 56 intercalary months; so that the Octaëteride, or period of eight years, exceeds the period of nineteen years by one intercalary month. The Octaëteride, therefore, has not three intercalary months, and in this respect that period is faulty.

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* To make this computation intelligible to the English reader, it must be observed, that a day, consisting of 24 hours, was divided by the Greeks into 60 primes; each prime into 60 seconds; each second into 60 thirds, &c. It is manifest that 30 primes would be twelve hours, and of course one prime, 24 minutes. Fifty seconds would be equal to fifty sixtieths or five-sixths of 24 minutes, that is, 20 minutes. Pétau, or as he is better known by his Latin name, Petavius, has shown this in the two following tables:

	H	′	″	‴
31 primes are equal to	12	24	0	0
50 seconds „ „ „	0	20	0	0
8 thirds „ „ „	0	0	3	12
20 fourths „ „ „	0	0	0	8
Total	12	44	3	20

	′	″	‴	⁗
12 hours are equal to	30	0	0	0
44 minutes „ „ „	1	50	0	0
3 seconds „ „ „	0	0	7	30
20 thirds „ „ „	0	0	0	50
Total	31	50	8	20

"The octaëteride being found to be thus entirely erroneous, the astronomers Euctemon and Philip and Calippus constructed another period of nineteen years.* For they observed that in 19 years are contained 6940 days and 235 months, including those which are intercalary, and which in nineteen years are seven. According to them, the year consists of 365$\frac{5}{19}$ days; and in the 235 months they arranged 110 hollow and 125 full months; so that the full and hollow months did not follow alternately one by one, but sometimes there were two full months in succession. This nature admits with regard to the moon's laws in the celestial phenomena, but it does not exist in the octaëteride. In the 235 months they arranged the 110 hollow months after this manner. Since there are reckoned 235 months in nineteen years, they first supposed them all to have thirty days, and the sum of the whole was 7050 days. Wherefore it was necessary to reckon 110 hollow, because in the period of 19 years there are according to the moon 6940 days. As when all the months were reckoned at thirty days, the 7050 days exceeded the 6940, 110 days, therefore 110 months were reckoned as hollow, that in the 235 months might be completed the 6940 days of the period of 19 years. That the practical operation of the days to be retrenched might be made as equal as possible, they divided the 6940 days by 110, the product of which was 63 days. Every 63 days, therefore, it was necessary to retrench a day in the same period. The Triacas, or thirtieth day, was not always the day to be retrenched, but the day which fell after the 63 was called the retrenchable day. In this period the months seem to be well selected, and the intercalary months to be arranged in harmony with the phenomena. The yearly interval seems also to have been taken in harmony with the phenomena; for the yearly interval being observed for a great number of years, hath been found to harmonize because it has 365$\frac{1}{4}$ days. But the year as computed in the period of 19 years consists of 365$\frac{5}{19}$ days, and these exceed 365$\frac{1}{4}$ one seventy-sixth part. For which reason the astronomer Calippus and his followers corrected the excess of a day by establishing the period of 76 years, composed of four periods of 19 years. These contain 940 months, of which 28 are intercalary, and 22,759 days. The same order of intercalary months is observed, and this period seems to accord better with the celestial phenomena than all the rest."[1]

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* It is surprising that Geminus has omitted the name of Meton, to whom the invention of the cycle of nineteen years is generally attributed. He flourished at Athens about B.C. 430; and his cycle was considered so important that it was inscribed in letters of gold. Hence the years of that cycle are still called the Golden Numbers. Euctemon flourished about the same time, and was his companion and friend. Who Philip was I am unable to say. Calippus, the inventor of the Calippic period, flourished about B.C. 330.

Long as this extract is, the reader, we trust, will not be displeased with a document which shows the early progress of astronomical science, and clearly traces to a religious motive the original exercise of that pure intellect for which the Greeks were so conspicuous. It became necessary to our purpose, as showing clearly the basis on which the whole computation of the olympiads was constructed; a basis the more important, because from the first olympiad of Iphitus only, does profane history derive its definite form, and detach itself entirely from traditional conjecture.

That the Olympic Games were celebrated from the eleventh to the sixteenth of the first month, or, in other words, for five days preceding and including the dichomenia, or full moon, appears from several passages in the odes of Pindar, as illustrated by the ancient commentators. Thus, where Pindar says,

> "The moon of the dichomenia in her golden chariot
> Hath reflected the whole eye of Even,
> And together with the fifth year
> Hath established on the divine steeps of the Alpheus
> The sacred judgment of the great combats;"*

one scholiast says, "The Olympic contest takes place at the full moon, and the decision of the judge is pronounced on the sixteenth day of the month;" and another states that "The contest takes place at one time after forty-nine months, at another after fifty months." All this is well explained by Geminus. The Octaëteride, or period of eight years, contained, he says, ninety-nine months, three being intercalary; and the intercalation was made in the third, fifth, and eighth years. As, therefore, one octaëteride consisted of two olympiads, the first intercalation took place in the third year of the first of these olympiads, the second in the first year of the second olympiad, the fifth of the octaëteride, and the last in the fourth year of the second olympiad, which would be the eighth and last of the octaëteride. Consequently, the first olympiad would have forty-nine months, and the second fifty. So, again, where Pindar says

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[1] Gemini Elem. Astron. cap. vi. apud Petav. de Doct. Temp. tom. iii. *Antverp.* 1703, fol. p. 18-23.

* ——— *διχόμηνις ὅλον χρυσάρματος*
'Εσπέρας ὀφθαλμὸν ἀντέφλεξε μήνα,
αντιϛροφη β. κώλων θ'.
Καὶ μεγάλων ἀέθλων ἁγνὰν κρίσιν,
Καὶ πενταετηρίδ' ἁμᾶ
Θῆκε ζαθέοις ἐπὶ κρημνοῖς Αλφεõυ.
Ολυμπ. Γ. 35—39.

See also the tenth Olympic Ode. Antist. 4. *Εν δ' εσπερον. κ. τ. λ.* where the Scholiast explains *εὐώπιδος Σελάνας ἐρατόν φάος*, "the lovely light of the fair-faced moon," as meaning "the full moon."—Pindar. Ed. Oxon. fol. 1698, p. 40, and p. 128.

> Six twin altars
> Hath he honoured
> For the feasts of the Gods
> With the greatest sacrifices of bulls,
> And the five-day combats of the games:"*

The scholiast explains "the five-day combats," by saying: "Because these contests were carried on for five days, from the eleventh to the sixteenth," that is, for five days preceding and including the dichomenia. Whence it must follow, that the month began at the preceding new-moon, and thus that the whole olympiad was reckoned from the new-moon preceding the games. It was, therefore, the first month of the fifth year, reckoning from the preceding olympiad, according to the expression of Pindar, in the passage first cited.

That it was the first month after the summer solstice, at least as early as the formation of the Metonic cycle, may, I think, be proved, by induction from incidental notices in several of the Greek writers. Ptolemy, as quoted by Dodwell,[1] expressly informs us, that the period of the summer solstice was first accurately observed by Meton and Euctemon.[2] And Diodorus Siculus asserts, that the cycle of Meton began on the thirteenth of the month Skirrophorion, in the fourth year of the eighty-sixth olympiad, when Apseudes was archon of Athens. Skirrophorion was the last month in the Grecian calendar, as Hekatombæon was the first. From this Dodwell infers, and as it seems justly, that in consequence of the defective cycles previously in use, an error of seventeen or eighteen days had occurred; which was then rectified, by leaving out the remainder of Skirrophorion, and on the thirteenth of that month, according to the old computation, commencing the first month, Hekatombæon, at the first new moon after the summer solstice.[1]

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* Βωμοὺς ἓξ διδύ-
μους ἐγέραρεν ἑορ-
ταῖς Θεῶν, μεγίσταις
Ὑπὸ βουθυσίαις, ἀέθλων τε πεμ-
πταμέροις ἁμίλλαις.
Ολυμπ. Ε΄. υ. 10. Ed. Oxon. p. 52.

[1] Diss. I. Usus Cycli Metonici Civilis, Sec. iv.

[2] Ptol. Μεγ. Συντ. lib. III. c. ii. p. 62.

This seems to be corroborated by the statement of Thucydides,[2] that the Peloponnesian war began by the treacherous occupation of Platæa early in the spring, when Pythodorus had been ten months archon of Athens. This was the year after that in which Meton had commenced his cycle. Meton's cycle began at the first new moon after the summer solstice, in the fourth year of the eighty-sixth olympiad, when Apseudes was archon.[3] The Peloponnesian war began within two months of the close of the first year of the eighty-seventh olympiad, towards the end of the archonship of Pythodorus, the immediate successor of Apseudes, as we learn from Diodorus,[4] one year and ten months after the cycle of Meton began. "The inhabitants of Elis," says Diodorus, "celebrated the eighty-seventh olympiad, in which Sophron the Ambraciote was victor in the Stadium." This was the beginning of the year in which Pythodorus was archon; and two months after, in the spring, began the Peloponesian war. Consequently, the year of Pythodorus would expire two months after, or about the summer solstice.

So Plato speaks of all the magistrates assembling in one of the sacred edifices, "*when the new year is about to commence after the summer solstice, at the coming in of the month*."[5] Without, therefore, going into Dodwell's argument to prove that a change was made at the introduction of the Metonic cycle, in the beginning of the Athenian civil year, from the winter to the summer solstice, we are safe in asserting that, after that event, the Athenian civil year was invariably so reckoned that it might accord with the computation of the olympiads. "As far as we know," says Dodwell, "the inhabitants of Elis never reckoned the beginning of their cycles from any other point than the summer solstice. For that solstice was the most suitable time, not only for the games, but also for travelling, that all the Greeks might come together at a public assembly, which was of all by far the most numerously attended."[6] Whether, therefore, the Athenians did or did not change the commencement of their year at the time above stated, it is highly probable that the olympiads had always been celebrated from the eleventh to the sixteenth of the first lunar month after the summer solstice. There would, of course, be a considerable variation from the days of our months, so that to date exactly the beginning of each year according to our computation, would oblige us, in every instance, to calculate the lunations. This would be unnecessary trouble. It will be sufficient to take the first of July as the beginning of an olympiad, and thus to reckon the first six months of our year as belonging to one, and the last six months as belonging to another, of the four years, consisting of forty-nine or fifty lunar months, into which the olympiads were divided.

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[1] Dodw. Diss. I. sec. xvi. compared with Diss. III. De Cyclis Metone Antiquioribus, sec. xxviii.

[2] Lib. II. c. ii.

[3] Diod. Sic. Bibl. Hist. lib. XII. Olymp. lxxxvi. 4. Ed. Wesseling, tom. I. p. 501.

[4] Ut sup. p. 501-2, compared with Thucyd. ut sup.

[5] De Legib. lib. VI. 767 c.

[6] Diss. IV. Cycli Olympiadum Civiles, sec. iii.

§ II.—Our next step must be to lay before the reader a correct list of the olympiads; and this we are enabled to do, by the recovery of the long-lost part of the Chronicon of Eusebius, a copy of which had been preserved in the Armenian language. A Latin translation was published at Milan in 1818; and the Armenian text, with a Latin translation, at Venice in the same year. Both are accompanied with such fragments of the original Greek as had been preserved by Syncellus and the Chronicon Paschale. These were previously collected and published by Joseph Scaliger, but were justly suspected of not being the pure text of Eusebius. The publication of the Armenian version, has shown what parts are genuine, and what had been added by the later chronologers. In this list, the victors in the Stadium are mentioned,—an invaluable addition to the reader of the ancient historians. "How important," exclaims Scaliger, "that these victories in the Stadium have not perished! For the whole memorial of Grecian affairs may be contained in these titles; so that when the olympiad is unknown, the name of the victor in the Stadium survives, and suffers neither the olympiad nor the time of any achievement to perish. For not unfrequently it is the custom of Pausanias to note how each one conquers, and not what olympiad it is. 'In the third year,' he says, for example, 'of that olympiad in which such a person conquered.'" These names are occasionally corrupted in the Armenian version; and in all such cases where the Greek text is preserved, it is here inserted between brackets.

THE OLYMPIADS OF THE GREEKS.

FROM THE FIRST TO THE TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-NINTH, IN WHICH ANTONINUS THE SON OF SEVERUS WAS EMPEROR OVER THE ROMANS.

i.	OLYMPIAD in which Corœbus the Elean conquered in the stadium; for in this only did they contend until the thirteenth olympiad	
ii.	Antimachus, Elean. Romulus and Remus are born.	Stadium
iii.	Androclus, Messenian	Stadium
iv.	Polychares, Messenian	Stadium
v.	Eschides [Gr. Æschines], Elean	Stadium
vi.	Oïbotas [Gr. Oibolas], Dymæan	Stadium
vii.	Darcles [Gr. Diocles], Messenian. Romulus founded Rome	Stadium
viii.	Anticles, Messenian	Stadium
ix.	Xenocles, Messenian	Stadium
x.	Dotades, Messenian	Stadium
xi.	Leochares, Messenian	Stadium
xii.	Oxythemis, Coronæan	Stadium
xiii.	Diocles, Corinthian	Stadium
xiv.	Desmōn, Corinthian	Stadium
	The Diaulon (or double stadium) was added (Pausan. Diaulos.) and Hypenius [Gr. Hypenos. *Pausan.*] the Elean conquered	
xv.	Orsippus, Megarean.	Stadium
	The Dolichus was added and they ran naked. Acanthus the Lacedemonian conquered	
xvi.	Pythagoras, Lacedemonian	Stadium
xvii.	Potus, Epidaurian	Stadium
xviii.	Tullus [Gr. Tellis], Sicyonian	Stadium
	Wrestling (πάλη) was added, and Eurybatus [Gr. Hybato], the Lacedemonian, conquered. The Pentathlon was added, and Lampis the Lacedemonian conquered	
xix.	Menus, Megarean	Stadium
xx.	Atheradas, Lacedemonian	Stadium
xxi.	Pantacles, Athenian	Stadium
xxii.	The same, the second time	Stadium
xxiii.	Icarius, Hyperessian	Stadium
	Boxing was added, and Onomastus the Smyrnæan conquered. He also made laws for boxing	
xxiv.	Cleoptolemus, Lacedemonian	Stadium
xxv.	Thalpis, Lacedemonian	Stadium
	The chariot with four horses (τέϑριππον) was added, and Paoron [Gr. Patōn. *Pausan.* Pagōndas] the Theban conquered	
xxvi.	Calisthenes, Lacedemonian	Stadium
	Philimbrotus the Lacedemonian conquered in the Pentathlon at three olympiads. The carnia or contest of harpers first established in Lacedæmon	
xxvii.	Eurybus [Gr. Euribotos or Euribotas. *Pausan.*], Athenian	Stadium

xxviii.	Charmis, Lacedemonian, who lived upon dried figs	Stadium
	The Pisans conducted this olympia, because the Eleans were detained by a western war. [Greek reads "a war with the Dymeans or people of Dyme"]	
xxix.	Chionis, Lacedemonian	Stadium
	One of his leaps was 22 cubits [Greek reads ποδῶν feet]	
xxx.	The same, the second time	
	The Pisans revolted from the Eleans, and carried on this and the following 22	
xxxi.	Chionis, Lacedemonian, the third time	Stadium
xxxii.	Cratinus, Megarean	Stadium
	When also in boxing Comæus conquered three brothers	
xxxiii.	Gygis, Lacedemonian	Stadium
	The Pancratium was added, and Lygdamis the Syracusan, of enormous stature, conquered. He measured the Stadium with his feet, and made it only 600 paces. The Celes (Race-horse) was also added, and Craxilas [Gr. Praxillas] the Thessalian conquered	
xxxiv.	Stomus [Gr. Stōmas], Athenian	Stadium
xxxv.	Sphærus, Lacedemonian	Stadium
	And in the Diaulon Cylōn the Athenian conquered, who endeavoured to seize the supreme power.	
xxxvi.	Phrynon, Athenian	Stadium
	Who in the Island of Coos was slain in single combat. [Gr. who was slain in single combat with Pittacus]	
xxxvii.	Euryclidas, Calonus	Stadium
	[Calonus must be a mistake for Laconus. The Greek reads, Lacon the Lacedemonian.] The stadium of boys was added, and Polynices the Elean conquered. The wrestling of boys was also added, and Hipposthenes the Lacedemonian conquered; who having once failed, in the five succeeding olympiads conquered in the wrestling of men	
xxxviii.	Olyntheus, Lacedemonian	Stadium
	The Pentathlon of boys was added, and then *they* only contended. Deutelidas the Lacedemonian conquered	
xxxix.	Ripsolaus [Gr. Ripsolkos], Lacedemonian	Stadium
xl.	Olyntheus, Lacedemonian, the second time	
xli.	Cleonthus [Gr. Cleondas], Theban	Stadium
	The boxing of boys was added, and Philotas the Sybarite conquered	
xlii.	Lycotas, Lacedemonian	Stadium
xliii.	Cleon, Epidaurian	Stadium
xliv.	Gelon, Lacedemonian	Stadium
xlv.	Anticrates, Lacedemonian	Stadium
xlvi.	Chrysomachus [Gr. Chrysamaxos], Lacedemonian	Stadium
	And Polymnestor, Milesian, in the boys' stadium. While feeding his goats, he overtook a hare	

xlvii.	Euryces [Gr. Eurycles], Lacedemonian	Stadium
xlviii.	Glycon, Crotoniate.	Stadium
	Pythagoras the Samian being admitted to the boys' boxing, and being laughed at as effeminate, goes forward, and completely conquers all the men.	
xlix.	Lycinus, Crotoniate	Stadium
l.	Epitelidas, Lacedemonian	Stadium
	The seven wise men, as they were called	
li.	Eratosthenes, Crotoniate	Stadium
lii.	Agis, Elean	Stadium
liii.	Anon [Gr. Agnon], Peparethian	Stadium
liv.	Hippostratus, Crotoniate	Stadium
	Aregion, [*Gr.* Arichion. ***Pausan.*** Arrachion] Phygalean, conquering in the second Pancratium, dies of a broken skull. His dead body is crowned. His adversary, previously conquered, confessed that one of his feet had been broken by the victor.*	
lv.	The same Hippostratus the second time	Stadium
	At this time Cyrus reigned over the Persians	
lvi.	Phædrus the Pharsalian	Stadium
lvii.	Lagramus [Gr. Ladromos], Lacedemonian	Stadium
lviii.	Diognetus, Crotonian	Stadium
lix.	Archilochus, Corcyrean	Stadium
lx.	Apellæus, Elean	Stadium
lxi.	Agatharcus, Corcyrean	Stadium
lxii.	Eryxias, Chalcidean	Stadium
	In wrestling Milo the Crotoniate. He conquered in the Olympic games six times, in the Pythian six times, in the Isthmian ten times, in the Nemean nine times	
lxiii.	Parmenides, Camarinæan	Stadium
lxiv.	Menandrus [Gr. Evandros], Thessalian	Stadium
lxv.	Anachus [Gr. Akochas Tarantinos.], Tarantinian	Stadium
	The Oplites added, and Damaretus the Erean conquered. [Gr. ήραιεὺς. al. Ηρακλείδης]	
lxvi.	Ischyrus, Imeræan	Stadium
lxvii.	Phannas, Pellenian. He was the first who gained a triple victory,—in the stadium,—the diaulon,—the oplon	Stadium
lxviii.	Isomachus, Crotoniate	Stadium
lxix.	The same, the second time	
lxx.	Niceas, Opundian [Gr. Nicaistas. Opuntian]	Stadium
lxxi.	Tisicrates, the Crotoniate	Stadium
lxxii.	The same, the second time	
lxxiii.	Astyalus, the Crotoniate	Stadium
lxxiv.	The same, the second time	

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* The story is told by Pausanias. Lib. viii. c. 40.

lxxv.	The same, the third time.*	
lxxvi.	Scamandrus, Mitylenian	Stadium
lxxvii.	Dandinus [Gr. Dandes], Argive	Stadium
lxxviii.	Parmenides, Posidoniate	Stadium
lxxix.	Xenophon, Corinthian	Stadium
lxxx.	Turymmas, Thessalian	Stadium
	In wrestling, Amesinas the Barcæan; who, when feeding his herd, contended with a bull, and bringing the same to Pisa, he contended with it again.	
lxxxi.	Polymnastus, Cyrenean	Stadium
lxxxii.	Lycus, Larissean	Stadium
lxxxiii.	Crisson, Immesæan. [Gr. Himeræan]	Stadium
lxxxiv.	The same, the second time.	
lxxxv.	The same, the third time.	
lxxxvi.	Theopompus, Thessalian	Stadium
lxxxvii.	Euphranor, [Gr. Sophron] Ambraciote	Stadium
	Thence the Peloponnesian war.	
lxxxviii.	Symmachus, Messenian	Stadium
lxxxix.	The same, the second time.	
xc.	Hyperbius, Syracusan	Stadium
xci.	Exigentus, Agrigentian [Gr. Exagentos, Acragantinos]	Stadium
xcii.	The same, the second time.	
xciii.	Eurotas, [Gr. Eukatos] Cyrenean	Stadium
	Polydamas the Scotussæan, a man of immense stature, conquered in the Pancratium (or contest of all strength). He went to Persia, and in the presence of Ochus killed lions, and fought naked with armed men.—The Synoris [Gr. *συνωρὶς*, Biga, or two-horse chariot] was added, and Evagrius [Gr. Euagoras] the Elean conquered.	
xciv.	Crocinas, Larissæan	Stadium
xcv.	Minon, [Gr. Menon] Athenian.	Stadium
xcvi.	Eupolemus, Elean	Stadium
	The trumpeter [Gr. *Σαλπιγκτης*] was added, and Timæus the Elean conquered.—The Herald [Gr. *Κῆρυξ*] also was added, and Acrates [Gr. Krates] the Elean conquered.	
xcvii.	Tirinæus . . . . [Gr. Terinaios Eleios, the Elean]	Stadium
xcviii.	Sosippus, Delphian	Stadium
	Aristodemus the Elean in wrestling; whom no one could seize by the waist [Gr. *οὐ μέσα οὐδεὶς ἔλαβεν*].	
xcix.	Dicon, Syracusian	Stadium
	The pony [or more properly the colt] chariot [*τέϑριππον πωλικὸν*] was added, and Eurybasus [*Ευρυβάτας*] the Lacedemonian conquered	Stadium

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* The Olympiads from the 75th to the 119th are preserved in Diodorus Siculus (Lib. xi.—xx.) These the learned reader will find it useful to compare with the list here given by Eusebius. In the 75th Olym. Diodorus calls the victor, Asylus the Syracusan,—because Astylus, or Astyalus, though a Crotoniate, professed himself to be a Syracusan. See Pausanias, vi. 13.

c.	Dionysodorus, Tarentinian	Stadium
ci.	Damon, Thurian	Stadium
cii.	The same, the second time.	
ciii.	Pythostratus, Ephesian	Stadium
civ.	Phocides, Athenian	Stadium
	This olympic was ordered by the Pisans.	
cv.	Porus, Cyrenean	Stadium
cvi.	The same, the second time.	
cvii.	Micrinas, Tarentinian	Stadium
cviii.	Polycles, Cyrenean	Stadium
cix.	Aristolochus, Athenian	Stadium
cx.	Anicles, [Anticles. Diod. Sic.] Athenian.	Stadium
cxi.	Cleomantis, Eclitorian. [Cleopantis Clitorius. Gr.]	Stadium
cxii.	Eurylas, Chalcidian	Stadium
	Alexander took Babylon and killed Darius.	
cxiii.	Clito, Macedonian	Stadium
	Ageus the Argive in the Dolichus;[*] who going to Argos, announced there his own victory on the same day.	
cxiv.	Micinnas, Rhodian	Stadium
	Alexander died; after whom, the empire being divided among many, Ptolemy reigned in Egypt and at Alexandria.	
cxv.	Damasias, Amphipolitan	Stadium
cxvi.	Demosthenes, [Dinosthenes. Pausan. Dinomenes. Diod. Sic.] Lacedemonian	Stadium
cxvii.	Parmenides, Mitylenian	Stadium
cxviii.	Andromenes, Corinthian	Stadium
	Antenor, an Athenian or Milesian, *παγκράτιον ἀκόντιον, περιοδονίκης, ἄληπτος ἐν ταῖς τρισὶν ἡλικίαις.* The Armenian text, according to the edition of Milan: "Antenor Atheniensis, aut Milesius, in pancratio, adversatus circumstantibus si victor extitit sine unctione tribus in ætatibus." The Armenian text according to the edition of Venice: "Antenor Atheniensis vel Milesius in certamine omnium virium, in congressu et circulo invictus et minime unctus in tribus ætatibus reperitur."[†]	
cxix.	Andromenes, Corinthian	Stadium
cxx.	Pythagoras, Magnesian. [Greek reads, Magnes, and the	

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[*] Δόλιχος, says Suidas, with the accent on the antepenultima, is the name of a course; with the accent on the last syllable, δολιχὸς, it is an adjective, and signifies, long. The dolichus contains 24 stadia. He says in another place [voce Δίαυλος] that there were eight contests, the Stadium, the Diaulus, the Dolichus, the Oplites or heavy armed race, boxing, the Pancratium, wrestling, and leaping.

[†] The Greek of this obscure and difficult passage is laid before the reader, as well as the two versions from the Armenian. The Armenian translator seems to have read ἀναλείπτος instead of ἄληπτος; for this latter word, according to Suidas and Hesychius, signifies ἀκαταληπτος, one who cannot be overtaken, *i. e.* in running, or one who cannot be conquered. May it not mean, that he was unconquered in boyhood, youth, and manhood?

	Armenian adds ex Menandra, or ad Mæandrum, according to the conjecture of Mai]	Stadium
	In wrestling, Cerasus [Keras Gr.] the Argive, who tore off the hoofs of a bull.	
cxxi.	The same Pythagoras, the second time.	
cxxii.	Antigonus, Macedonian	Stadium
cxxiii.	The same, the second time.	
cxxiv.	Philomelus, Pharsalian	Stadium
cxxv.	Ladas, Ægean	Stadium
cxxvi.	Idæus or Nicator, Cyrenean	Stadium
cxxvii.	Perigenes, Alexandrian	Stadium
cxxviii.	Seleucus, Macedonian	Stadium
cxxix.	Philinus, Coan	Stadium
	The pony two-horse chariot was added, and Philistiachus the son of Macetus conquered. Gr. Βελιστίχη γυνὴ, απὸ τῆς Μακεδονίας τῆς ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ, συνωρίδι πωλικῇ ἐνίκησε. Olymp. cxxviii.	
cxxx.	The same Philinus, the second time.	
cxxxi.	Ammonius, Alexandrian	Stadium
	The pony single horse was added, and Hippocrates the son of Thessalus conquered. The Greek is very different. Τληπόλεμος λύκιος κέλητι πωλικῷ πρῶτος ἐνίκησε.	
cxxxii.	Xenophanes, Ætolian from Amphisia	Stadium
cxxxiii.	Simelus, Neapolitan	Stadium
	The Parthians revolted from the Macedonians, and first Arsaces reigned, from whom the Arsacidæ.	
cxxxiv.	Alcidas, Lacedemonian	Stadium
cxxxv.	Eraton, Ætolian	Stadium
	In boxing, Cleoxenus the Alexandrian, in the circle of victory, unwounded. [Gr. περιοδονίκης ἀτραυμάτιστος.]*	
cxxxvi.	Pythocles, Sicyonian	Stadium
cxxxvii.	Menestheus, Barcylite	Stadium
cxxxviii.	Demetrius, Alexandrian	Stadium
cxxxix.	Jolaïdas, Argive	Stadium
cxl.	Zopyrus, Syracusan	Stadium
cxli.	Dorotheus, Rhodian	Stadium
cxlii.	Crates, Alexandrian	Stadium
	Carus, Elean, both in wrestling and in the Pancratium, con-	

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* This is the second time in which the word περιοδονίκης occurs, the first having been under Olym. 118. It is strange that I can find no notice of this word in Hesychius, Suidas, Æmilius Portus, or any other lexicographer I have been able to consult, excepting Hedericus. He defines it, "Periodical victor, or one who conquers in all kinds of games." Constantinus says more accurately (voce περίοδος), "In gymnicis certaminibus περίοδος dicebatur victoria quam quis in quatuor illis sacris certaminibus adeptus esset, qui ita vicisset periodum vicisse dicebatur." This explanation the Milan editors adopt. (Euseb. Chron. Can. lib. i. p. 152, note 5.) In the present case, Cleoxenus was not only victor in the contest of the cæstus successively in the Olympian, Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean games, but also escaped unwounded in all of them.

	quers after Hercules, and is enregistered as the second from Hercules. [The Armenian reads, "in the stadium and the pancratium;" but this is a manifest error, since Crates conquered in the stadium. Gr. *καὶ πάλην καὶ παγκράτιον*]	
cxliii.	Heraclitus, Samian	Stadium
cxliv.	Heraclides, Salaminian [Armenian adds, "From the Island of Cyprus"]	Stadium
cxlv.	Pyrrhias, Ætolian	Stadium
	In the boxing of boys, Torchus [Gr. Moschus] the Colophonian. The only victor in the circle of Boys. [Gr. *Μονος παιδικὴν περίοδον.*] The Pancratium of boys was added, and Phædimus the Alexandrian conquered.	
cxlvi.	Micion, Bœotian	Stadium
cxlvii.	Agemachus, Cyzicene	Stadium
	In wrestling, Clitostratus or Clistostratus [Gr. *Κλεόστρατος*. Mil. Ed. *Κλεῖτος*. Venice Ed.] the Rhodian; who conquered only by grasping or twisting the neck. [Gr. *ὅς τραχηλίζων ἀπελάμβανεν*] *	
cxlviii.	Arcesilaus [Gr. *Ακεσίλαος*], Megalopolitan	Stadium
cxlix.	Hippostratus, Seleucian. [Armenian adds, from Pieria]	Stadium
cl.	Onesicratus, Salaminian	Stadium
cli.	Thymelus, Aspendian	Stadium
clii.	Democrates, Megarean	Stadium
cliii.	Aristandrus, Lesbian. [Armen. adds, ex Antissa]	Stadium
cliv.	Leonidas, Rhodian, victor in the triple contest.† [Gr. *τριαστὴς*, rendered in the Milan version, triplici in certamine victor; in the Venice Armenian Version, Triplicator]	Stadium
clv.	The same, the second time	Stadium
clvi.	The same, the third time	Stadium
	Aristosenes [Mil. ed. Aristoxenus] the Rhodian, the third from Hercules both in wrestling and in the Pancratium. The name of the victor is wanting in Greek, and *πάλην*, wrestling, in the Armenian; but both are obviously to be supplied	
clvii.	The same Leonidas, the fourth time.	
	This was the first and only one who received twelve olympic crowns in four olympiads.	
clviii.	Orthon, Syracúsan	Stadium
clix.	Alcimus, Cyzicene	Stadium

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* Suidas quotes this passage, but does not explain it. His editor, the learned Kuster, thinks it corrupt or mutilated, and gives it, he says, the best interpretation he can· "qui adversariorum colla obtorquere solebat"—who was in the habit of wrenching the necks of his antagonists. Constantinus interprets it, "Cervicem cædere et ferire, ut solent Pancratiastæ"—to beat and smite the neck as the Pancratiastæ were wont to do.

† I infer from Suidas (voce *τριαχθῆναι*), that *τριαστὴς* means, one who conquered in all the three courses, the Stadium, the Diaulum, and the Dolichum—the course, the double course, and the quadruple course.

clx.	Anodorus [Gr. 'Ανώδοκος], Cyzicene	Stadium
clxi.	Antipater, Epirote	Stadium
clxii.	Damon, Delphian	Stadium
clxiii.	Timotheus, Trallian	Stadium
clxiv.	Boïotus, Sicyonian	Stadium
clxv.	Acusilaus, Cyrenean	Stadium
clxvi.	Chrysogonus, Nicene	Stadium
clxvii.	The same, the second time	Stadium
clxviii.	Nicomachus, Philadelphian	Stadium
clxix.	Nicodemus, Lacedemonian	Stadium
clxx.	Simmeus, Seleucian from the Tigris	Stadium
clxxi.	Parmeniscus, Corcyrean	Stadium
clxxii.	Eudamus, Coan	Stadium
	Protophanes the Magnesian in wrestling and the pancratium the fourth from Hercules. [Arm. adds, Magnesian ad Mæandrum Mil. ex Menandra. Ven.]	
clxxiii.	Parmeniscus, Corcyrean, the second time	Stadium
clxxiv.	Demostratus, Larissean. [The Greek is here wanting]	Stadium
clxxv.	Stadium of boys, and Epænetus the Argive conquered. For the men did not contend, because Sylla had called them all to Rome.	
clxxvi.	Dion, Cyparissean	Stadium
clxxvii.	Hecatomnus, Elean	Stadium
clxxviii.	Diocles, Hypepenean	Stadium
	Stratonicus, the son of Corovagus [Gr. Coragus] the Alexandrian, in wrestling and the pancratium the fifth from Hercules. At Nemea, on the same day, he received four crowns of boys and bearded men.*	
	[Thus far the Greek and Armenian; but the Armenian adds a passage variously rendered in the two editions, and to me unintelligible. I therefore add them both without translation. The Venice Edition reads: "gymnicis peractis certaminibus sine equitatione; idque per gratias accidit, sive ad amicos, sive ad reges scribere; unde neque usum (vel equitationem) fieri arbitrati sunt."	
	The Milan Edition renders the Armenian thus: "Et gymnica certamina sine equo peragens, gratiâ amicorum vel regum adsecutus est ut in Album referretur: quare nec egisse *Olympiadem* putabatur."]	
clxxix.	Andreas, Lacedemonian	Stadium
clxxx.	Andromachus, Lacedemonian [Gr. Ambraciote]	Stadium
clxxxi.	Lamachus, Tauromenite	Stadium
clxxxii.	Anthestion, Argive	Stadium
	Marion the son of Marion, Alexandrian, in wrestling and the pancratium, the sixth from Hercules	

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* Gr. ἀγενείων, beardless. "Imberbium."

clxxxiii.	Theodorus, Messenian	Stadium
	Julius Cæsar became monarch of the Romans.	
clxxxiv.	The same Theodorus, the second time.	
	Augustus reigned over the Romans.	
clxxxv.	Ariston, Thurian. [Arm. Thodensis]	Stadium
clxxxvi.	Scamandrus, Alexandrian. [Arm. adds, from Troy]	Stadium
clxxxvii.	Ariston, Thurian, the second time	Stadium
clxxxviii.	Sopater, Argive	Stadium
clxxxix.	Asclepiades, Sicyonian. [Gr. Sidonian]	Stadium
cxc.	Auphidius, Patrian [Gr. Πατρεὺς]	Stadium
cxci.	Diodotus, Tyanean	Stadium
cxcii.	Diophanes, Æolian	Stadium
cxciii.	Artesidorus [Gr. Artemidorus], Thyatirian	Stadium
cxciv.	Dimatrus [Gr. Demaratus], Ephesian	Stadium
cxcv.	The same, the second time	
cxcvi.	Pasenes [Gr. Pammenes] Magnesian from the Mæander	Stadium
cxcvii.	Asiaticus, Halicarnassian	Stadium
cxcviii.	Diophanes, Prusæan [Arm. adds, from Olympia]	Stadium
	Aristeas, the Stratonician or the Mæandrian, in wrestling and the pancratium, the seventh from Hercules.	
	Tiberius reigned over the Romans.	
cxcix.	Æschines the Milesian, the son of Glaucia	Stadium
	The course of horses is renewed, and the four-horse chariot (τέϑριππον) of Tiberius Cæsar conquers.	
cc.	Polemon, Petræan	Stadium
cci.	Damas, Cylonian [Gr. Damasias, Cydoniates]	Stadium
ccii.	Hermogenes, Pergamenian	Stadium
cciii.	Apollonius, Epidaurian	Stadium
cciv.	Sarapion, Alexandrian	Stadium
	Nicostratis, Argian ['Αργέατης] in wrestling and the pancratium, the eighth from Hercules. After him there hath been no one from Hercules to our times, the Eleans having neglected to give the crown even to those who excel in strength.	
	Caius reigned over the Romans.	
ccv.	Eubulidas, Laodicean	Stadium
	Claudius reigned over the Romans.	
ccvi.	Valerius, Mitylenean	Stadium
ccvii.	Athenodorus, Ægiæan	Stadium
ccviii.	The same, the second time	Stadium
	Nero reigned over the Romans.	
ccix.	Callicles, Sidonian	Stadium
ccx.	Athenodorus, Ægiæan	Stadium
ccxi.	This olympiad was not celebrated, Nero having postponed it till he could be present. But it was celebrated two years after. In the stadium, Tryphon the Philadelphian con-	

	quered. Nero was crowned by the heralds, because he conquered the tragic and lyric poets, and in the race of pony chariots and the ten young coursers.	
ccxii.	Polites, Ceramite	Stadium
	Vespasian reigned over the Romans.	
ccxiii.	Rhodon, or Theodorus, Cymæan	Stadium
ccxiv.	Straton, Alexandrian	Stadium
	Titus reigned over the Romans.	
ccxv.	Hermogenes, Xanthian	Stadium
	Domitian reigned over the Romans.	
ccxvi.	Apollophanes, who is also called Papes [Arm. Patis], Tarsian	Stadium
ccxvii.	Hermogenes, Xanthian, the second time	Stadium
ccxviii.	Apollinus [Gr. Apollonius], Alexandrian, or Heliodorus	Stadium
ccxix.	Stephanus, Cappadocian	Stadium
	Nerva reigned over the Romans, after whom Trajan.	
ccxx.	Achilles [Arm. Chilleus], Alexandrian	Stadium
ccxxi.	Theonas, also called Smaragdus, Alexandrian	Stadium
ccxxii.	Callistus, Sidetes	Stadium
	Horses again run.	
ccxxiii.	Eustolus, Sidetes	Stadium
ccxxiv.	Isarion, Alexandrian	Stadium
	Adrian reigned over the Romans.	
ccxxv.	Aristeas, Milesian	Stadium
ccxxvi.	Dionysius Samæus [Gr. Διονύσιος 'Οσαμευμὺς] Alexandrian	Stadium
ccxxvii.	The same, the second time	Stadium
ccxxviii.	Lucas, Alexandrian	Stadium
ccxxix.	Epidaurus, also called Ammonius, Alexandrian	Stadium
	Antoninus Pius reigned over the Romans.	
ccxxx.	Didymus Clideus [Gr. Δίδυμος . . . . . .] Alexandrian	Stadium
ccxxxi.	Cranaus, Sicyonian	Stadium
ccxxxii.	Atticus, Sardian	Stadium
	In the Pancratium enrolled by the Eleans, he was crowned by Dionysius, the son of Seleucius.	
	Such is the Armenian, but the Greek is very different. "Socrates in wrestling and the pancratium, being enregistered by the Eleans, was prevented from receiving the crown, or defrauded of the crown (παρεϐραβεύϑη) by Dionysius the Seleucian." The name of Socrates is omitted in the Armenian; and after the name of Atticus, instead of Sardianus it reads Vardianus	
ccxxxiii.	Demetrius, Chian	Stadium
ccxxxiv.	Heras, Chian	Stadium
ccxxxv.	Mnasibulus, Elatean, [Gr. 'Ερατεὺς]	Stadium
	Verus and Antoninus reigned over the Romans.	
ccxxxvi.	Aithales, Alexandrian	Stadium
ccxxxvii.	Eudæmon, Alexandrian	Stadium

ccxxxviii.	Agathopus [Gr. Απινίτης or Αιγινήτης, as corrected by Scaliger], Æginean	Stadium
ccxxxix.	The same, the second time.	
	Comodus reigned over the Romans.	
ccxl.	Anubion, also called Phidus, Alexandrian	Stadium
ccxli.	Heron, Alexandrian	Stadium
ccxlii.	Magnus, Lybian, Cyrenean. [Gr. Magnes Cyrenean.]	Stadium
ccxliii.	Sidorus, called also Artemidorus [Gr. Isidorus], Alexandrian	Stadium
	Pertinax, and then Severus, reigned over the Romans.	
ccxliv.	The same, the second time.	
ccxlv.	Alexander, Alexandrian	Stadium
ccxlvi.	Epenicus [Gr. Epinicius], the Cyzicene, who is also called Cynas	Stadium
ccxlvii.	Saturninus, Cretian. [Gr. Σατορνίος Ven. Σατορνίλος Mil. Gortynian]	Stadium
	Antoninus Caracallus, Ven. Antoninus Bassianus, Mil. reigned over the Romans.	
ccxlviii.	Heliodorus, who is also called Trosidamas, Alexandrian	Stadium
ccxlix.	The same, the second time	

Thus far, we have found the Register of the Olympiads.

§ III.—Having thus shown at what period of the solar year the Olympic Games were celebrated, and given an authentic register of the olympiads, from the first to the two hundredth and forty-ninth, a period of 996 years, we proceed now, in the third section, to show the method by which these ancient dates are adjusted to the modern computation of time. This is done partly by historic testimony, and partly by astronomical computation.

And first, as to historic testimony. A small book, written by the grammarian Censorinus, in the year of the vulgar æra 238, has come down to our times, in which, under the modest title of "The Birth-day," he discusses many points of great importance, and, especially, exhibits uncommon accuracy in the adjustment of dates. It was printed for the first time at Bologna, in 1497;* afterwards at Venice, by Aldus, in 1581; at Leyden, by Lindenbrog, in 1642, reprinted with additional notes at Cambridge in 1695; at Leyden, by Havercamp, in 1743, reprinted, or with a new title page, in 1767; and, finally, at Nuremberg, by Gruber, in 1805. From this work we proceed to give a translation of the twenty-first chapter, according to the Cambridge edition.

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* In the library of Count Boutourlin, at Florence, there is, or was, a copy of Censorinus, marked in the catalogue 684, without date, which may possibly be older than the Bologna edition. It appears from the type to have been printed at Venice, by Bernardinus de Vitalibus. See Catalogue de la Bibl. de S. E. le Comte D. Boutourlin par Mr. Audin. Florence, 1831.

Caput XXI.

Nunc vero id intervallum temporis tractabo, quod *ἱστορικὸν* Varro appellat. Hic enim tria discrimina temporum esse tradit. Primum, ab hominum principio ad cataclysmum priorem: quod propter ignorantiam vocetur *ἄδηλον*. secundum, a cataclysmo priore ad olympiadem primam; quod quia in eo multa fabulosa referuntur, *μυθικὸν* nominatur: tertium, à prima olympiade ad nos, quod dicitur *ἱστορικὸν*, quia res in eo gestæ veris historiis continentur. Primum tempus, sive habuit initium, sive semper fuit, certe quot annorum sit non potest comprehendi: secundum non plane quidem scitur, sed tamen ad mille circiter et DC annos esse creditur, a priore scilicet cataclysmo, quem Ogygium dicunt, ad Inachi regnum, anni circiter CCCC. hinc ad Olympiadem primam paullo plus CCCC.* Quos solos, quamvis mythici temporis postremos, tamen quia à memoria scriptorum proximos, quidam certius definire voluerunt. Et quidem Sosibius scripsit esse CCCXCV. Eratosthenes autem, septem et CCCC. Timæus CCCCXVII. Aretes DXIIII. et præterea multi di-

I come now to treat of that interval of time which Varro calls historic. For he states that there are three divisions of time; the first from the beginning of mankind to the former deluge, which on account of our ignorance may be called *obscure*; the second, from the former deluge to the first olympiad, which, because many fabulous things are related in it, may be called *fabulous*; the third, from the first olympiad to our days, which is called *historic*, because the transactions in it are contained in true histories. The first time, whether it had a beginning or was everlasting, certainly cannot be comprehended by us, as to the number of its years. The second, though not plainly known, is believed to have been about sixteen hundred years; that is, from the former deluge, called the deluge of Ogyges, to the reign of Inachus, about 400 years, thence to the first Olympiad, a little more than 400.* These alone, though the last of the fabulous period of time, some have wished to define with greater accuracy, only because they were nearer to the memory of historians. In particular, Sosibius hath written that they were 395 years, but Eratosthenes, 407; Timæus, 417; Aretes, 514; and many others diffe-

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* The text is here evidently incorrect.

verse, quorum etiam ipsa dissensio incertum esse declarat. De tertio autem tempore fuit quidem aliqua inter auctores dissensio, in sex septemve tantummodo annis versata. Sed hoc, quodcumque caliginis, Varro discussit; et pro cætera sua sagacitate, nunc diversarum civitatium conferens tempora, nunc defectus, eorumque intervalla retro dinumerans, eruit verum, lucemque ostendit, per quam numerus certus non annorum modo, sed et dierum perspici possit. Secundum quam rationem, nisi fallor, hic annus, cujus velut index et titulus quidam est, Ulpii et Pontiani consulatus, ab Olympiade prima millesimus est et quartus decimus, ex diebus duntaxat æstivis, quibus agon Olympicus celebratur, a Roma autem condita DCCCCXCI, et quidem ex Parilibus, unde urbis anni numerantur. Eorum vero annorum, quibus Julianis nomen est, CCLXXXIII, sed ex die Kal. Jan. unde Julius Cæsar anni à se constituti fecit principium. At eorum, qui vocantur anni Augustorum CCLXV, perinde ex Kal. Jan. quamvis ex ante diem decimum sextum Kal. Februarii Imperator Cæsar, D.F.* sententia L. Munatii Planci, a Senatu, cæterisque civibus, Augustus appellatus est, se VII, et M. Vipsanio Agrippa III. Coss. Sed Ægyptii, quod biennio ante in po-

rently. The very disagreement of these writers shows that the matter itself is uncertain. Concerning the third period of time, there was also some disagreement among authors, turning, however, upon six or seven years only. But this obscurity, whatever it was, Varro dissipated; and with his usual sagacity, at one time comparing the computations of time of different nations, at another, counting backward the eclipses and their intervals, he has detected the truth, and exhibited a light by which the certain number, not of years only, but also of days, may be clearly seen. According to which computation, if I mistake not, this year, of which the index and title is the consulship of Ulpius and Pontianus, is the thousand and fourteenth from the first Olympiad, at least from the summer season in which the Olympic contest is celebrated; from the building of Rome the 991st, that is from the parilia (April 21) whence the years of the city are reckoned; but of those years to which the name of Julian is given the 283rd, reckoning from the first of January, which Julius Cæsar made the beginning of the year constituted by him. Of those years which are called Augustan, the 265th, commencing also with the first of January, although the Emperor Cæsar, the son of Julius,* on the motion of L. Munatius Plancus, received the title of Augustus from the Senate and the rest of the citizens on the 16th before

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* D. F. stands for *Divi filius*, the Son of the God; the Romans having deified Julius Cæsar.

testatem ditionemque Pop. Rom. venerunt, habent hunc Augustorum annum CCLXVII. , Nam, ut à nostris, ita ab Ægyptiis, quidam anni in literas relati sunt, ut quos Nabonnazaru nominant, quod a primo Imperii ejus anno consurgunt, quorum hic DCCCC. LXXXVI. Item Philippi, qui ab excessu Alexandri Magni numerantur, et ad hunc usque perducti, annos DLXII consummant. Sed horum initia semper a primo die mensis ejus sumuntur, cui apud Ægyptios nomen est Thoth. quique hoc anno fuit ante diem VII. Kal. Jul. cum abhinc annos centum, Imperatore Antonino Pio II, et Bruttio Præsente Coss. iidem dies fuerint ante diem XII Kal. August. quo tempore solet canicula in Ægypto facere exortum. Quare scire etiam licet, anni illius magni, qui, ut supra dictum est, et solaris, et canicularis, et Dei annus vocatur, nunc agi vertentem annum centesimum.* Initia autem istorum annorum propterea notavi, ne quis eos aut ex Kal. Jan. aut ex alio aliquo tempore simili putaret incipere; cum his conditorum voluntates, non minus diversæ sint, quam opiniones philosophorum. Idcirco aliis a novo sole,

the kalends of February (Jan. 17) in the year when he the seventh time, and M. Vipsanius Agrippa the third, were consuls. But the Egyptians consider this as the 267th of the Augustan years, because they came under the power and dominion of the Roman people two years before. For among the Egyptians, as well as among us, certain years are used in their documents as dates. Such are those which they call the years of Nabonnazar, because they begin with the first year of his reign; of these this is the 986th. Also the years of Philip, which are counted from the death of Alexander the Great, and being brought down to this present year complete 562 years. But the beginnings of these years are always taken from the first day of that month which the Egyptians call Thoth, and which this year was on the seventh before the kalends of July (June 25) whereas, a hundred years ago, when the emperor Antoninus Pius the second time, and Bruttius Præsens, were consuls, the same days were on the twelfth before the kalends of August (July 21), at which time occurs the rising of the dog-star in Egypt. Wherefore it is evident that the current year is the hundredth of that great year which is called, as before said, both solar and canicular, and the year of God.* I

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* Censorinus here refers to the following passage in the 18th chapter of his work: "Ad Ægyptiorum vero annum magnum luna non pertinet, quem Græce *κυνικὸν*, Latine, Canicularem, vocamus, propterea quod initium illius sumitur, cum primo die ejus mensis, quem vocant Ægyptii Thoth, Caniculæ sidus exoritur. Nam eorum annus civilis solos habet dies CCCLXV, sine ullo interkalari. Itaque quadriennium apud eos uno circiter die minus est, quam naturale quadriennium: eoque fit, ut anno MCCCCLXI ad idem revolvatur principium. Hic annus etiam *ἡλιακὸς* a quibusdam dicitur; et ab aliis *ὁ θεοῦ ἐνιαυτός*." In the present chapter he

id est a bruma, aliis ab æstivo solstitio, plerisque ab æquinoctio verno, partim ab autumno æquinoctio, quibusdam ab ortu vergiliarum, nonnullis ab earum occasu, multis a canis exortu, incipere annus naturalis videtur.

have especially noted the beginnings of all these years, lest any one should suppose them to begin on the first of January or other similar time; whereas the wills of the founders [of these calendars] were, in these matters, no less various than the opinions of philosophers. To some, therefore, the natural year seems to begin with the new sun, that is, from the winter; to others, from the summer solstice; to many, from the vernal equinox; and to a part, from the autumnal equinox; to some, from the rising of the Pleiads; to others, from their setting; and to many, from the rising of the dog-star.

This passage is the more important, because the author founds his statement on the computations of Varro. Unfortunately, the works of Varro are lost; but the account which Censorinus here gives, plainly shows that Varro's computations were made with great care, by the collation of historic proofs, and the calculation of eclipses. Varro was the contemporary of Cicero; and the praises bestowed upon him by the great orator, show the high estimation he was held in by his countrymen for accuracy, integrity, and learning. "We were like travellers and strangers in our own city," he exclaims to Varro, "when your books brought us home, as it were, and showed us our place and origin. You have disclosed to us the age of our country, the arrangement of times, the laws of our religion and priesthood, civil and military discipline, the position of places and countries, the names, the classifications, the operations, and the causes of all things, divine and human; you have shed the greatest light upon our poets, and upon Latin literature in general."[1]

Relying on the computations of such an author, Censorinus informs us, that the year in which he wrote, that is, the consulship of Ulpius and Pontianus, was

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asserts that this great Egyptian Canicular year began on the 21st of July in the year when Antoninus Pius II. and Bruttius Præsens were consuls, and that the year in which he wrote was the hundredth from that time.

[1] Cic. Acad. lib. i. 3.

First, reckoning from the summer solstice, when the Olympic Games were celebrated, the thousand and fourteenth year from the first olympiad of Iphitus; in other words, the second year of the 254th olympiad. He says this expressly in the eighteenth chapter: "Now among them (the Greeks) the 254th olympiad is reckoned, of which this is the second year."[1]

Secondly, reckoning from the Parilia, or the 21st of April, it was the 991st year of Rome.

Thirdly, reckoning from the kalends, or 1st day of January, it was the 283rd year of the reformed Julian calendar, of which we shall speak hereafter.

Fourthly, reckoning also from the 1st of January, it was the 265th year from that in which the title of Augustus was conferred upon the emperor by the senate and Roman people.

Fifthly, the same year was, by the Egyptians, called the 267th year of Augustus, reckoning from the 1st day of their month Thoth, because they dated from the year in which they became a Roman province.

Sixthly, as the Egyptians computed according to the æra of Nabonnassar, reckoning from the 1st day of Thoth, it was the 986th year of that period.

Seventhly, reckoning from the 1st day of Thoth, that year completed the five hundred and sixty-second from the death of Alexander the Great; and the 1st day of Thoth fell on the 25th of June in the year when Censorinus wrote.

But, lastly, in the year when Antonius Pius II and Bruttius Præsens were consuls, the 1st of Thoth fell on the 21st of July, and then commenced the great Egyptian period of 1461 years, of which the year then current was the hundredth.

These particulars will serve as a key for the adjustment of ancient chronology; but the application of it must be deferred until the several computations of time which he has thus compared have been considered. The remainder of this chapter will, therefore, be occupied in showing the adjustment derived from astronomical computation.

Diodorus Siculus states, that when Pythodorus was archon at

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[1] Et nunc apud eos ducentesima quinquagesima quarta olympias numeratur ejusque annus hic secundus.

Athens, and T. Quintius and T. Menenius Agrippa consuls at Rome, the eighty-seventh olympiad was celebrated by the Eleans, in which Sophron, the Ambraciote, conquered in the stadium. He adds, in the same paragraph, that "Thucydides the Athenian, beginning his history from this time, wrote of the war carried on by the Athenians against the Lacedemonians, which is called the Peloponnesian."[1]

If the reader now turns to the preceding list of olympiads, he will see that the Greek text accords with Diodorus in the name of the victor, and that the commencement of the Peloponnesian war is there recorded.

Thucydides himself states, that the war began "when Pythodorus had yet two months to remain archon at Athens, in the sixth month after the battle at Potidæa, and in the very beginning of the spring."[2] The war commenced therefore, as I have before had occasion to remark, towards the close of the first year of the 87th olympiad. "During the same summer," he elsewhere observes, "on the first day of the lunar month, for then only does it seem to be possible, there was an eclipse of the sun in the afternoon. The stars appeared, and the sun, after becoming like a moon, recovered its splendour."[3]

All this is verified by astronomical calculation. The eclipse took place in the 4283rd year of the Julian period,* on Wednesday the third day of August; and the moon changed at Athens one minute and three seconds after three o'clock in the afternoon. A little more than eight digits were covered by the shadow, and the eclipse continued two hours and eleven minutes. Eighty-six whole olympiads, or 344 years, had preceded, and the first year of the eighty-seventh olympiad, ending about the last of June preceding the eclipse. Deducting, therefore, these 345 years from 4283, it brings the beginning of the first olympiad to about the first of July in the year 3938 of the Julian period.

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[1] Biblioth. lib. xii. sect. 37. Ed. Wesseling, tom. i. p. 502.

[2] Hist. lib. ii. 2.

[3] Ib. lib. ii. 28.

* The Julian period is a fictitious æra, invented by Joseph Scaliger, to serve as a general measure of time, because it embraces a longer period than the duration of the world according to the chronology of the Hebrew Bible. It was produced by multiplying the lunar into the solar cycle, and these again by the cycle of the indictions, thus: 19 × 28 × 15 = 7980. The first year of Christ, according to the Dionysian or common æra, was the 4714th year of this period. A fuller account of the Julian period will be given in its proper place.

Thucydides mentions another solar eclipse, which took place just at the beginning of the eighth year of the Peloponnesian war.[1] This, by astronomical calculation, is found to have been on Wednesday the 21st of March, in the year 4290 of the Julian period. If the war began in the spring preceding the second year of the eighty-seventh olympiad, then the seventh year ended, and the eighth began, in the spring preceding the eighty-ninth olympiad; and the solar eclipse, being on the 21st of March, was more than three months before the expiration of the fourth year of the eighty-eighth olympiad, that is (88×4=352) before the close of the 352nd year. This sum being subtracted from 4290, gives 3938 as the beginning of the olympiads.

In perfect accordance with this computation, is the fact mentioned in the fifth book of his history, that early in the twelfth year of the war, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was entered into by the Athenians, Argives, Eleans, and Mantineans. One of its articles was, that the Athenians should renew their oaths at Elis, Mantinea, and Argos, *thirty days before the Olympic Games;* and another, that the transactions should be recorded on a pillar of stone, and a brazen pillar be erected at Olympia, at the common expense, ’Ολυμπίοις τοῖς νυνί, *during the Olympic Games now to take place.* He then adds: "The Olympics were celebrated this summer, at which Androsthenes the Arcadian conquered the first time in the pancratium."[2]

If the eighth year of the war began in the spring preceding the eighty-ninth olympiad, then the twelfth year of the war began in the spring preceding the ninetieth olympiad. Diodorus Siculus states, that "when Aristophulus was archon of Athens, and Lucius Quintius and Aulus Sempronius were consuls at Rome, the Eleans celebrated the ninetieth olympiad, in which Hyperbius the Syracusan conquered in the stadium."[3] This agrees with the register given by Eusebius; but, in that register, the Pancratian victor is not usually named, unless when, like Hercules, he had previously conquered in wrestling. Pausanias incidentally mentions Androsthenes as having been twice the pancratiastes, or victor in the pancratium;[4] and here Thucydides states that he conquered the first time at the 90th olympiad. This olympiad then took place about four years and three months after the last mentioned eclipse, consequently at the end of June or beginning of July in the year 4294 of the Julian period. Eighty-nine solid olympiads, or (89 × 4) 356 solid years had preceded it. Deducting these from 4294, we obtain the same result,—that the first olympiad was celebrated the last of June or beginning of July A.J.P. 3938.

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[1] Lib. iv. 52. [2] Lib. v. 40-49. [3] Biblioth. lib. xii. sec. 77. Ed. Wess. tom. i. p. 532.
[4] Lib. vi. cap. vi. Lipsiæ, 1696, p. 465.

Thucydides further mentions a very remarkable lunar eclipse in the nineteenth year of the Peloponnesian war. The Athenians, under Nicias, were preparing to embark by night, near Syracuse, when at the very moment of being ready to sail they were terrified, and induced to abandon their purpose, by an eclipse of the moon.[1]

The disastrous consequences of this delay to Nicias and the Athenians, caused Plutarch to make this eclipse the subject of much reflection in his life of Nicias. It is also mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, who places it in the fourth year of the 91st olympiad, when Cleocritus was archon of Athens.[2] By the astronomical tables for that meridian, it began at Syracuse a little after ten o'clock P.M., lasted three hours and forty-eight minutes, and ended at nearly two o'clock in the morning of August 28th in the year 4301 of the Julian period. There were fifteen digits eclipsed; so that we need not wonder at the consternation it produced, or the notice taken of it by ancient historians. If the first year of the Peloponnesian war coincided with the year 4283 of the Julian period, then, by adding eighteen solid years [$4283+18=4301$] we are brought to the 4301st year as being the nineteenth; and if it was in the fourth year of the 91st olympiad, then $90 \times 4+3=363$ will give the number of solid years which preceded it. These subtracted from 4301, give the year 3938 of the Julian period as the first year, reckoning from midsummer, of the first olympiad. And as the first of January of the year 4714 of the Julian period coincides with the beginning of the common Christian æra, by subtracting 3938 from that number, it appears that the first olympiad commenced in the 776th year before Christ, according to the computation of time now in use.

I have been the more particular in exhibiting the proofs concerning the date of the first olympiad, because it is in fact, as

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[1] Lib. vii. 50.

[2] Bibl. lib. xiii. sec. 12. Ed. Wess. tom. i. p. 551.

Petavius calls it, the torch-light of ancient history. For the more complete satisfaction, therefore, of the scientific reader, I conclude the present chapter by copying from Petavius the calculations of the several eclipses therein mentioned.[1]

☉ 15.

Calculus Novilunii ecliptici, quod contigit anno Periodi Julianæ 4283, *anni belli Peloponnesiaci, ut refert Thucyd. lib.* II. *anno mundi* 3553.
Aureus Numerus VIII. *Cyclus Solis* XXVII. *B.*

Novilunium medium Lutetiæ contigit Augusti III. feria IV. hora 8, 52′ 40″. Athenis hora 10, 44′ 40″ ad quod tempus æquales motus isti colliguntur.

Longit. Solis.				Anom. Solis.				Anom. Lunæ.				Motus latit.			
S.	G.	′	″	S.	G.	′	″	S.	G.	′	″	S.	G.	′	″
4	6	14	0	2	5	18	52	2	19	55	3	5	22	34	42

Prosthaphæresis { Lunæ 4 52′ 16″ s Solis 1 49 52 s }	Differentia 3 2′ 24″	Temp. hor. 5 59′ 26″
Anomalia { Lunæ 2 23 11′ 1″ Solis 2 5 33 38	Prosth. 4 55′ 13″ Prosth. 1 50 6 } Diff. 3 5′ 11″	Hora 6 4′ 38″

Novilunium verum Augusti III. feria 4, hora 16, 49′ 18″ Athenis.

Medius locus tempore veræ conjunctionis, Sign. 4 6 28′ 56″.

Verus locus Sign. 4 4 38′ 50″ Subtrahenda itaque 9′ 28″, ut sit novilunium verum physico tempore hora 16 39′ 38″.

Ascensio veri loci Sign. 4 6′ 59″ ad quæ, quoniam novilunium Athenis meridie posterius est horis 4 40′, gradus adjiciendi sunt 70. Ascensio recta meridianæ sectionis Sign. 6 16′ 59″, in Libræ gradu 18 24′.

Altitudo solis 26 24′. Angulus longitudinis 42 44′. Latitudinis 47 16′

Parallaxis { Longitudinem 34′ 37″
Athenis in { Latitudinem 37 27

Motus horarius verus 30′ 8″. Ita Scrupula 34′ 30″ conficit. Luna spatio horæ 1 9′. Apparens ergo Novilunium hora 17 48′ 38″.

Parallaxis ad tempus apparentis { Longitudinis 36′ 13″
{ Latitudinis 41 23

Differentia parallaxeon longitudinis 1′ 36″ auferenda de priore.

Igitur Scrupula 33′ 0″ apparente motu Luna peragrat spatio unius horæ, et scrup. 9′. Unde scrupula 35′ 0″ percurret intervallo hora, 1 13′ 0″.

Novilunium visum Athenis hora 17 52′ 38″. Motus latitudinis peræquatus ad tempus apparentis, Sign. 5 26 30′ 35″.

Anomalia Lunæ coæquata, 2 23 47′ 45″. Prosthaph. 4 55′ 39″ s.

Verus motus latitudinis Sign. 5 21 35′.

Latitudo vera 43′ 37″ borea.

Deducta parallaxi de vera latitudine, restat apparens 2′ 15″.

Semidiametri { Lunæ 13′ 31″
{ Solis 15 26 } Summa 28′ 49″

Detracta apparenti latitudine de summa semidiametrorum restant 26′ 34″. Ergo,

DIGITI ECLIPTICI 10 25.

Quadratum semidiametrorum Solis et Lunæ 2989441″ } Differentia 2971216″
Qaudratum latitudinis apparentis . . 18225 }

Radix quadrata 1722′, sive 28′ 42″ quæ sunt incidentiæ scrupula. Parallaxis una circiter hora ante apparentem synodum est 34′ 30″. Sub apparentem vero, 36′. Differentia est 2′ 0″, quæ detracta de motu horario vero, qui est 30′ 8″, relinquit motum apparentem horarium 28′ 0″.

Ergo tempus incidentiæ est horæ I. ferè. Parallaxis ad horam I. post apparentem minuitur, estque scrupul. 35′. Differentia 1′, quoad motum horarium verum addendum est: ut sit scrupulorum 32′ 8″ motus horarius apparens. Ita scrupula emersionis 27′ 35″, peragrantur hora 0 54′ 15″.

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[1] See De Doc. Temp. Lib. viii. cap. 13, ed. Ant. 1703, fol. tom. i. pp. 491-3.

Initium eclipsis visæ Athenis, hora 16 53′ 38″
Medium . . . . hora 17 52 38 } Post mediam
Finis . . . . . hora 18 47 53 } noctem.
Duratio . . . . hora 1 54 15

Occidit Sol Athenis hora post meridiem 7. Ergo quadrante circiter ante occasum, Sol penitus emersit.

Examen Novilunii ecliptici.

Distat apparens a vera syzygia hora 1 14′ 0″. Parallaxis ad tempus apparentis est 36′ 13″. Motus horarius verus est 30′ 8″. Igitur hora 1 14′ dant scrupula ferè 37′.

☼ 16.

Calculus Novilunii ecliptici, quod incidit anno Periodi Julianæ 4290, *anno octavo belli Peloponnesiaci. Aureus Numerus* XV. *Cyclus Solis* VI. G.

Novilunium medium Lutetiæ contigit Martii XXI. feria 4, hora post mediam noctem 21 5′, Athenis hora 22 57′. Ad quod tempus hi motus æquales sunt.

Longit. Solis.	Anom. Solis.	Anom. Lunæ.	Motus latitu.
S. G. ′ ″ 11 22 59 17	S. G. ′ ″ 9 21 57 21	S. G. ′ ″ 1 6 53 12	S. G. ′ ″ 5 17 35 37
Prosthaphæresis {Solis 2 55′ 17″ S Lunæ 1 52 17 A}	Summa 4 27′ 34″	Tempus horæ 9 26′	
Anomalia {Solis S. G. ″ ″ 9 22 20 36 Lunæ 1 12 1 19	Prost. 1 52′ 0″ A Prost. 3 15 42 S	Summa 5 7′ 42″	Horæ 10 6 A

Novilunium exactum Martii xxi. feria 4, hora 9 3′ a media nocte.

Medius Solis locus 11 23 24′ 59″.

Solis locus verus in gradu 25 16′ 59″ Piscium.

Ob æquationem dierum subtrahuntur scrupula 1 36′, ut sit Novilunium hor. 9 1′ 24″.

Ascensio recta veri loci, Sign. 11 25 40′ antecedit meridiem horis 3.

Deductis ergo grad. 45, remanet ascensio meridianæ sectionis in Sign. 10 10 40′, id est Aquarii gradu 8 14′

Parallaxis ad tempus veræ {Longitudinis 15′ 0″
Latitudinis 44 30

Motus horarius verus est 28′. Itaque scrupula 15′, exigunt hor. 0 32′.

Apparens conjunctio hora 8 29′ 24″, post mediam noctem diei XXI Martii.

Parallaxis tempore apparentis in {Longitudinem 19′ 17″
Latitudinem 47 12

Differentia parallaxeon longitudinis ad tempus veræ et apparentis, 4′.

Ergo scrupul. 15′ exigunt horam 0 44′. Novilunium apparens hora 8 17′ 24′.

Parallaxis denuò {Longitudinis 22′ 0″
Latitudinis 48 14

Motus latitudinis peræquatus ad tempus apparentis est 5 22 50′ 56″.

Motus verus 5 19 35′ 11″. Latitudo vera 53′ 54″. Detracta parallaxi, fit apparens latitudo 5′ 40″ borea.

Semidiametri {Solis 15′ 19″
Lunæ 13 1 } Summa 28′ 20″

Deducta apparenti latitudine de summa semidiametrorum, restant 22′ 40″.

DIGITI ECLIPTICI. 9.

Quadratum summæ semidiametrorum 2890000″ }
Quadratum latitudinis apparentis 115600 } Differentia 2774400″

Radix differentiæ 1665″, sive 27′ 45″.

Parallaxis una hora ante apparentem major est ea, quæ tempore apparentis exstitit, scrupul. 4′. At una post apparentem hora minor est scrup. 8′. Itaque motus horarius apparens ante oppositionem apparentem est 24′: post apparentem 20′. Proinde incidentia postulat horam 1 10′. Emersio horam 1 24.

Initium defectionis Athenis	hora 7 7′ 24″	Post mediam noctem.
Medium	hora 8 17 24	
Finis	hora 9 41 24	
Duratio	hora 2 34 0	

⊙ 8.

Calculus Plenilunii ecliptici, quod anno Periodi Julianæ 4301, *Mundi* 3571, *contigit, belli Peloponnesiaci* XIX. *Aureus numerus* VII. *Cyclus Solis* XVII. A. G.

Plenilunium medium Lutetiæ Augusti XXVIII. feria 3, hora 10 58′ 27″ accidit. Syracusis vero hora 12 1′ 27″ ad quod tempus hi motus æquales eruuntur.

Longit. Solis.	Anom. Solis.	Anom. Lunæ.	Motus latitud.
S. G. ′ ″ 5 1 35 33	S. G. ′ ″ 3 0 21 52	S. G. ′ ″ 8 29 56 55	S. G. ′ ″ 0 7 27 28
Prosthaphæresis	Solis 2 2′ 43″ s Lunæ 4 58 22 A	Summa 7 1′ 5″	Tempus horæ 13 49′ s
Anomalia	Solis 2 29 47′ 49″ Lunæ 8 22 25 37	Prosth. 2 2′ 40″ s Prosth. 4 56 54 A	Sum. 6 59′ 34″ Hor. 13 46′ s

Plenilunium verum Syracusis Augusti XXVII, feria 2, hora post mediam noctem 22 15′ 27″.

Medius Solis locus tempore veræ Sign. 5 1 1′ 38″.

Verus locus 4 28 58′ 54″. Subtrahenda itaque de tempore Novilunii veri scrupula 8′ 36″: ut fiat apparenti tempore hora 22 6′ 51″.

Semidiametri {Lunæ 17′ 3″
Umbræ 44 15} Summa 61′ 18″

Motus latitudinis medius ad veræ tempus Sign. 11 29 52′ 9″.
Verus Motus Sign. 0 4 47′ 3″. Latitudo Lunæ, 24′ 51″.
Differentia latitudinis, et summæ semidiametrorum 36′ 42″.
Ergo, DIGITI ECLIPTICI 13 ferè.

Quadratum semidiametrorum 13527684″
Quadratum latitudinis est 2223081 } Differentia 11304603″.

Radix 3362″, sive 56′ 2″.
Motus horarius verus est scrupul. 31′. Ergo scrupula 57′ peragrat hora 1 48′.
Tanta est incidentia cui par est emersio.

Differentia semidiametrorum umbræ et Lunæ, 27′ 12″, cujus quadratum 2663424.″ Differentia hujus et quadrati latitudinis 440343″. Radix differentiæ 663′, sive 11′ 3″. Tanta est mora dimidia, cui quidem ratione motus horarii veri tribuuntur scrupula horaria 21′ 20″. Tota ergo mora tenuit horam 0 42′ 40″.

		′ ″	
Initium defectionis	hora	8 27 27	post meridiem.
Medium	hora	10 15 27	
Finis	hora	11 55 27	
Obscurari tota cœpit	hora	9 54 7	
Morari in umbra desiit	hora	10 35 47	
Mora integra tenuit	horam	0 42 40	
Eclipsis verò tota	horas	3 20 0	

Examen calculi veræ Oppositionis.

	S.	G.	′	″	
Medius locus solis	5	1	1	38	
Media Lunæ distantia	5	23	0	27	A.
Medius Lunæ locus	10	24	2	5	
Prosthaphæresis Lunæ	0	4	56	54	A.
Verus Lunæ locus	10	28	58	59	
Locus Solis verus	4	28	58	58	S.
Residuum	6	0	0	1	

CHAPTER II.

YEAR IN WHICH ROME WAS FOUNDED.

Difficulty from the disagreement of ancient authors.—Testimony of the Greek historians—Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch.—Testimony of the Latin historians.—Fragments of Fabius Pictor, Livy, Velleius Paterculus, Eutropius.—All the discordant dates reduced to two.—Illustrated by a table.—Preference given to the computation of Varro.

FOLLOWING the order of Censorinus, we come now to consider in what year Rome was founded. And here we are met by a difficulty which does not exist with regard to the olympiads; for we find ancient authors of acknowledged authority disagreeing in their testimony.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who flourished about the time of our Saviour's birth—for he published his history in the 193rd olympiad,—speaks thus of the conflicting opinions of more ancient authors: "Timæus the Sicilian, using I know not what measure of time, asserts that its foundation was contemporaneous with that of Carthage, in the thirty-eighth year before the first olympiad. Lucius Cincius, on the other hand, a man of senatorial dignity, asserts that it was founded about the fourth year of the twelfth olympiad [and Quintus Fabius, in the first year of the eighth olympiad.]* But Porcius Cato, though he defines it by no Greek computation of time, yet, being second to no one as a careful collector of archæological history, affirms that it took place in the 432nd year after the destruction of Troy. This date, being measured by the chronographical tables of Eratosthenes, coincides with the first year of the seventh olympiad. That the canons which Eratosthenes used were sound, and how Roman dates may be adjusted to the Grecian, has been shown by me in another treatise;* for I did not see fit, like Polybius of Megalopolis, to say this only, I am persuaded that Rome was founded about the second year of the seventh olympiad, nor to adhere without examination to the sole authority of the tables of the Anchisenses; but to submit the reasons I have advanced to all who desire to examine them. In that treatise, therefore, an accurate account was given in detail. In the present work will be stated only what is most necessary, as follows:—

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* The passage enclosed in brackets is not in the editions of Dionysius; but it is preserved by Eusebius, and is found also in the Vatican manuscript of Dionysius. The Armenian translation of Eusebius reads, by an evident error, Erintus Fabius. See the Milan edition of the Chronicon of Eusebius, p. 208, and the Venice edition, vol. i. p. 383.

"The expedition of the Gauls, when they captured the city of the Romans, took place, as all authors agree, when Pyrgion was archon of Athens, in the first year of the ninety-eighth olympiad. The time previous to this capture being carried back to Lucius Junius Brutus and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus, the first consuls in Rome after the subversion of the kings, embraces one hundred and twenty years. This is evident, as well from many other sources, as from the so-called records of the censors, which are transmitted from father to son, and are highly valued as sacred inheritances. Of these censorial families there are many illustrious men who have carefully preserved them. I find in these that a census was taken by the Roman people, the second year before the capture, in which, among other things, the following date is recorded: 'Lucius Valerius Potitus, and Titus Manlius Capitolinus being consuls, in the hundred and nineteenth year after the expulsion of the kings.' We find, therefore, that the Gallic expedition was in the second year after the census, when one hundred and twenty years had been completed. As this interval of time contains thirty olympiads, it necessarily follows, that the first persons appointed consuls held their office when Isagoras was archon of Athens, in the first year of the sixty-eighth olympiad. And if from the expulsion of the kings the time be carried up to Romulus, the first ruler of the city, it will amount to 244 years. This is evident from the succession of the kings, and the number of years during which each held the sovereignty. For Romulus, the founder of the city, reigned thirty-seven years. After his death the city remained without a king one year. Then Numa Pompilius, chosen by the people, reigned 43 years. Tullus Hostilius after Numa, 32 years. Ancus Martius, who succeeded him, 24 years. After Martius, Lucius Tarquinius, surnamed Priscus, 38 years; and Servius Tullius, who succeeded him, 44 years. Servius being taken away, the tyrannical Lucius Tarquinius, surnamed the proud, on account of his contempt of what was just, continued to reign for 25 years. The two hundred and forty-four years held by the kings being summed up, amounting to sixty-one olympiads, it necessarily follows that Romulus, the first ruler of the city, began to reign in the first year of the seventh olympiad, when Charopus was archon of Athens, in the first year of the decennial period. For this the computation of years requires. That each of the kings reigned so many years, has been shown by me in that treatise; but what I have now said concerning the time in which this dominant city was founded, is partly from those who have written before me, and partly from my own researches."[1]

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* That treatise is now unfortunately lost. "It appears from this passage," says Casaubon, "that Dionysius wrote and published on the computation of times. His work is repeatedly mentioned by Clemens Alexandrinus." See Note in Hudson's and Reiske's editions of Dionysius loc. cit. and Clem. Alex. Stromat. lib. i. sec 21. Ed. Potter i. 379.

In this passage Dionysius mentions the persuasion of Polybius that Rome was founded in the second year of the seventh olympiad; and he gently censures that historian for relying too much upon certain tables preserved by the Anchisenses. But Polybius was not alone in this opinion; for it was held also by Diodorus Siculus, who, as he brought down his history to the time of Julius Cæsar's wars in Gaul, must have flourished early in the Augustan age. The passage in which he gives this opinion occurred in one of the lost books; but it is preserved in the Armenian version of the Chronicon of Eusebius, and is as follows:

"*From the seventh book of Diodorus concerning the ancient origin of the Romans.*

"Some historians, writing erroneously, have thought that Rome was founded by Romulus and his companions, who were born of a daughter of Æneas. This is not true; for in the intervening time between Æneas and Romulus there were many kings; and we have discovered that Rome was founded in the second year of the seventh* olympiad; so that this foundation was posterior to the Trojan war more than 433 years[1]."

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[1] Dion. Halic. Antiq. Rom. lib. i. §§ 74, 75.—Ed. Hudson, tom. i. p. 59. Ed. Reiske. tom. i. 187—192.

Diodorus then proceeds to give an account of Æneas and his descendants—fifteen in number; in the course of which he mentions the number of years of each reign. He then gives the same series in the form of a table, also with the length of each reign annexed. As these numbers differ, owing perhaps to the negligence of transcribers, both are here subjoined; together with a third list, in which the largest number in the other two is taken, and which is proved to be correct because it accords with the concluding summary.

	Venice Edition.		Milan	Cor-
	Hist.	Table.	Edition.	rected.
1. Æneas obtained the Latin kingdom three years after the capture of Troy. In the subsequent table he says after the fourth year from the capture of Troy	3	4	3	4
He then reigned three years	3	3	3	3
2. Ascanius his son reigned	38	38	38	38
3. Sylvius, the brother of Ascanius, succeeded him, and reigned (the Milan edition says 49 years, but in the table 28)	29	28	49	29
4. Æneas Sylvius, the son of Sylvius, succeeded, and reigned thirty years or more	30	31	30	31
5. Latinus Sylvius reigned	50	50	50	50
6. Albas Sylvius his son	38	39	38	39
7. Epitus Sylvius	26	26	26	26
8. Capys Sylvius	28	28	28	28
9. Calpetus or Carpentus Sylvius	13	13	13	13
10. Tiberius Sylvius	8	8	8	8
11. Agrippas Sylvius	41	35	41	41
12. Aramulius Sylvius	19	19	19	19
13. Aventius or Aventinus Sylvius	37	37	37	37
14. Procas Sylvius his son	23	23	23	23
15. Amulius, the younger son of Procas, usurped the throne, and reigned till he was killed by Romulus and Remus (the Milan edition says 43 years)	42	42	43	42
Total number of years from the taking of Troy to the foundation of Rome	428	424	449	431

Diodorus, as quoted by Eusebius, then proceeds as follows:

"Romulus founds Rome, and reigns in the seventh olympiad. The years, therefore, from Æneas to Romulus are 448.† But from the capture of Troy are 431 years.

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* The Armenian version here reads, by an evident mistake, the third instead of the seventh olympiad.

[1] Syncellus (Ed. Paris. p. 194, Ed. Venet. p. 155) who has preserved only a portion of this extract, instead of 433 years, reads 430 years. It will be seen by the following computations that the text of Syncellus is the most correct.

† According to the Milan edition, the whole number of years from Æneas to Romulus are 449, but in the table it agrees with the Venice edition.

"From Romulus, who founded Rome, these kings are enumerated.

i.	Romulus	years	xxxviii.
ii.	Numa Pompilius	„	xli.
iii.	Tullus Hostilius [The Milan edition says xxx.]	„	xxxiii.
iv.	Ancus Martius	years	xxxiii.
v.	Tarquinius	„	xxxvii.
vi.	Servilius	„	xlix.
vii.	Tarquinius Superbus	„	xxiv.

"The seven kings of the Romans who succeeded Romulus being brought down to 244 years, ended. From the taking of Troy, therefore, to Romulus were 441 years;* and together all the years are 675."[2]

The Milan editor of the Armenian Eusebius is so perplexed by these numerous errors in dates, that he says he shall leave the whole Ethiopian to be washed by others. Not to engage in so useless a labour, it is sufficient to observe that in the whole number of years in the reigns of the seven kings of Rome, Diodorus agrees with Dionysius. He makes them 244 years; and these being added to 431, the number of years from the taking of Troy to Romulus, make up the whole number of years 675, as above stated. Dionysius also, on the authority of Porcius Cato, places the foundation of Rome in the 432nd year after the destruction of Troy. In other words, 431 solid years intervened. There is, therefore, no real difference between the authorities on which the two historians have founded their computations.

Plutarch, in his life of Romulus, places the date of the building of Rome on the 21st of April, in the third year of the sixth olympiad.

"The day on which the city was founded is universally allowed to be the eleventh before the calends of May [April 21st], and it is annually celebrated as a festival by the Romans, who call it the birth-day of their country. They say that in the beginning they sacrificed no living thing, supposing that they owed it to their country to keep what was surnamed the natal feast pure and unbloody. Nevertheless, before the city was built, they had kept on that same day a pastoral feast, which they called Palilia. At present, the first days of the Roman months do not coincide with the Grecian; but that day in which Romulus founded the city is said to have happened exactly on the Triacas or thirtieth day. It is also said that on the same day there was an ecliptic conjunction of the moon with the sun, which, it is supposed, Antimachus the

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* Instead of 441, it should evidently be 431.

[2] Diod. Sic. apud Euseb. Chron. Ed. Mil. 210-214. Ed. Ven. tom. i. p. 386-392.

Teian poet saw, since it took place IN THE THIRD YEAR OF THE SIXTH OLYMPIAD."

Plutarch then proceeds to state that Varro the philosopher, who was most learned in Roman history, requested his friend Tarrutius, who was both a philosopher and mathematician, to cast the nativity of Romulus. He found that Romulus was conceived in the first year of the second olympiad, on the twenty-third of the month called by the Egyptians Choïak, at the third hour, while the sun was totally eclipsed; that his birth took place about sunrise on the twenty-first of the month Thoth; and that Rome was founded by him between the second and third hour on the ninth of the month Pharmuthi."[1]

Both Scaliger and Petavius agree that the two eclipses mentioned in this vague manner by Plutarch, are entirely fabulous; and though many have attempted to calculate them, they have been found to be utterly irreconcilable with the accurate calculations of modern astronomy.[2]

If we proceed to the Latin historians, we find a similar diversity. Fabius Pictor, the oldest among them, is spoken of with great respect by Cicero, Livy, Pliny, and many later writers. His works are not extant; but in the fragments of this author annexed by Havercamp to his edition of Sallust, occurs the following passage: "Rome was founded in the first year of the eighth olympiad."[3]

Livy, when speaking of the building of the city, does not mention any date; but in a subsequent part of his history he introduces this expression: "It is now, Romans, the three hundred and sixty-fifth year of the city."[4] It occurs in a speech attributed by the historian to Camillus, during the year in which Rome was taken by the Gauls. A little computation will show that this date coincides with the calculations of Dionysius. Livy states that Rome was governed by kings for two hundred and forty-four years.[5] The first consuls, therefore, were created in the 245th year, which sum being deducted from 365, leaves 120 solid years between the expulsion of the kings and the invasion of the Gauls. According to Dionysius, as we have seen, there was no debate as to the time of the latter event. It took place in the first year of the ninety-eighth olympiad. One hundred and twenty years being deducted, which are equal to thirty solid olympiads, the date of the first consulate was, as stated by Dionysius, the first year of the sixty-eighth olympiad. Three hundred and sixty-four years had intervened from the foundation of the city until its occupation by the Gauls. These are equal ($\frac{364}{4}$) to ninety-one olympiads; and this sum subtracted from ninety-seven, leaves six solid olympiads before the foundation of the city.

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[1] Plut. Vitæ. Ed. Bryan, Lond. 1729. vol. i. p. 50-51.

[2] See Pet. de Doc. Temp. lib. ix. c. 50, and especially c. 54.

[3] Anno primo octavæ olympiadis Romam conditam fuisse.

[4] Trecentesimus sexagesimus quintus annus urbis, quirites, agitur. Lib. v. c. 54.

[5] Regnatum Romæ ab condita urbe, ad liberatam, annos ducentos quadraginta quatuor. Lib. i. c. 60.

Velleius Paterculus addressed his history to the consul M. Vinicius Quartinus; and he determines the date both of the consulship of Vinicius, and of his writing, by saying that "Iphitus instituted the olympic games 804 years before you, M. Vinicius, entered upon your consulship."[1] The consulship of M. Vinicius was, therefore, in the 805th year from that of the first olympiad. We have seen that the first olympiad is to be dated from about the first of July in the year 3938 of the Julian period. Add to this sum 804 years, and we have the year of the consulship of Vinicius A. J. P. 4742. Divide 804 by 4, and we have 201 solid olympiads. The consulship of Vinicius, therefore, was in the first year of the 202nd olympiad. But Velleius, as we shall soon see, confounded the olympic years, beginning at the summer solstice, with the Roman, which began on the first of January.

"In the sixth olympiad," continues Velleius, "two-and-twenty years after the first was instituted, Romulus, the son of Mars, having avenged the wrongs of his grandfather, founded the city of Rome, on the feast of the Parilia,* upon the Palatian hill; from which time to you, consuls, are 783 years. That event took place 437 years after Troy was captured."[2]

This author has suffered much, as to his dates, by the careless ness or presumption of transcribers. Hence there are great differences in the printed editions. In this passage, for example, the Editio princeps reads 823 instead of 804, and 981 for 783. The Basil edition reads 985, and the edition of Ruhnken (*Leyden*, 1779) has 782. We shall see hereafter that the consulship of Vinicius continued only for the last six months of the fourth year of the 201st olympiad,—that is, from January to July A.J.P. 4742. On the 1st of July, L. Nævius Surdinus was substituted instead of M. Vinicius Quartinus. If then Velleius Paterculus meant that the twenty-two years were fully complete and ended before the foundation of Rome,—and this I am inclined to believe,—then its foundation took place in the third year of the sixth olympiad, or on the 21st of April A.J.P. 3961; and so his computation would agree with that of Varro, adopted by Plutarch.

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[1] Olympiorum initium habet auctorem Iphitum Elium. Is eos ludos mercatumque instituit ante annos quam tu, M. Vinici consulatum inires DCCCIV.

* Plutarch calls this feast Palilia, and Velleius Parilia. Both are used indiscriminately. It was called Palilia, or the feast of Pales the goddess of shepherds, or Parilia, from parere, to bring forth, because prayers were then made for the fruitfulness of sheep.

[2] Sexta olympiade, post duo et viginti annos, quam prima constituta fuerit, Romulus, Martis filius, ultus injurias avi, Romam urbem Parilibus in Palatio condidit, a quo tempore ad vos Coss. anni sunt DCCLXXXIII. Id actum, post Trojam captam annis CDXXXVII. Vel. Pat. Hist. Rom lib. i. c. 8, Lips. 1800. 8vo. p. 17–19.

Eutropius, who lived in the time of the Constantines, says that Romulus founded the city when he was eighteen years old, on the 11th before the kalends of May [April 21st] in the third year of the sixth olympiad.[1]

That modern authors should differ, when the ancient are so much at variance, is not surprising. The extremes embrace a period of eighty-six years, from the thirty-eighth year before the first olympiad to the fourth year of the twelfth, or the forty-eighth year from the first. But as Dionysius, on whose testimony only we learn these computations of Timæus and Lucius Cincius, has himself rejected them, they are universally abandoned by the moderns. There remain then to be considered,

		A.J.P.
1. The opinion of Velleius Paterculus, Plutarch and Eutropius, that Rome was founded April 21	Olym. vi. 3	3961
2. That advanced by Porcius Cato, according to Dionysius, and which he and Livy appear to have adopted, that Rome was founded Apr. 21	Olym. vii. 1	3963
3. The statement of Diodorus Siculus, as preserved by Eusebius, that Rome was founded	Olym. vii. 2	3964
4. The opinion of Quintus Fabius, or Fabius Pictor, the most ancient of the Latin historians, that it was founded	Olym. viii. 1	3966

This last date of Fabius Pictor is assumed by archbishop Ussher, in the adjustment of his chronology. He assigns no reason for this preference, unless it be the antiquity of Fabius. But Fabius lived during the second Punic war; and Livy, who often quotes his authority in other matters, has in this paid it no regard. The statement of Diodorus Siculus is founded on the same sources of computation as that of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and may well be looked upon as the mistake of a year.

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[1] Romanum Imperium—a Romulo exordium habet......Is cum inter Pastores latrocinaretur, octodecim annos natus, urbem exiguam in Palatino monte constituit, xi Kal. Maji, olympiadis sextæ anno tertio, post Trojæ excidium, ut qui plurimum minimumque tradunt, trecentesimo nonagesimo quarto. Eutr. Breviarium, Ed. Verheyk. L. B. 1762, p. 1—5

Ascending, therefore, in our series, we come next to the computation of Dionysius and Livy. This, it was observed, *appears* to have been that Rome was founded in the first year of the seventh olympiad. It is, however, only in appearance. In reality, both Dionysius and Livy meant that it was founded on that 21st of April which was near the end of the fourth year of the sixth olympiad. This we shall endeavour to show from their own computations.

Plutarch, in his life of Camillus,[1] states that the battle on the Allia between the Romans and Gauls, by which the fate of Rome was decided, "was fought when the moon was at the full, about the summer solstice." Consequently the occupation of Rome by the Gauls was at the very beginning of an olympic year; and according to Dionysius, that year was the first of the ninety-eighth olympiad. Hence ninety-seven solid olympiads, or (97 × 4) 388 olympic years had preceded it. Dionysius further computes back 120 years to the first consuls, equal, he says, to thirty olympiads; so that they held their office in the first year of the sixty-eighth olympiad. He evidently means olympic years beginning at the summer solstice. He did not advert to the fact that the consuls had been in office nearly six months when the sixty-eighth olympiad began; and hence that the 244 years of the kings, which he calls sixty-one olympiads, were not olympic but Roman years. The whole ninety-one olympiads taken from ninety-seven, leave six solid olympiads or twenty-four years; but they are olympic years, beginning and ending at the summer solstice, not Roman years, which began on the calends of January. The 244 years must be carried up to the twenty-first of April preceding the end of the sixth olympiad.

Such also is the fair deduction from the speech of Camillus in Livy. "It is now, Romans, the 365th year of the city." This was spoken in the summer. The 364th year of the city had ended the preceding twenty-first of April; that is, the April preceding the 389th olympic year, more than two months before the end of the 388th olympic year. Deducting 364 years from 388, it will follow that Rome was founded, according to Livy, more than two months before the termination of the twenty-fourth year of Iphitus, or the fourth year of the sixth olympiad.

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[1] Ed. Bryan, tom i. p. 304.

All these discordant dates may, therefore, be fairly reduced to two,—the third year of the sixth olympiad, or April 21st, A.J.P. 3961, and the fourth year of the sixth, or April 21st, A.J.P. 3962. The whole confusion arises from the difference between the Roman and olympic years—the last six months of the third, and the first six months of the fourth year of the sixth olympiad, and so again, the last six months of the fourth of the sixth, and the first six months of the first of the seventh, constituting each one Roman year. This will be seen and understood by the following table.

A. J. P.	Ol. yrs.	*Olympiads.*	A. J. P.	Ol. yrs.	*Olympiads.*	A. J. P.	Ol. yrs.	*Olympiads.*	*Rome Founded.*
3938 B.C. 776	1	Olym. I. 1	3946 B.C. 768	9	Olym. III. 1	3954 B.C. 760	17	Olym. V. 1	
3939 B.C. 775	2	„ 2	3947 B.C. 767	10	„ 2	3955 B.C. 759	18	„ 2	
3940 B.C. 774	3	„ 3	3948 B.C. 766	11	„ 3	3956 B.C. 758	19	„ 3	
3941 B.C. 773	4	„ 4	3949 B.C. 765	12	„ 4	3957 B.C. 757	20	„ 4	
3942 B.C. 772	5	Olym. II. 1	3950 B.C. 764	13	Olym. IV. 1	3958 B.C. 756	21	Olym. VI. 1	
3943 B.C. 771	6	„ 2	3951 B.C. 763	14	„ 2	3959 B.C. 755	22	„ 2	
3944 B.C. 770	7	„ 3	3952 B.C. 762	15	„ 3	3960 B.C. 754	23	„ 3	
3945 B.C. 769	8	„ 4	3953 B.C. 761	16	„ 4	3961 B.C. 753	24	April 21st „ 4	— According to Varro, Plutarch, Eutropius, &c.
						3962 B.C. 752	25	April 21st Oly. VII. 1	— According to Dionysius and Livy.

We have seen, in treating of the olympiads, that Censorinus follows the computation of Varro, and that these computations were held in the highest estimation among the Romans, as appears from the praises bestowed on him by Cicero. According to these computations, the 991st year of Rome began the 21st of April preceding the 1014th year of Iphitus, which began at the summer solstice. The difference between 1014 and 991 is 23. Five complete olympiads, or twenty years, ended at the summer solstice. Consequently, twenty-three years would end at the summer solstice; and the foundation of Rome must be dated from the twenty-first of the preceding April, that is, in the third year of the sixth olympiad, or April 21, A.J.P. 3961.

CHAPTER III.

THE ROMAN YEAR.

Extract from Censorinus.—Three periods. 1. Year of Romulus; disagreement as to its length; Censorinus, Solinus, Macrobius, in favour of ten months; Plutarch and ancient authors quoted by him in favour of twelve; reason of this diversity, the destruction of ancient archives by the Gauls; reasons why preference should be given to the opinion of Plutarch; probable that the Egyptian year was in use among the most ancient nations of Italy, and that Romulus improved it by intercalations.—2. Year of Numa and the Republic, a modification of the Greek lunar year, but no improvement; explanation of cycle of 24 years mentioned by Livy; irregularities by which it was disturbed, their cause and duration; theory of M. De la Nauze, and of an anonymous author mentioned by Court de Gébelin; reasons for rejecting both.—3. Year reformed by Julius Cæsar; testimony of Latin and Greek authors; comparative table of the last year of confusion; calendar of Julius Cæsar compared with the calendar of the Council of Nice; use of the Nicene calendar abolished by Pope Gregory XIII., but retained by the Church of England and the Protestants generally, though they have corrected the error of the old style.—Reflections on the science of the ancients.—General conclusion that from the beginning the Roman may be counted as solar years.

We have been led to speak in the preceding chapter, of the Roman year as distinguished from the olympic. For the full understanding of the subject, it becomes necessary to consider what the Roman year was, before and after the reformation of the calendar by Julius Cæsar.

We begin with an extract from Censorinus, who has treated the subject with his usual accuracy and clearness. In his nineteenth chapter he defines what he calls the *annus vertens,* or annual period, to be the time in which the sun passes through the twelve signs, and then returns to that from which it departed. He then proceeds to enumerate eight various opinions of ancient astronomers concerning the length of the solar year, ranging from 364½ to 366 days. When there is such a difference, he observes, among the learned touching the natural year, it is not surprising that there should be among various nations a great diversity in their civil years. After this, he proceeds, in the twentieth chapter, to treat of the Roman year as follows:

CENSORINUS DE DIE NATALI, Caput XX.

Sed, ut hos annos mittam, caligine jam profundæ vetustatis obductos: in his quoque, qui sunt recentioris memoriæ, et ad cursum lunæ vel solis instituti, quanta sit varietas, facile est cognoscere, si quis vel in unius Italiæ gentibus, ne dicam peregrinis, velit anquirere. Nam ut alium Ferentini, alium Lavinii, itemque Albani vel Romani, habuerunt annum: ita et aliæ gentes. Omnibus tamen fuit propositum, suos civiles annos, varie interkalandis mensibus, ad unum verum illum naturalemque corrigere. De quibus omnibus disserere quoniam longum est, ad Romanorum annum transibimus. Annum vertentem Romæ Licinius quidem Macer, et postea Fenestella, statim ab initio duodecim mensium fuisse scripserunt. Sed magis Junio Gracchano, et Fulvio, et Varroni, et Suetonio, aliisque credendum, qui decem mensium putaverunt fuisse: ut tunc Albanis erat, unde orti Romani. Hi decem menses dies trecentos quatuor hoc modo habebant.

But, to omit these years now covered with the darkness of profound antiquity, how great is the variety in those even of more recent date, and adjusted to the course of the moon or of the sun, may be easily known, if any one will search carefully among the nations of Italy alone, not to speak of foreigners. For as the Ferentinians had one year, the Lavinians another, and so likewise the Albanians or Romans, so was it with other nations. All, however, had the same purpose, which was, by months variously intercalated, to correct their civil years by the one true and natural year. To speak of all these methods would be tedious, and we therefore pass on to speak of the Roman year. Licinius Macer, and after him Fenestella, have written, that from the very beginning, the annual period of Rome consisted of twelve months. But we are rather to believe Junius Gracchanus, Fulvius, Varro, Suetonius, and others, who have thought that it consisted of ten months, because such was then the year of the Albanians, from whom the Romans sprang. These ten months contained three hundred and four days, as follows:

Martius	xxxi	March	31
Aprilis	xxx	April	30
Maius	xxxi	May	31
Junius	xxx	June	30
Quintilis	xxxi	Quintilis	31
Sextilis et September	xxx	Sextilis and September	30
October	xxxi	October	31
November et Decemb.	xxx	November and December	30

quorum quatuor majores pleni, cæteri sex cavi vocabantur.

Of these the four greater were called full, and the other six hollow. After-

Postea sive a Numa, ut ait Fulvius, sive, ut Junius, a Tarquinio duodecim facti sunt menses, et dies CCCLV. quamvis luna duodecim suis mensibus CCCLIV. dies videatur explere. Sed, ut unus dies abundaret, aut per imprudentiam accidit, aut quod magis credo, ea superstitione, qua impar numerus plenus, et magis faustus habebatur. Certe ad annum priorem unus et quinquaginta dies accesserunt: qui quia menses duos non implerent, sex illis cavis mensibus dies sunt singuli detracti, et ad eos additi, factique sunt dies quinquaginta septem: et ex his duo menses, Januarius undetriginta dierum, Februarius duodetriginta. Atque ita omnes menses pleni, et impari dierum numero esse cœperunt, excepto Februario, qui solus cavus, et ob hoc cæteris infaustior est habitus. Denique, cum interkalarem mensem viginti duum, vel viginti trium dierum alternis annis addi placuisset, ut civilis annus ad naturalem exæquaretur: in mense potissimum Februario, inter Terminalia et Regifugium, interkalatum est. idque diu factum, priusquam sentiretur, annos civiles aliquanto naturalibus esse majores. Quod delictum ut corrigeretur, Pontificibus datum est negotium, eorumque arbitrio interkalandi ratio permissa. Sed horum plerique, ob odium, vel gratiam, quo quis magistratu

wards, whether by Numa, as Fulvius says, or, as Junius says, by Tarquin, the months were made twelve and the days 355, although the moon in her twelve months seems to complete only 354 days. This excess of one day happened, either through ignorance, or, as I rather think, from that superstition which accounted an unequal number as being full, and more fortunate. It is certain that one and fifty days were added to the former year; and because these did not fill up the two months, a day was taken from each of the six hollow months, and added to the 51, so as to make 57 days. From these, two months were formed; January, consisting of twenty-nine, and February, of twenty-eight days. Thus all the months became full and of an unequal number of days, excepting February, which alone was accounted hollow, and for that reason more unlucky than the rest. Finally, since it was determined that an intercalary month of twenty-two or twenty-three days should be added in alternate years, that the civil might be made equal to the natural year, the intercalation was made of preference in the month of February, between the Terminalia and the Regifugium. And this was done a long time before it was perceived that the civil years were somewhat longer than the natural. To correct this error was made the business of the pontiffs, and the mode of intercalation was left to their arbitrament. Most of them, however, intercalated more or less wantonly; from hatred or favour; that one magistrate might sooner leave his

citius abiret, diutiusve fungeretur, aut publici redemptor ex anni magnitudine in lucro damnove esset, plus minusve ex libidine interkalando, rem sibi ad corrigendum mandatam, ultro depravarunt. Adeoque aberratum est, ut C. Cæsar Pontifex Maximus, suo III. et M. Æmilii Lepidi consulatu, quo retro delictum corrigeret, duos menses interkalarios dierum sexaginta septem, in mensem Novembrem et Decembrem interponeret, cum jam mense Februario dies tres et viginti interkalasset, faceretque eum annum dierum CDXLV, simul providens in futurum, ne iterum erraretur. nam interkalario mense sublato, annum civilem ad solis cursum formavit. Itaque diebus CCCLV addidit X, quos per septem menses, qui dies undetricenos habebant, ita distribuit, ut Januario, et Sextili, et Decembri bini accederent, cæteris singuli: eosque dies extremis partibus mensium apposuit, ne scilicet religiones sui cujusque mensis a loco summoverentur. Quapropter nunc cum in septem mensibus dies singuli et triceni sint, quatuor tamen illi ita primitus instituti eo dinoscuntur, quod nonas habent septimanas: cæteri, quintanas. Præterea pro quadrante diei, qui annum verum suppleturus videbatur, instituit, ut peracto quadriennii circuitu, dies unus, ubi mensis quondam solebat, post Terminalia inter-

office, and another perform its functions longer; or that the farmer of the public revenues might gain or lose by the length of the year. Thus a matter entrusted to them for correction was designedly and wilfully made worse; and to such a degree had the error proceeded, that when Caius Cæsar was Pontifex Maximus, in the year of his third consulship with Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, he interposed, in order to correct the error, two intercalary months of 67 days between November and December, when he had already intercalated 23 days in the month of February. Thus he made that year to consist of 445 days, providing at the same time that in future no error should again occur; for taking away the intercalary month, he formed the civil year according to the course of the sun. To the 355 days, therefore, he added 10. These he distributed through the seven months which had only 29 days; so that to January, Sextilis, and December, two were added, and to the rest only one. These days he annexed to the latter end of the months, that the religious rites of each month should not be removed from their place. Wherefore, since now in seven months the days of each are 31, those four which were originally instituted with that number are distinguished by having the nones on the seventh day of the month, while the rest have them on the fifth. As for that fourth part of a day which would complete the true year, a further arrangement was provided, that at the end of every four years one day should be intercalated after the Terminalia, where formerly there was an intercalation of

kalaretur : quod nunc Bisextum vocatur. Ex hoc anno, ita a Julio Cæsare ordinato, cæteri ad nostram memoriam Juliani appellantur, iique consurgunt ex IIII Cæsaris consulatu, qui, etiam si non optime, soli tamen ad annum naturæ aptati sunt. nam et priores alii, etiam si qui decimestres fuerunt, nec Romæ modo, vel per Italiam, sed et apud gentes omnes, quantum poterat idem, fuerunt correcti. Itaque cum de aliquo annorum numero hic dicetur, non alios par erit, quam naturales accipere. Et, si origo mundi, in hominum notitiam venisset, inde exordium sumeremus.

a month, and this is now called Bissextum. From this year thus arranged by Julius Cæsar, the rest down to our time are called Julian years, and they begin from the fourth consulship of Cæsar. These years, even if they are not perfect, are at least the only ones adjusted to the natural year. For the others which preceded, even those which had ten months only, were corrected as far as possible, not in Rome merely, or throughout Italy, but among all nations. Wherefore, when any number of years are here spoken of, it will be proper to consider them as no other than natural years. And if the origin of the world could come within the knowledge of men, we should make that the beginning of our dates.

This extract from Censorinus clearly shows that the Roman year is to be considered by us as it existed at three separate periods: first, under Romulus; secondly, under the succeeding kings and the republic; thirdly as reformed by Julius Cæsar.

1. *The Roman Year under Romulus.*

It appears that Latin writers of eminence were not agreed, even in the most ancient times of their literature, on the question whether the year of Romulus consisted of ten or twelve months. To those who, with Censorinus, maintained that it consisted of ten months, may be added Solinus, his contemporary, and Macrobius, who lived under Honorius and Theodosius Junior, early in the fifth century.[1]

The principal argument for this opinion is the fact asserted by these writers, that the year of the inhabitants of Alba Longa consisted of ten months, and that in this they were imitated by their descendants the Romans.

Plutarch, on the other hand, seems strongly inclined to the opinion that there were twelve months in the year of Romulus; and that January and February, instead of being the first and second months in the year, as afterwards in Numa's calendar, then constituted the eleventh and twelfth. He says that "the Romans in the time of Romulus had no idea of the anomaly between the courses of the sun and moon, but only laid down this position, that the year consisted of 360 days." He speaks also of Numa as altering the order of the months; making March the third, which had been the first; January the first, which had been the eleventh of Romulus; and February the second, which had been the twelfth and last.[1] Censorinus mentions Licinius Macer and L. Fenestella as holding the same opinion.

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[1] Saturnal. lib. i. cap. xi. ed. Volpii, p. 218.

When ancient authors are so widely at variance, there can be no certainty; more especially as there is reason to believe that the Latin writers themselves, whose opinions have been given by Censorinus, had no ground for them but conjecture. No documents could have been extant in their day with regard to the year either of Alba Longa, or of the Romans under Romulus. Had there been, they would have appealed to them, and their judgments would not have been so contradictory. Indeed, Plutarch speaks of the diversity of historians even with regard to Numa's reign; and, on the authority of some writer named Clodius in his emendations of chronology, most distinctly intimates, that when Rome was sacked by the Gauls, most, if not all of the ancient archives were destroyed.[2]

Such being the case, we are fairly at liberty to choose among conflicting opinions; and that of Plutarch seems the most rational. If we may believe Herodotus, the Greeks in the time of Solon had not yet adopted the lunar year. For in his first book he relates a conversation between the Athenian lawgiver and Crœsus king of the Lydians; in which, estimating seventy years as the term of human life, Solon says, "they [the seventy years] contain, without any intercalary month, twenty-five thousand two hundred days."[1] This sum divided by 70, gives 360 as the number of days in a year.* The Egyptians had from time immemorial reckoned twelve months of thirty days, adding at the end of each year five supernumerary days, which on this account were called ἐπαγόμεναι, or complemental. Among the nations of Italy, the Etruscans, if they were not an Egyptian colony, at least rivalled the Egyptians, and greatly resembled them in the knowledge of arts and sciences. The Sabines and the Samnites were Grecian colonies. How, then, was it possible for the inhabitants of Alba Longa, or their descendants the Romans, to be so ignorant of astronomy as to make their year consist of only 304 days?

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[1] Plut. in Numa, Ed. Bryan, tom. i. p. 155, 156. So also in his *Ρωμαϊκα*, or Questions on Roman affairs (Plut. Opusc. ed. Stephens, 8vo. tom. i. p. 478, sec. xix.) noticing the opinion that the ancient year consisted of only ten months, and that December, the tenth month from March, was the last of the year, he adds, *ἄλλοι δὲ ἱϛοροῦσι κ.τ.λ.*—"Others state the fact that December was the tenth from March, January the eleventh, and February the twelfth, in which purifications are used, and expiatory sacrifices offered for the dead at the end of the year," &c. A foreigner, and especially a Greek like Plutarch, long resident in Rome, would be more likely to search into and record the customs of the Romans than the Romans themselves. To him are we indebted for the name of Numa's intercalary month, which is nowhere mentioned by any of the Latin writers whose works have come down to us. Plutarch says in one place (Numa) that it was called Merkidinus, in another (Cæsar), Merkedonius.

[2] Numa, ed. Bryan, tom. i. p. 129.

If the year of Romulus did consist of only 304 days, and there were no intercalations, it would have ended 61¼ days before the solar year, as that year was then computed. Supposing that in the first year of his reign his first of March began, as Court de Gebelin asserts,[2] at the vernal equinox, the next year the last day of December would be sixty-one days and a quarter *before* the vernal equinox; the year following, 122½ days; the third year, 183¾ days, or more than six months; the fourth year, 245 days; and the fifth year, 306¼ days. Thus every five years the ten months would have travelled backward through all the seasons. And when it is considered that all the religious rites of the Romans did not begin with Numa,—that festivals were, even in the rudest state of the nation, celebrated in honour of their Gods, as, for instance, the festival of Pales or the Palilia, on the twenty-first of April, the day on which Rome was founded,—it will seem next to an impossibility that such disorder should have been permitted to exist. Macrobius says expressly that the month of March was so called, because it was dedicated by Romulus to his father the god Mars; that on the first of that month, as the beginning of the year, new fire was solemnly lighted upon the altars of Vesta, and old laurels exchanged for new, in the palace, the curiæ, and the houses of the Flamens; that in the same month both public and private sacrifices were made to Anna-Perenna, &c.[1] Admitting all this to be uncertain tradition, it shows at least that the Romans did not consider all their religion as commencing with Numa. These very celebrations required the observance of times and seasons.

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[1] Herod. lib. i. c. 32.

* Herodotus, it is true, has given a confused account, by putting into Solon's mouth a computation of thirty-five intercalations in the course of seventy years, amounting to 1050 days. This is one month of thirty days in two years, which is more than the intercalations in the Greek lunar year. I infer from this passage, that the adoption of the lunar year of 354 days by the Greeks was later than the time of Solon, and that Herodotus himself had paid very little attention to the subject.

[2] Hist. Civ. du Calendrier, art. ii. chap. 2. p. 148.

Another argument to prove that the division of time by Romulus must have been in accordance with the movements of the heavenly bodies, is derived from the division of days in his calendar. *Idus* is not a Latin, but a Greek word (εἶδος). It means *aspect* or *appearance*, and was used to denote the full moon. The nones were always, as their name imports, the ninth day before the Idus. It is evident, therefore, that this whole system is founded on the change of the moon, the nones being the completion of the first quarter, as the ides are of the second.[2] If the course of the moon thus governed the form and duration of the month, it is hard to tell why the apparent movements of the sun and moon together should not have regulated the year.

The force of this argument will be best seen by the Table (given opposite) of THE YEAR OF ROMULUS, according to the opinions of Censorinus and Macrobius, and the authors quoted by them with approbation.

By this table it appears that the four months which had thirty-one days, had their nones on the seventh, and their ides on the fifteenth; while the other six, of thirty days each, had their nones on the fifth, and their ides on the thirteenth. This seems to have been so contrived, in order to adjust the civil, to the course of the lunar month; for by counting the thirtieth and thirty-first days of the preceding, with the following civil month, the nones fall on the seventh or first quarter of the moon, excepting only September and December, because the preceding months consisted of thirty days. The rest of the month after the full of the moon or Idus, is

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[1] Hæc fuit Romuli ordinatio; qui primum anni mensem genitori suo Marti dicavit. Quem mensem anni primum fuisse vel ex hoc maxime probatur, quod ab ipso Quintilis quintus est, et deinceps pro numero nominabantur. Hujus etiam prima die ignem novum Vestæ aris accendebant: ut incipiente anno cura denuo servandi novati ignis inciperet. eodem quoque ingrediente mense tam in regia curiisque atque Flaminum domibus laureæ veteres novis laureis mutabantur. eodem quoque mense et publice et privatim ad Annam Perennam sacrificatum itur; ut annare perennareque commode liceat. Saturnal. lib. i. cap. xii. ed. Volpii, p. 218.

[2] See Plut. Opuscula, tom. i. ed. Steph. p. 480, s. 239. Lat. tom. i. p. 448. B. sec. xxiv.

Martius		Aprilis		Maius		Junius		Quintilis		Sextilis		Septemb.		October		Novemb.		Decemb.	
1	Kal	1	Kal	1	Kal	1	Kal	1	Kal	1	Kal	1	Kal	1	Kal	1	Kal	1	Kal
2	vi	2	iv	2	vi	2	iv	2	vi	2	iv	2	iv	2	vi	2	iv	2	iv
3	v	3	iii	3	v	3	iii	3	v	3	iii	3	iii	3	v	3	iii	3	iii
4	iv	4	Prid	4	iv	4	Prid	4	iv	4	Prid	4	Prid	4	iv	4	Prid	4	Prid
5	iii	5	Non	5	iii	5	Non	5	iii	5	Non	5	Non	5	iii	5	Non	5	Non
6	Prid	6	viii	6	Prid	6	viii	6	Prid	6	viii	6	viii	6	Prid	6	viii	6	viii
7	Non	7	vii	7	Non	7	vii	7	Non	7	vii	7	vii	7	Non	7	vii	7	vii
8	viii	8	vi	8	viii	8	vi	8	viii	8	vi	8	vi	8	viii	8	vi	8	vi
9	vii	9	v	9	vii	9	v	9	vii	9	v	9	v	9	vii	9	v	9	v
10	vi	10	iv	10	vi	10	iv	10	vi	10	iv	10	iv	10	vi	10	iv	10	iv
11	v	11	iii	11	v	11	iii	11	v	11	iii	11	iii	11	v	11	iii	11	iii
12	iv	12	Prid	12	iv	12	Prid	12	iv	12	Prid	12	Prid	12	iv	12	Prid	12	Prid
13	iii	13	Idus	13	iii	13	Idus	13	iii	13	Idus	13	Idus	13	iii	13	Idus	13	Idus
14	Prid	14	xviii	14	Prid	14	xviii	14	Prid	14	xviii	14	xviii	14	Prid	14	xviii	14	xviii
15	Idus	15	xvii	15	Idus	15	xvii	15	Idus	15	xvii	15	xvii	15	Idus	15	xvii	15	xvii
16	xvii	16	xvi	16	xvii	16	xvi	16	xvii	16	xvi	16	xvi	16	xvii	16	xvi	16	xvi
17	xvi	17	xv	17	xvi	17	xv	17	xvi	17	xv	17	xv	17	xvi	17	xv	17	xv
18	xv	18	xiv	18	xv	18	xiv	18	xv	18	xiv	18	xiv	18	xv	18	xiv	18	xiv
19	xiv	19	xiii	19	xiv	19	xiii	19	xiv	19	xiii	19	xiii	19	xiv	19	xiii	19	xiii
20	xiii	20	xii	20	xiii	20	xii	20	xiii	20	xii	20	xii	20	xiii	20	xii	20	xii
21	xii	21	xi	21	xii	21	xi	21	xii	21	xi	21	xi	21	xii	21	xi	21	xi
22	xi	22	x	22	xi	22	x	22	xi	22	x	22	x	22	xi	22	x	22	x
23	x	23	ix	23	x	23	ix	23	x	23	ix	23	ix	23	x	23	ix	23	ix
24	ix	24	viii	24	ix	24	viii	24	ix	24	viii	24	viii	24	ix	24	viii	24	viii
25	viii	25	vii	25	viii	25	vii	25	viii	25	vii	25	vii	25	viii	25	vii	25	vii
26	vii	26	vi	26	vii	26	vi	26	vii	26	vi	26	vi	26	vii	26	vi	26	vi
27	vi	27	v	27	vi	27	v	27	vi	27	v	27	v	27	vi	27	v	27	v
28	v	28	iv	28	v	28	iv	28	v	28	iv	28	iv	28	v	28	iv	28	iv
29	iv	29	iii	29	iv	29	iii	29	iv	29	iii	29	iii	29	iv	29	iii	29	iii
30	iii	30	Prid	30	iii	30	Prid	30	iii	30	Prid	30	Prid	30	iii	30	Prid	30	Prid
31	Prid			31	Prid			31	Prid					31	Prid				
Total, 304 days.																			

reckoned backward from the first day of the succeeding month. In the four months of thirty-one days, the day after the ides is called the seventeenth before the calends, and in the six months of thirty days, the eighteenth before the calends. Quintilis is so called, as Macrobius states, because it was the fifth month, reckoning from March as the first.[1] This serves as a key to the grounds of the opinion that the year of Romulus consisted of only three hundred and four days, divided into ten months. It was founded on the presumption merely that December was the last month in the year, and that its etymology proved it to be also the tenth month, as Quintilis was the fifth. But January and February may as well have formed the eleventh and twelfth months of the year of Romulus, as March, April, May, and June, the first four.

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[1] Quod ab ipso [viz. Martio mense] Quintilis quintus est.

Even if, as Plutarch says, the year of Romulus consisted of tnree hundred and sixty days, there was still a deficiency every year of five-and-a-quarter days, which at the end of every four years would amount to twenty-one days; and as the reign of Romulus, and the Interregnum preceding the reign of Numa, continued, according to Livy, thirty-eight years, we may estimate the difference between the civil and the solar year at the accession of Numa, if there had been no intercalations, as amounting to ($38 \times 5\frac{1}{4} = 199\frac{1}{2}$) nearly two hundred days, or more than six-and-a half months. If the first day of March in the first year of the reign of Romulus began at the vernal equinox, it would have travelled back in the last year of his reign, so as to have begun before the autumnal equinox. Such disorder would have been utterly inconsistent with the religious observances of times and seasons; and if it did exist, would have been a sufficient cause for the changes introduced by Numa.

But we have no evidence whether intercalations were or were not introduced in the time of Romulus. Macrobius says that "there are various statements as to the time when intercalation was first practised by the Romans. Licinius Macer assigned its origin to Romulus. Antias maintained that it was invented by Numa; Junius, that it was first practised by Servius Tullius." I omit other opinions mentioned by him, because they are only opinions, but insert the whole passage in the margin.[1]

In this state of uncertainty, weighing well the account of Plutarch, and comparing with it the Calendar of Romulus as given by Censorinus and Macrobius, in which four months have each thirty-one, and consequently four additional days, I am led to the conclusion that his calendar was founded upon the Egyptian, and was in fact an improvement of it. To render this plain, it will be proper to insert here the following supposed

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[1] Quando autem primo interkalatum sit, varie refertur: et Macer quidem Licinius ejus rei originem Romulo assignat. Antias libro secundo Numam Pompilium Sacrorum causa id invenisse contendit. Junius Servium Tullium regem primum interkalasse commemorat; a quo et Nundinas institutas Varroni placet. Tuditanus refert libro tertio Magistratuum Decemviros, qui decem tabulis duas addiderunt, de interkalando populum rogasse. Cassius eosdem scribit auctores. Fulvius autem id egisse Manium consulem dicit ab urbe condita anno quingentesimo sexagesimo secundo, inito mox bello Ætolico, sed hunc arguit Varro scribendo, antiquissimam legem fuisse incisam in columna ærea a L. Pinario et Furio consulibus, cui mentio interkalaris adscribitur. Hæc de interkalandi principio satis relata sint. Saturnal. lib. i. cap. xiii. ed Volpii. p. 227-228.

TABLE OF THE YEAR OF ROMULUS.

Mart.		Aprilis		Maius		Junius		Quint.		Sext.		Sept.		Oct.		Nov.		Dec.		Jan.		Feb.		
1	Kal	1	Kal	1	Kal	1	Kal	1	Kal	1	Kal	1	Kal	1	Kal	1	Kal	1	Kal	1	Kal	1	Kal	336
2	vi	2	iv	2	vi	2	iv	2	vi	2	iv	2	iv	2	vi	2	iv	2	iv	2	iv	2	iv	337
3	v	3	iii	3	v	3	iii	3	v	3	iii	3	iii	3	v	3	iii	3	iii	3	iii	3	iii	338
4	iv	4	Prid	4	iv	4	Prid	4	iv	4	Prid	4	Prid	4	iv	4	Prid	4	Prid	4	Prid	4	Prid	339
5	iii	5	Non	5	iii	5	Non	5	iii	5	Non	5	Non	5	iii	5	Non	5	Non	5	Non	5	Non	340
6	Prid	6	viii	6	Prid	6	viii	6	Prid	6	viii	6	viii	6	Prid	6	viii	6	viii	6	viii	6	viii	341
7	Non	7	vii	7	Non	7	vii	7	Non	7	vii	7	vii	7	Non	7	vii	7	vii	7	vii	7	vii	342
8	viii	8	vi	8	viii	8	vi	8	viii	8	vi	8	vi	8	viii	8	vi	8	vi	8	vi	8	vi	343
9	vii	9	v	9	vii	9	v	9	vii	9	v	9	v	9	vii	9	v	9	v	9	v	9	v	344
10	vi	10	iv	10	vi	10	iv	10	vi	10	iv	10	iv	10	vi	10	iv	10	iv	10	iv	10	iv	345
11	v	11	iii	11	v	11	iii	11	v	11	iii	11	iii	11	v	11	iii	11	iii	11	iii	11	iii	346
12	iv	12	Prid	12	iv	12	Prid	12	iv	12	Prid	12	Prid	12	iv	12	Prid	12	Prid	12	Prid	12	Prid	347
13	iii	13	Idus	13	iii	13	Idus	13	iii	13	Idus	13	Idus	13	iii	13	Idus	13	Idus	13	Idus	13	Idus	348
14	Prid	14	xviii	14	Prid	14	xviii	14	Prid	14	xviii	14	xviii	14	Prid	14	xviii	14	xviii	14	xix	14	xviii	349
15	Idus	15	xvii	15	Idus	15	xvii	15	Idus	15	xvii	15	xvii	15	Idus	15	xvii	15	xvii	15	xviii	15	xvii	350
16	xvii	16	xvi	16	xvii	16	xvi	16	xvii	16	xvi	16	xvi	16	xvii	16	xvi	16	xvi	16	xvii	16	xvi	351
17	xvi	17	xv	17	xvi	17	xv	17	xvi	17	xv	17	xv	17	xvi	17	xv	17	xv	17	xvi	17	xv	352
18	xv	18	xiv	18	xv	18	xiv	18	xv	18	xiv	18	xiv	18	xv	18	xiv	18	xiv	18	xv	18	xiv	353
19	xiv	19	xiii	19	xiv	19	xiii	19	xiv	19	xiii	19	xiii	19	xiv	19	xiii	19	xiii	19	xiv	19	xiii	354
20	xiii	20	xii	20	xiii	20	xii	20	xiii	20	xii	20	xii	20	xiii	20	xii	20	xii	20	xiii	20	xii	355
21	xii	21	xi	21	xii	21	xi	21	xii	21	xi	21	xi	21	xii	21	xi	21	xi	21	xii	21	xi	356
22	xi	22	x	22	xi	22	x	22	xi	22	x	22	x	22	xi	22	x	22	x	22	xi	22	x	357
23	x	23	ix	23	x	23	ix	23	x	23	ix	23	ix	23	x	23	ix	23	ix	23	x	23	ix	358
24	ix	24	viii	24	ix	24	viii	24	ix	24	viii	24	viii	24	ix	24	viii	24	viii	24	ix	24	viii	359
25	viii	25	vii	25	viii	25	vii	25	viii	25	vii	25	vii	25	viii	25	vii	25	vii	25	viii	25	vii	360*
26	vii	26	vi	26	vii	26	vi	26	vii	26	vi	26	vi	26	vii	26	vi	26	vi	26	vii	26	vi	361*
27	vi	27	v	27	vi	27	v	27	vi	27	v	27	v	27	vi	27	v	27	v	27	vi	27	v	362
28	v	28	iv	28	v	28	iv	28	v	28	iv	28	iv	28	v	28	iv	28	iv	28	v	28	iv	363
29	iv	29	iii	29	iv	29	iii	29	iv	29	iii	29	iii	29	iv	29	iii	29	iii	29	iv	29	iii	364
30	iii	30	Prid	30	iii	30	Prid	30	iii	30	Prid	30	Prid	30	iii	30	Prid	30	Prid	30	iii	30	Prid	365
31	Prid			31	Prid			31	Prid					31	Prid					31	Prid			

Total 365 days.

* The 360th day was the Terminalia. the 361st the Regifugium.

From an inspection of the foregoing table it will appear that the 360th day of the year fell always on the seventh before the calends of March. This was the end of the twelve months of the Egyptian year, which I suppose was the year in use among the inhabitants of Alba Longa, and the most ancient nations of Italy. It was, therefore, the festival of the Terminalia. Here the Egyptians, and consequently the nations which followed their usage, introduced the ἐπαγόμεναι, or five complemental days. Instead of this, Romulus distributed them through the year, by adding them to the five months March, May, Quintilis, October, and, if my conjecture be correct, January. He thus, by a very simple method, improved the arrangement, though he did not correct the error, of the Egyptian computation. There would still be nearly one day in four years to be added, in order to make the civil, commensurate with the true solar year; and this would have made a difference of about ten days, when Numa introduced his new arrangement.

2. *The Roman Year under the succeeding Kings, and the Republic.*

We have seen from Censorinus, that the arrangement of Numa's year was evidently founded on the lunar year of the Greeks, consisting of 354 days; but, having a superstitious dislike to equal numbers, which he considered as unlucky, he made his year to consist of 355 days, which were thus distributed:

I. Januarius	29		V. Majus	31	148	IX. September	29	266
II. Februarius	28	57	VI. Junius	29	177	X. October	31	297
III. Martius	31	88	VII. Quintilis	31	208	XI. November	29	326
IV. Aprilis	29	117	VIII. Sextilis	29	237	XII. December	29	355

February only was left with an equal number, and was considered as an unlucky month, being dedicated to the God Februus, who presided over lustrations, and the rites due to the Manes, or infernal Gods.[1]

Numa was a Sabine; and the Sabines were, probably, either wholly or in part, a Grecian colony.[2] Macrobius intimates that the changes introduced by him in the calendar, were the result of his acquaintance with Grecian learning.[3] We may add, that it was the effect of irrational fondness for Greek usages; for the calendar of Romulus being nearer to the solar year, it was no improvement to substitute a system of intercalary months, arising from the imperfections of the lunar year. Be this as it may, the change was made, and the Roman became similar to the Grecian year. "The lunar year," says Macrobius, "being thus adopted by the Romans from the Greeks, they were obliged, like the Greeks, to institute an intercalary month, because they found that the solar exceeded the lunar year, eleven days and one-fourth, which, in eight years, amounted to ninety days. The Greeks divided this number into three months of thirty days, but the Romans into four intercalations, in the alternate years, of twenty-two and twenty-three days each. But as, for the sake of the unequal number, they had added one day to the Grecian year, on the eighth year they found an excess of eight days. To correct this error, at the end of the third eight, or twenty-four years, they so disposed the intercalated days as to make the whole intercalation, not ninety, but sixty-six days."[1]

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[1] Macrob. Saturnal. lib. i. c. xiii. ed. Volp. 225.

[2] Dion. Halic. Antiq. Rom. lib. ii. 48, 49.

[3] Quia Græcorum observatione forsan instructus est.

This explains that passage in Livy, which Scaliger presumed to call absurd. Speaking of Numa's year as lunar, the historian says that, by intercalary months, he so adjusted it, as, in the course of twenty-four years, to make it agree with the solar year.[2]

The whole subject will be rendered perfectly clear, if we place side by side the operation of the two systems. Twenty-four solar years, of three hundred and sixty-five and a quarter days, amount to eight thousand seven hundred and sixty-six days.

$$(365\tfrac{1}{4}\times 24=8766.)$$

The Greek lunar year of 354 days, and the Roman lunar year of 355 days, with their respective intercalations, make up the same number of days in twenty-four years, as will be seen by the table at the head of the next page.

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[1] Cum ergo Romani ex hac distributione Pompilii ad lunæ cursum, sicut Græci, annum proprium computarent; necessario et interkalarem mensem instituerunt more Græcorum. nam et Græci, cum animadverterent, temere se trecentis quinquaginta quatuor diebus ordinasse annum (quoniam appareret de solis cursu, qui trecentis sexaginta quinque diebus et quadrante zodiacum conficit, deesse anno suo undecim dies et quadrantem) interkalares stata ratione commenti sunt. ita ut octavo quoque anno nonaginta dies, ex quibus tres menses tricenûm dierum composuerunt, interkalarent. id Græci fecerunt, quoniam erat operosum atque difficile omnibus annis undecim dies et quadrantem interkalare. itaque maluerunt hunc numerum octies multiplicare, et nonaginta dies, qui nascuntur si quadrans cum diebus undecim octies componatur, inserere in tres menses, ut diximus distribuendos, hos dies ὑπερβαίνοντας, menses vero ἐμβολίμους appellitabant. Hunc ergo ordinem Romanis quoque imitari placuit, sed frustra; quippe fugit eos, unum diem, sicut supra admonuimus, additum esse ad Græcum numerum in honorem imparis numeri. ea re per octennium convenire numerus atque ordo non poterat. sed nondum hoc errore comperto, per octo annos nonaginta quasi superfundendos Græcorum exemplo computabant dies; alternisque annis binos et vicenos, alternis ternos et vicenos interkalares expensabant interkalationibus quatuor. sed octavo quoque anno interkalantes octo affluebant dies ex singulis; quibus vertentis anni numerum apud Romanos, supra Græcum abundasse jam diximus. hoc quoque errore jam cognito, hæc species emendationis inducta est. Tertio quoque octennio ita interkalandos dispensabant dies, ut non nonaginta sed sexaginta sex interkalarent, compensatis viginti et quatuor diebus pro illis qui per totidem annos supra Græcorum numerum creverant.—Saturnal. lib. i. cap. xiii. ed. Volpii, p. 225-226.

[2] Atque omnium primum ad cursum lunæ, in duodecim menses describit annum, quem (quia tricenos dies singulis mensibus luna non explet, desuntque dies solido anno qui solstitiali circumagitur orbe) intercalaribus mensibus interponendis ita dispensavit, ut quarto et vigesimo anno, ad metam eamdem solis, unde orsi essent plenis annorum omnium spatiis, dies congruerent. Lib. i. cap. 19.

Greek Lunar year of 354 days.					Roman Lunar year of 355 days.				
xxiv. Gr. Lun. years amount to days 8496					xxiv. Rom. Lun. years amount to days 8520				
1	I. Octaëteride.	i.	0	90	1	I. Octaëteride.	i.	0	90
2		ii.	0		2		ii. First Intercal. days,	22	
3		iii. First Intercal. days	30		3		iii. [or Merkedon. min.	0	
4		iv.	0		4		iv. Sec. In. or Merk. maj.	23	
5		v. Second Intercalation	30		5		v.	0	
6		vi.	0		6		vi. Third In. or Mer. min.	22	
7		vii.	0		7		vii.	0	
8		viii. Third Intercalation	30		8		viii. Fourth I. or Mer. maj.	23	
9	II. Octaëteride.	i.	0	90	9	II. Octaëteride.	i.		90
10		ii.	0		10		ii. Merkedonius minor	22	
11		iii. First Intercalation	30		11		iii.	0	
12		iv.	0		12		iv. Merkedonius major	23	
13		v. Second Intercalation	30		13		v.	0	
14		vi.	0		14		vi. Merkedonius minor	22	
15		vii.	0		15		vii.		
16		viii. Third Intercalation	30		16		viii. Merkedonius major	23	
17	III. Octaëteride.	i.	0	90	17	III. Octaëteride.	i.	0	66
18		ii.	0		18		ii. Merkedonius minor	22	
19		iii. First Intercalation	30		19		iii.	0	
20		iv.	0		20		iv. Merkedonius minor	22	
21		v. Second Intercalation	30		21		v.	0	
22		vi.	0		22		vi. Merkedonius minor	22	
23		vii.	0		23		vii.	0	
24		viii. Third Intercalation	30		24		viii.	0	
Total of Intercalary days in 24 years			270		Total of Intercalary days in 24 years			246	
Adjusted to 24 Solar years=Days			8766		Adjusted to 24 Solar years=Days			8766	

According to the Greek computation, the third, fifth, and eighth years of each octaëteride consisted of 384 days, and therefore were each 18¾ days longer than the natural year. According to the Roman computation, there were in the cycle of twenty-four years, seven years of 377 days, and four years of 378 days, thus exceeding the solar year nearly twelve or thirteen days, as follows:

Greek Computation.						Roman Computation.					
I. Octaëteride.		II. Octaëteride.		III. Octaëteride.		Roman Cycle of three Octaëterides, or 24 years.					
i. days	354	i. days	354	i. days	354	i. days	355	ix. days	355	xvii. days	355
ii.	354	ii.	354	ii.	354	ii.	377	x.	377	xviii.	377
iii.	384	iii.	384	iii.	384	iii.	355	xi.	355	xix.	355
iv.	354	iv.	354	iv.	354	iv.	378	xii.	378	xx.	377
v.	384	v.	384	v.	384	v.	355	xiii.	355	xxi.	355
vi.	354	vi.	354	vi.	354	vi.	377	xiv.	377	xxii.	377
vii.	354	vii.	354	vii.	354	vii.	355	xv.	355	xxiii.	355
viii.	384	viii.	384	viii.	384	viii.	378	xvi.	378	xxiv.	355
	2922		2922		2922		2930		2930		2906
					2922						2930
					2922						2930
				Total	8766					Total	8766

According to the Greek computation, the three intercalary months in each octaëteride were introduced as a thirteenth month of the intercalated year. The Romans, on the contrary, incorporated their intercalation between the twenty-third and twenty-fourth of February, making that month, with the Merkedonius minor, fifty, with the Merkedonius major, fifty-one days long. The manner of doing this will be shown hereafter, when we come to speak of the reform introduced by Julius Cæsar. It is mentioned here, because it affords presumptive evidence that, in the calendar of Romulus, February, and not December, was the last month of the year. It was the custom of all nations, and must therefore have been a natural and obvious arrangement, to intercalate at the end of the civil year. Indeed Macrobius, in evident inconsistency with his former account, says, in speaking of Numa's changes, that the month of February was selected for every intercalation, *because it was the last of the year.*[1] Numa therefore only transposed January and February; and that he might not disturb any of the religious festivals as arranged by Romulus, he continued to observe the festival of the Terminalia, the three hundred and sixtieth day of the year of Romulus, on the seventh before the calends of March, and there introduced his intercalary month.

From this examination it appears to me, that the change of the Roman calendar introduced by Numa was far from being an improvement. His year was not as near the solar time as the year of Romulus, nor as near the lunar time as that of the Greeks. His system of intercalation was not as regular as the Grecian, while its machinery was more complicated. It required a cycle of twenty-four years, to adjust the civil to the solar year, while the same thing was accomplished by the Greeks in the course of eight. Still, if the intercalations had been duly observed, there could have been at no period of the cycle any very inconvenient irregularity. But Numa had made it the duty of the pontiffs to effect and to declare the intercalation; and they were often led by political favouritism, to lengthen the year of a friend, or diminish that of an enemy. By such irregularities, the agreement of the civil with the astronomical year was often disturbed. How long Numa's system continued to be faithfully observed, cannot now be ascertained;

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[1] Omni autem interkalationi mensis Februarius deputatus est: quoniam is ultimus anni erat.—Saturnal. lib. i. c. xiii.

but, if the inferences which have now been built on the scanty statements of antiquity be well founded, we may safely conclude that, from the very foundation of Rome, the computations of time were nearly, if not perfectly, adjusted to the solar year, down to the expulsion of the kings, a period of two hundred and forty-four years, and possibly to the time of the second Decemviri, A.U.C. 304. Cicero incidentally remarks, that Virginius slew his daughter, to save her from disgrace and crime, the sixtieth year after the expulsion of the kings.[1] This fixes the epoch of the abdication of the Decemviri in the three hundred and fourth year of Rome; and it agrees with the date assigned to that event in the Capitoline tables, of which we shall hereafter speak. It is very probable that, as this was a tumultuous period of the Roman commonwealth, the irregularities in the computation of time may have then begun. Certain it is, that a great irregularity did exist within the succeeding three hundred years. Livy states that in the consulship of Lucius Cornelius Scipio and Caius Lælius, "during the Apollinarian games, the fifth day before the ides of Quintilis [July 11th], in the day time, when the sky was serene, the light was obscured by the passage of the moon over the sun's disc."[2]

This solar eclipse took place, by astronomical computation, March 14th, A.J.P. 4524.[3] According to Numa's calendar, then in use, the intervening time from March 14th to July 11th, was one hundred and seventeen days, or, according to present computation, one hundred and nineteen days. Here, then, was a variation of nearly four months between the solar year and that of Numa. According to the Capitoline tables, the consulship of L. Cornelius Scipio and C. Lælius, was A.U.C. 563. Reckoning, therefore, from the Ides of Quintilis A.U.C. 304, to the Ides of Quintilis A.U.C. 563, there were two hundred and fifty-nine solid years; and if the intercalations had been regularly made during that period, there would have been but a trifling variation between the year of Numa and the solar year, as the following table will show:

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[1] Tenuis L. Virginius, unusque e multis, *sexagesimo anno post libertatem receptam*, virginem filiam, sua manu occidit, potius, quam ea App. Claudii libidini, qui tum erat summo in imperio, dederetur.—De Finibus, lib. ii. cap. 20, ad fin.

Per eos dies, quibus est profectus ad bellum Consul, ludis Apollinaribus, ante diem quintum Idus Quinctilis, cœlo sereno, interdiu obscurata lux est, quum Luna sub orbem solis subisset. Liv. lib. xxxvii. c. 4, compared with c. 1.

[3] The calculation may be seen in Petavius de Doctrina Temporum, tom. i. p. 509, ☼ 23.

259 Solar Years.

	Years.		Days.
10 cycles of 24 years, or	240	=	87,660
4 solar years = 1461 days × 4, or - - -	16	=	5,844
365¼ days × 3, or - -	3	=	1,095¾
Total number of days in	259	=	94,599¾
Excess of 259 years of Numa over 259 solar years - - - - - -			7¼
			94,607

259 Years of Numa properly intercalated

	Years.		Days.
10 cycles of 24 years, or	240	=	87,660
11th cycle 1st period, containing four intercalations, or - - - -	8	=	2,930
2d period of four intercalations, or - - - -	8	=	2,930
17th year of 11th cycle,	1	=	355
18th year of 11th cycle, intercalated - - -	1	=	377
19th year of 11th cycle,	1	=	355
Total number of days in	259	=	94,607

Yet, in fact, there was a variation of one hundred and seventeen, or one hundred and nineteen days. This can be accounted for only from the irregularities of intercalation.

An ingenious attempt, however, was made by M. de la Nauze, in a memoir read before the French Academy, June 18th, 1754, to solve the difficulties of the Roman calendar, by an entirely different system.* He supposed that the civil years were consular, and had no relation to the solar year. The consuls always entered on the duties of their office about the beginning of winter, whatever might be the name of the month in the Roman calendar. He contends that, in consequence of the unwillingness of the second Decemviri to resign their power, the consulship which immediately followed that decemvirate began on the Ides of December. In support of this opinion he quotes a passage in Livy,[1] which, however, relates to a consulship twenty-six years later. He then asserts that the consular year thus began on the ides of December for 48 successive years; that it then leapt to the 1st of October, and so continued 114 years; that by another leap it began on the 1st of July, and so continued 66 years; then on the ides of March, 68 years; and lastly, on the 1st of January, for 107 years, to the reformation of the calendar by Julius Cæsar. Thus, in the course of 403 years, the commencement of the consular year leapt in retrogradation from December to October, from October to Quintilis or July, from July to March, and from March to January. His whole theory turns upon the assumption that an alternate intercalation of 22 and 23 years took place regularly on all the equal years, 304, 306, 308, 310, &c., for 279 years; that on the 280th year there was an intercalation of twenty-five days; that the succeeding year there was no intercalation, but in the 282nd there were twenty-three, in the 283rd forty-six, and in the 284th twenty-two days, being an intercalation of ninety-one days in three successive years; that, for the next ten years, the intercalations continued regularly on the equal years, and then there were two successive years without intercalation; that in the 297th year the intercalations became again regular, and so continued for 91 years, but always on the unequal years, 601, 603, 605, 607, &c.; and lastly, that from the 387th to the 403rd year, there was but one intercalation of twenty-two days, in the 398th year. He strangely takes not the least notice of the cycle of twenty-four years, in which the years of Numa were adjusted to the solar years. On the contrary, he seems not to have adverted to that fact; for his whole system supposes that the Roman January passed successively through all the seasons, till at length there was an entire year of difference between the calendar and the solar years.

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* This memoir is in the 44th volume of the 8vo. edition, p. 111-200, of Mémoires de l'Acad. Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Paris, 1771.

[1] Lib. iv. c. 37.

An anonymous French author, of whose unpublished dissertation M. Court de Gébelin has given an abstract, dissatisfied with this plan, has given a different conjecture. Being aware of the cycle of twenty-four years, and admitting, therefore, that the confusion of the calendar was the effect either of neglect or design, he maintains that it was occasioned by the conspiracies to restore the Tarquins, A.U.C. 253 and 254. He thinks that the senate, in the last of those years, gave the pontiffs authority to abandon the use of Numa's cycle, in order to destroy the reverence of the people for their kings. From that time the alternate intercalations of twenty-two and twenty-three days were continued without any adjustment of the civil to the solar year. These intercalations fell on the unequal years; and they were so arranged that the minor intercalation fell on the years which were afterwards called bissextile, and, consequently, the major intercalation on common years. The reformation of the calendar by Julius Cæsar fell upon an unequal year, A.U.C. 707; and, according to Censorinus, that year was entitled to an intercalation of twenty-three days.[1]

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[1] M. Court de Gébelin, Histoire Civile du Calendrier, p. 160-164. Court de Gébelin, the friend of our Franklin, was engaged with him, M. Robinet and others, in defending the cause of American independance. His Monde Primitif, of which l'Histoire du Calendrier forms the fourth volume, is a work of immense research. He was an original and learned, but fanciful writer. On the subject of the civil history of the Calendar, he has given a condensed view within a small compass of the labours of his predecessors. See lib. i. § iii. art. ii.

As no authorities are given for this conjecture, no refutation need be attempted; but, taking his premises, let us examine the conclusion to which they lead. The distance of time from A.U.C. 254 to A.U.C. 707, was 453 years, or 56 periods of eight years and five years over. The number of days in eight of Numa's years, with four intercalations, 2930×56=164,080. To these add five years of 355 days, with two intercalations, 22+23=1820 days, and the whole 453 years of Numa so intercalated, would amount to 165,900 days. Take from these 165,458¼, the number of days in 453 solar years, and there remain 441¾ days, or one solar year and 76½ days, as the excess occasioned by over-intercalation. Thus a whole year would have been absorbed, and an encroachment made upon another year of nearly two months and a half. This would have obliged Julius Cæsar to *shorten*, instead of adding, as he did, to the year in which he adjusted the calendar.

It seemed necessary to notice these modern attempts to break through one of the most thorny subjects in chronology, that the reader might see what the difficulties really are. That these attempts have not succeeded, proceeds not from want of industry or critical acumen, but from the scanty assistance contributed by ancient authors. It would be presumption in me, therefore, to think of effecting what they have not accomplished. But this truth may be considered as clearly established, that as in the year of Rome 563 the civil exceeded the solar year 119 days, *an excess of intercalation had existed previously;* and that, as in the time of Cæsar the civil year fell short of the solar, *there had been a previous want of intercalation.* This accords with the statement of Macrobius, that there was a time when, from superstitious motives, all intercalation was omitted.[1] One extreme naturally leads to another, and the excess occasioned the subsequent defect. We are led, therefore, to consider

3. *The Roman year as reformed by Julius Cæsar.*

Suetonius gives the following account of this transaction: "He [Cæsar] corrected the calendar, which had long been deranged, through the fault of the Pontiffs by unlawful intercalations, so that the holidays (feriæ) of harvest did not accord with the summer, nor those of the vintage with the autumn. He accommodated the year to the course of the sun, so that it should consist of 365 days, and that, the intercalary month being abolished, one day should be inserted every four years. That the computation of time from the new calends of January should in future be more exact, he interposed two other months between November and December; so that the year in which these arrangements were made, consisted of fifteen months, including the intercalary month, which, according to custom, had taken place that year."[1]

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[1] Verum fuit tempus cum propter superstitionem interkalatio omnis omissa est.—Saturnal. lib. i. cap. xiv. ed. Volpii, p. 228.

So Dion Cassius: "The days of the years which did not agree well together (for even then the months were reckoned according to the periods of the moon), he [Cæsar] regulated after the present manner, inserting 67 days, which were thought necessary to a complete computation. Some have said that more were inserted; but the truth is as follows. By his residence at Alexandria, he learned that although they reckoned the months as consisting each of thirty days, they added to every year five days. These five days, therefore, Cæsar fitted into the months, adding two other days which he had taken from one of the months. The one day, formed from four quarters, he introduced every fourth year, leaving only a small portion of their hours to be changed, so that it would be necessary to insert one day in the 1461st year."[2]

Plutarch speaks of the erroneous computations by which the Roman year had been disordered, ascribes the fault to the arbitrary intercalations of the priests, and praises the regulations made by

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[1] Conversus hinc ad ordinandum reipublicæ statum, fastos correxit, jam pridem vitio pontificum per intercalandi licentiam adeo turbatos, ut neque messium feriæ æstati, neque vindemiarum autumno competerent. Annumque ad cursum solis accommodavit, ut trecentorum sexaginta quinque dierum esset, et intercalario mense sublato, unus dies quarto quoque anno intercalaretur. Quo autem magis in posterum ex kalendis Januariis novis temporum ratio congrueret, inter Novembrem ac Decembrem mensem interjecit duos alios: fuitque is annus, quo hæc constituebantur, quindecim mensium cum intercalario, qui ex consuetudine in eum annum inciderat.—Sueton. Jul. Cæs. § xl. ed. Wolfii, tom. i. p. 53-54.

[2] Dion. Hist. Rom. lib. xliii. § xxvi. ed. Reimar, tom. i. p. 359-360. What Dion Cassius here says of the 1461st year, must refer to the great canicular year of the Egyptians; but he evidently did not understand the subject. As they reckoned only 365 days to the year, four of their years would amount to 1460 days; while four Julian years amounted to 1461 days. Consequently 1461 of their years, would be equal to 1460 Julian years. As the solar annual revolution is performed in 365 days 5h. 48′ 45½″, and not in 365 days 6 hours, four solar years amount not to 1461 days, but to 1460d. 23h. 15′ 2″, thus falling short of four Julian years 44′ 58″. In the course of 400 years, there would be an excess in the Julian years of 3d. 2h. 56′ 40″. This led to the reformation of the Julian calendar by Pope Gregory XIII, in March A.D. 1582, by the suppression of ten days, and the provision that one day should be omitted every 100th year, not divisible by four without a remainder, *i.e.* that in all such years every 25th bissextile should be counted as a common year.

Cæsar; but mentions no particulars, excepting that he acted by the advice of the ablest philosophers and mathematicians.[1]

Pliny says that he acted under the advice of Sosigenes.[2]

Macrobius devotes a whole chapter to this subject. After speaking of the superstitious omission of all intercalation and the favouritism of the priests, he says that Caius Cæsar reduced this vague and uncertain change of seasons to a fixed arrangement, by the assistance of his secretary M. Flavius. He then proceeds thus: "Ç. Cæsar being about to introduce the new arrangement, consumed all the days which could still cause confusion; and thus it came to pass that the last year of confusion was extended to 443 days. Then imitating the Egyptians, who alone are acquainted with all sacred things, he resolved to regulate the year according to the number of the sun, which performs its course in 365 days and one fourth. For as the moon's year is one month, because the moon completes the circuit of the zodiac in little less than a month, so the sun's year is to be gathered from that number of days which he traverses till he returns again to the same sign from which he departed." This he says is called the *annus vertens*, and the word *annus* itself is derived from the obsolete *an*, signifying the same as *circum*. He then proceeds: "Julius Cæsar, therefore, added ten days to the old computation, to make up the year of 365 days in which the sun passes through the zodiac; and that the fourth part of a day might not be wanting, he decreed that every fourth year the priests who had charge of the months and days should intercalate one day, the intercalation being made in the same month and place as among the ancients, that is before the last five days of February. He ordered this to be called Bissextum. The ten days which, as we have said, were added by him, he distributed in this manner: in January, Sextilis (afterwards called August), and December, he inserted two days; and in April, June, September, and November, one. To February he made no addition, that the worship of the infernal Gods might not be changed. March, May, Quintilis (July), and October, he preserved as they were, because they already had the full number of thirty-one days." He then proceeds to speak of his continuing the old arrangement of the nones, ides, &c., which I omit, because they will be best understood from an inspection of the calendar itself.[1]

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[1] See Plutarch's lives by the Langhornes: Julius Cæsar. Tegg's Ed. Lond. 1834. p. 515.

[2] Tres autem fuere sectæ: Chaldæa, Ægyptia, Græca. His addidit apud nos quartam Cæsar dictator, annos ad solis cursum redigens singulos, Sosigene perito scientiæ ejus adhibito.—Hist. Nat. lib. xxxviii. 25. ed. Brotier, tom. iii. p. 404. c. 57.

Solinus seems strangely to have misconceived the whole subject, unless the passage be corrupted by false readings. He speaks of an intercalation by Cæsar of $21\frac{1}{4}$ days, and of that year as containing 340 days, while the subsequent years had $365\frac{1}{4}$.[2]

This last author alone excepted, the rest may easily be made to harmonize with what Censorinus has said in his twentieth chapter. The number ccccxliii. in Macrobius, may have been inadvertently written, or carelessly copied, instead of ccccxlv. The latter must be the true number, because it is the sum of $355+23+67$. It was the duty of Cæsar, as Pontifex Maximus, to insert the intercalary month in its proper place. This he did, and afterwards, between November and December, he inserted sixty-seven days, as Dion and Censorinus both affirm, divided into two months of thirty-four and thirty-three days; and thus, as Suetonius states, he made the last year of confusion to consist of fifteen months. Censorinus says that this correction took place in Cæsar's third consulship with Marcus Lepidus. This, as we shall hereafter see, was subsequent to his return from Egypt. Macrobius says that he imitated the Egyptians; and Pliny states that he was aided by Sosigenes, who was an astronomer of Alexandria. M. Flavius was also employed in the work.

The following comparative table of the last year of confusion, will make the whole subject clear. The first column contains the number of days in that year. The intercalary month being the Merkedonius major, the year consisted of 378 days, to which 67 being added, the number became 445.

Column A shows the Year of Numa in its confused state, occasioned by irregular intercalations.

Column B contains the Year of Numa, as it would have been if the cycle of twenty-four years had been strictly observed.

Column C exhibits the last Year of Confusion, as it was arranged by Julius Cæsar; and

Column D is the new Julian calendar reckoned backward, commonly called the Proleptic Julian Year.

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[1] Sat. lib. i. c. xiv.

[2] Itaque Caius Cæsar universam hanc, incisa temporum turbatione, composuit, et ut statum certum præteritus acciperet error, dies xxi. et quadrantem simul intercalavit. Quo pacto regradati menses de cetero statuta ordinis sui tempora detinerent. Ille ergo solus annus trecentos quadraginta dies habuit; alii deinceps sexagenos quinos et quadrantem.—Solinus Polyhistor, cap. iii. ap. Petav. Doct. Temp. tom. i. p. 160.

Last Year of Confusion of 445 Days	A		B		C		D	
1	1	Jan. Kal.	23	Oct. x	1	Jan. Kal.	13	Oct. iii
2	2	iv	24	ix	2	iv	14	Prid.
3	3	iii	25	viii	3	iii	15	Idus.
4	4	Prid.	26	vii	4	Prid.	16	xvii
5	5	Non.	27	vi	5	Non.	17	xvi
6	6	viii	28	v	6	viii	18	xv
7	7	vii	29	iv	7	vii	19	xiv
8	8	vi	30	iii	8	vi	20	xiii
9	9	v	31	Prid.	9	v	21	xii
10	10	iv	1	Nov. Kal.	10	iv	22	xi
11	11	iii	2	iv	11	iii	23	x
12	12	Prid.	3	iii	12	Prid.	24	ix
13	13	Idus.	4	Prid.	13	Idus.	25	viii
14	14	xvii	5	Non.	14	xvii	26	vii
15	15	xvi	6	viii	15	xvi	27	vi
16	16	xv	7	vii	16	xv	28	v
17	17	xiv	8	vi	17	xiv	29	iv
18	18	xiii	9	v	18	xiii	30	iii
19	19	xii	10	iv	19	xii	31	Prid.
20	20	xi	11	iii	20	xi	1	Nov. Kal.
21	21	x	12	Prid.	21	x	2	iv
22	22	ix	13	Idus.	22	ix	3	iii
23	23	viii	14	xvii	23	viii	4	Prid.
24	24	vii	15	xvi	24	vii	5	Non.
25	25	vi	16	xv	25	vi	6	viii
26	26	v	17	xiv	26	v	7	vii
27	27	iv	18	xiii	27	iv	8	vi
28	28	iii	19	xii	28	iii	9	v
29	29	Prid.	20	xi	29	Prid.	10	iv
30	1	Feb. Kal.	21	x	1	Feb. Kal	11	iii
31	2	iv	22	ix	2	iv	12	Prid.
32	3	iii	23	viii	3	iii	13	Idus.
33	4	Prid.	24	vii	4	Prid.	14	xviii
34	5	Non.	25	vi	5	Non.	15	xvii
35	6	viii	26	v	6	viii	16	xvi
36	7	vii	27	iv	7	vii	17	xv
37	8	vi	28	iii	8	vi	18	xiv
38	9	v	29	Prid.	9	v	19	xiii
39	10	iv	1	Dec. Kal.	10	iv	20	xii
40	11	iii	2	iv	11	iii	21	xi
41	12	Prid.	3	iii	12	Prid.	22	x
42	13	Idus.	4	Prid.	13	Idus.	23	ix
43	14	xvi	5	Non.	14	xvi	24	viii
44	15	xv	6	viii	15	xv	25	vii
45	16	xiv	7	vii	16	xiv	26	vi
46	17	xiii	8	vi	17	xiii	27	v
47	18	xii	9	v	18	xii	28	iv
48	19	xi	10	iv	19	xi	29	iii
49	20	x	11	iii	20	x	30	Prid.
50	21	ix	12	Prid.	21	ix	1	Dec. Kal.

Last Year of Confusion of 445 Days.	A		B		C		D	
51	22	Feb. viii	13	Dec. Idus	22	Feb. viii	2	Dec. iv
52	23	vii	14	xvii	23	vii	3	iii
53	1	MERKEDONIUS MAJOR Kal.	15	xvi	1	MERKEDONIUS MAJOR Kal.	4	Prid.
54	2	iv	16	xv	2	iv	5	Non.
55	3	iii	17	xiv	3	iii	6	viii
56	4	Prid.	18	xiii	4	Prid.	7	vii
57	5	Non.	19	xii	5	Non.	8	vi
58	6	viii	20	xi	6	viii	9	v
59	7	vii	21	x	7	vii	10	iv
60	8	vi	22	ix	8	vi	11	iii
61	9	v	23	viii	9	v	12	Prid.
62	10	iv	24	vii	10	iv	13	Idus.
63	11	iii	25	vi	11	iii	14	xix
64	12	Prid.	26	v	12	Prid.	15	xviii
65	13	Idus.	27	iv	13	Idus.	16	xvii
66	14	xvi	28	iii	14	xvi	17	xvi
67	15	xv	29	Prid.	15	xv	18	xv
68	16	xiv	1	Jan. Kal.	16	xiv	19	xiv
69	17	xiii	2	iv	17	xiii	20	xiii
70	18	xii	3	iii	18	xii	21	xii
71	19	xi	4	Prid.	19	xi	22	xi
72	20	x	5	Non.	20	x	23	x
73	21	ix	6	viii	21	ix	24	ix
74	22	viii	7	vii	22	viii	25	viii
75	23	vii	8	vi	23	vii	26	vii
76	24	Feb. vi	9	v	24	Feb. vi	27	vi
77	25	v	10	iv	25	v	28	v
78	26	iv	11	iii	26	iv	29	iv
79	27	iii	12	Prid.	27	iii	30	iii
80	28	Prid.	13	Idus.	28	Prid.	31	Prid.
81	1	Mart. Kal.	14	xvii	1	Mart. Kal.	1	Jan. Kal.
82	2	vi	15	xvi	2	vi	2	iv
83	3	v	16	xv	3	v	3	iii
84	4	iv	17	xiv	4	iv	4	Prid.
85	5	iii	18	xiii	5	iii	5	Non.
86	6	Prid.	19	xii	6	Prid.	6	viii
87	7	Non.	20	xi	7	Non.	7	vii
88	8	viii	21	x	8	viii	8	vi
89	9	vii	22	ix	9	vii	9	v
90	10	vi	23	viii	10	vi	10	iv
91	11	v	24	vii	11	v	11	iii
92	12	iv	25	vi	12	iv	12	Prid.
93	13	iii	26	v	13	iii	13	Idus.
94	14	Prid.	27	iv	14	Prid.	14	xix
95	15	Idus.	28	iii	15	Idus.	15	xviii
96	16	xvii	29	Prid.	16	xvii	16	xvii
97	17	xvi	1	Feb. Kal.	17	xvi	17	xvi
98	18	xv	2	iv	18	xv	18	xv
99	19	xiv	3	iii	19	xiv	19	xiv
100	20	xiii	4	Prid.	20	xiii	20	xiii

Last Year of Confusion of 445 Days.	A		B		C		D	
101	21	Mart. xii.	5	Febr. Non.	21	Mart. xii	21	Jan. xii
102	22	xi	6	viii	22	xi	22	xi
103	23	x	7	vii	23	x	23	x
104	24	ix	8	vi	24	ix	24	ix
105	25	viii	9	v	25	viii	25	viii
106	26	vii	10	iv	26	vii	26	vii
107	27	vi	11	iii	27	vi	27	vi
108	28	v	12	Prid.	28	v	28	v
109	29	iv	13	Idus.	29	iv	29	iv
110	30	iii	14	xvi	30	iii	30	iii
111	31	Prid.	15	xv	31	Prid.	31	Prid.
112	1	April. Kal.	16	xiv	1	April. Kal.	1	Feb. Kal.
113	2	iv	17	xiii	2	iv	2	iv
114	3	iii	18	xii	3	iii	3	iii
115	4	Prid.	19	xi	4	Prid.	4	Prid.
116	5	Non.	20	x	5	Non.	5	Non.
117	6	viii	21	ix	6	viii	6	viii
118	7	vii	22	viii	7	vii	7	vii
119	8	vi	23	vii	8	vi	8	vi
120	9	v	1	MERKEDONIUS MAJOR Kal.	9	v	9	v
121	10	iv	2	iv	10	iv	10	iv
122	11	iii	3	iii	11	iii	11	iii
123	12	Prid.	4	Prid.	12	Prid.	12	Prid.
124	13	Idus.	5	Non.	13	Idus.	13	Idus.
125	14	xvii	6	viii	14	xvii	14	xvi
126	15	xvi	7	vii	15	xvi	15	xv
127	16	xv	8	vi	16	xv	16	xiv
128	17	xiv	9	v	17	xiv	17	xiii
129	18	xiii	10	iv	18	xiii	18	xii
130	19	xii	11	iii	19	xii	19	xi
131	20	xi	12	Prid.	20	xi	20	x
132	21	x	13	Idus.	21	x	21	ix
133	22	ix	14	xvi	22	ix	22	viii
134	23	viii	15	xv	23	viii	23	vii
135	24	vii	16	xiv	24	vii	24	vi
136	25	vi	17	xiii	25	vi	25	v
137	26	v	18	xii	26	v	26	iv
138	27	iv	19	xi	27	iv	27	iii
139	28	iii	20	x	28	iii	28	Prid.
140	29	Prid.	21	ix	29	Prid.	1	Mart. Kal.
141	1	Majus, Kal.	22	viii	1	Majus, Kal	2	vi
142	2	vi	23	vii	2	vi	3	v
143	3	v	24	Feb. vi	3	v	4	iv
144	4	iv	25	v	4	iv	5	iii
145	5	iii	26	iv	5	iii	6	Prid.
146	6	Prid.	27	iii	6	Prid.	7	Non.
147	7	Non.	28	Prid.	7	Non.	8	viii
148	8	viii	1	Mart. Kal.	8	viii	9	vii
149	9	vii	2	vi	9	vii	10	vi

Last Year of Confusion of 445 Days.	A		B		C		D	
150	10	Majus vi	3	Mart. v	10	Majus vi	11	Martius v
151	11	v	4	iv	11	v	12	iv
152	12	iv	5	iii	12	iv	13	iii
153	13	iii	6	Prid.	13	iii	14	Prid.
154	14	Prid.	7	Non.	14	Prid.	15	Idus.
155	15	Idus.	8	viii	15	Idus.	16	xvii
156	16	xvii	9	vii	16	xvii	17	xvi
157	17	xvi	10	vi	17	xvi	18	xv
158	18	xv	11	v	18	xv	19	xiv
159	19	xiv	12	iv	19	xiv	20	xiii
160	20	xiii	13	iii	20	xiii	21	xii
161	21	xii	14	Prid.	21	xii	22	xi
162	22	xi	15	Idus.	22	xi	23	x
163	23	x	16	xvii	23	x	24	ix
164	24	ix	17	xvi	24	ix	25	viii
165	25	viii	18	xv	25	viii	26	vii
166	26	vii	19	xiv	26	vii	27	vi
167	27	vi	20	xiii	27	vi	28	v
168	28	v	21	xii	28	v	29	iv
169	29	iv	22	xi	29	iv	30	iii
170	30	iii	23	x	30	iii	31	Prid.
171	31	Prid.	24	ix	31	Prid.	1	April. Kal.
172	1	Junius, Kal.	25	viii	1	Junius Kal.	2	iv
173	2	iv	26	vii	2	iv	3	iii
174	3	iii	27	vi	3	iii	4	Prid.
175	4	Prid.	28	v	4	Prid.	5	Non.
176	5	Non.	29	iv	5	Non.	6	viii
177	6	viii	30	iii	6	viii	7	vii
178	7	vii	31	Prid.	7	vii	8	vi
179	8	vi	1	April. Kal.	8	vi	9	v
180	9	v	2	iv	9	v	10	iv
181	10	iv	3	iii	10	iv	11	iii
182	11	iii	4	Prid.	11	iii	12	Prid.
183	12	Prid.	5	Non.	12	Prid.	13	Idus.
184	13	Idus.	6	viii	13	Idus.	14	xviii
185	14	xvii	7	vii	14	xvii	15	xvii
186	15	xvi	8	vi	15	xvi	16	xvi
187	16	xv	9	v	16	xv	17	xv
188	17	xiv	10	iv	17	xiv	18	xiv
189	18	xiii	11	iii	18	xiii	19	xiii
190	19	xii	12	Prid.	19	xii	20	xii
191	20	xi	13	Idus.	20	xi	21	xi
192	21	x	14	xvii	21	x	22	x
193	22	ix	15	xvi	22	ix	23	ix
194	23	viii	16	xv	23	viii	24	viii
195	24	vii	17	xiv	24	vii	25	vii
196	25	vi	18	xiii	25	vi	26	vi
197	26	v	19	xii	26	v	27	v
198	27	iv	20	xi	27	iv	28	iv
199	28	iii	21	x	28	iii	29	iii
200	29	Prid.	22	ix	29	Prid.	30	Prid.

Last Year of Confusion of 445 Days	A		B		C		D	
201	1	Quint. Kal.	23	April. viii	1	Quint. Kal.	1	Majus, Kal.
202	2	vi	24	vii	2	vi	2	vi
203	3	v	25	vi	3	v	3	v
204	4	iv	26	v	4	iv	4	iv
205	5	iii	27	iv	5	iii	5	iii
206	6	Prid.	28	iii	6	Prid.	6	Prid.
207	7	Non.	29	Prid.	7	Non.	7	Non.
208	8	viii	1	Majus, Kal.	8	viii	8	viii
209	9	vii	2	vi	9	vii	9	vii
210	10	vi	3	v	10	vi	10	vi
211	11	v	4	iv	11	v	11	v
212	12	iv	5	iii	12	iv	12	iv
213	13	iii	6	Prid.	13	iii	13	iii
214	14	Prid.	7	Non.	14	Prid.	14	Prid.
215	15	Idus.	8	viii	15	Idus.	15	Idus.
216	16	xvii	9	vii	16	xvii	16	xvii
217	17	xvi	10	vi	17	xvi	17	xvi
218	18	xv	11	v	18	xv	18	xv
219	19	xiv	12	iv	19	xiv	19	xiv
220	20	xiii	13	iii	20	xiii	20	xiii
221	21	xii	14	Prid.	21	xii	21	xii
222	22	xi	15	Idus.	22	xi	22	xi
223	23	x	16	xvii	23	x	23	x
224	24	ix	17	xvi	24	ix	24	ix
225	25	viii	18	xv	25	viii	25	viii
226	26	vii	19	xiv	26	vii	26	vii
227	27	vi	20	xiii	27	vi	27	vi
228	28	v	21	xii	28	v	28	v
229	29	iv	22	xi	29	iv	29	iv
230	30	iii	23	x	30	iii	30	iii
231	31	Prid.	24	ix	31	Prid.	31	Prid.
232	1	Sextil. Kal.	25	viii	1	Sextil. Kal.	1	Jun. Kal.
233	2	iv	26	vii	2	iv	2	iv
234	3	iii	27	vi	3	iii	3	iii
235	4	Prid.	28	v	4	Prid.	4	Prid.
236	5	Non.	29	iv	5	Non.	5	Non.
237	6	viii	30	iii	6	viii	6	viii
238	7	vii	31	Prid.	7	vii	7	vii
239	8	vi	1	Jun. Kal.	8	vi	8	vi
240	9	v	2	iv	9	v	9	v
241	10	iv	3	iii	10	iv	10	iv
242	11	iii	4	Prid.	11	iii	11	iii
243	12	Prid.	5	Non.	12	Prid.	12	Prid.
244	13	Idus.	6	viii	13	Idus.	13	Idus.
245	14	xvii	7	vii	14	xvii	14	xviii
246	15	xvi	8	vi	15	xvi	15	xvii
247	16	xv	9	v	16	xv	16	xvi
248	17	xiv	10	iv	17	xiv	17	xv
249	18	xiii	11	iii	18	xiii	18	xiv
250	19	xii	12	Prid.	19	xii	19	xiii
251	20	xi	13	Idus.	20	xi	20	xii
252	21	x	14	xvii	21	x	21	xi

Last Year of Confusion of 445 Days.	A		B		C		D	
253	22	Sextil. ix	15	Jun. xvi	22	Sext. ix	22	Junius, x
254	23	viii	16	xv	23	viii	23	ix
255	24	vii	17	xiv	24	vii	24	viii
256	25	vi	18	xiii	25	vi	25	vii
257	26	v	19	xii	26	v	26	vi
258	27	iv	20	xi	27	iv	27	v
259	28	iii	21	x	28	iii	28	iv
260	29	Prid.	22	ix	29	Prid.	29	iii
261	1	Sept. Kal.	23	viii	1	Sept. Kal.	30	Prid.
262	2	iv	24	vii	2	iv	1	Quint. Kal.
263	3	iii	25	vi	3	iii	2	vi
264	4	Prid.	26	v	4	Prid.	3	v
265	5	Non.	27	iv	5	Non.	4	iv
266	6	viii	28	iii	6	viii	5	iii
267	7	vii	29	Prid.	7	vii	6	Prid. Non.
268	8	vi	1	Quint. Kal.	8	vi	7	viii
269	9	v	2	vi	9	v	8	
270	10	iv	3	v	10	iv	9	vii
271	11	iii	4	iv	11	iii	10	vi
272	12	Prid.	5	iii	12	Prid.	11	v
273	13	Idus.	6	Prid.	13	Idus.	12	iv
274	14	xvii	7	Non.	14	xvii	13	iii
275	15	xvi	8	viii	15	xvi	14	Prid.
276	16	xv	9	vii	16	xv	15	Idus.
277	17	xiv	10	vi	17	xiv	16	xvii
278	18	xiii	11	v	18	xiii	17	xvi
279	19	xii	12	iv	19	xii	18	xv
280	20	xi	13	iii	20	xi	19	xiv
281	21	x	14	Prid.	21	x	20	xiii
282	22	ix	15	Idus.	22	ix	21	xii
283	23	viii	16	xvii	23	viii	22	xi
284	24	vii	17	xvi	24	vii	23	x
285	25	vi	18	xv	25	vi	24	ix
286	26	v	19	xiv	26	v	25	viii
287	27	iv	20	xiii	27	iv	26	vii
288	28	iii	21	xii	28	iii	27	vi
289	29	Prid.	22	xi	29	Prid.	28	v
290	1	Oct. Kal.	23	x	1	Octob. Kal.	29	iv
291	2	vi	24	ix	2	vi	30	iii
292	3	v	25	viii	3	v	31	Prid.
293	4	iv	26	vii	4	iv	1	Sextil. Kal.
294	5	iii	27	vi	5	iii	2	iv
295	6	Prid.	28	v	6	Prid.	3	iii
296	7	Non.	29	iv	7	Non.	4	Prid.
297	8	viii	30	iii	8	viii	5	Non.
298	9	vii	31	Prid.	9	vii	6	viii
299	10	vi	1	Sext. Kal.	10	vi	7	vii
300	11	v	2	iv	11	v	8	vi
301	12	iv	3	iii	12	iv	9	v

Last Year of Confusion of 445 Days.	A		B		C		D	
302	13	Octob. iii.	4	Sextil. Prid.	13	Octob. iii	10	Sextil. iv
303	14	Prid.	5	Non.	14	Prid.	11	iii
304	15	Idus.	6	viii	15	Idus.	12	Prid.
305	16	xvii	7	vii	16	xvii	13	Idus.
306	17	xvi	8	vi	17	xvi	14	xix
307	18	xv	9	v	18	xv	15	xviii
308	19	xiv	10	iv	19	xiv	16	xvii
309	20	xiii	11	iii	20	xiii	17	xvi
310	21	xii	12	Prid.	21	xii	18	xv
311	22	xi	13	Idus.	22	xi	19	xiv
312	23	x	14	xvii	23	x	20	xiii
313	24	ix	15	xvi	24	ix	21	xii
314	25	viii	16	xv	25	viii	22	xi
315	26	vii	17	xiv	26	vii	23	x
316	27	vi	18	xiii	27	vi	24	ix
317	28	v	19	xii	28	v	25	viii
318	29	iv	20	xi	29	iv	26	vii
319	30	iii	21	x	30	iii	27	vi
320	31	Prid.	22	ix	31	Prid.	28	v
321	1	Nov. Kal.	23	viii	1	Nov. Kal.	29	iv
322	2	iv	24	vii	2	iv	30	iii
323	3	iii	25	vi	3	iii	31	Prid.
324	4	Prid.	26	v	4	Prid.	1	Sept. Kal.
325	5	Non.	27	iv	5	Non.	2	iv
326	6	viii	28	iii	6	viii	3	iii
327	7	vii	29	Prid.	7	vii	4	Prid.
328	8	vi	1	Sept. Kal.	8	vi	5	Non.
329	9	v	2	iv	9	v	6	viii
330	10	iv	3	iii	10	iv	7	vii
331	11	iii	4	Prid.	11	iii	8	vi
332	12	Prid.	5	Non.	12	Prid.	9	v
333	13	Idus.	6	viii	13	Idus.	10	iv
334	14	xvii	7	vii	14	xvii	11	iii
335	15	xvi	8	vi	15	xvi	12	Prid.
336	16	xv	9	v	16	xv	13	Idus.
337	17	xiv	10	iv	17	xiv	14	xviii
338	18	xiii	11	iii	18	xiii	15	xvii
339	19	xii	12	Prid.	19	xii	16	xvi
340	20	xi	13	Idus.	20	xi	17	xv
341	21	x	14	xvii	21	x	18	xiv
342	22	ix	15	xvi	22	ix	19	xiii
343	23	viii	16	xv	23	viii	20	xii
344	24	vii	17	xiv	24	vii	21	xi
345	25	vi	18	xiii	25	vi	22	x
346	26	v	19	xii	26	v	23	ix
347	27	iv	20	xi	27	iv	24	viii
348	28	iii	21	x	28	iii	25	vii
349	29	Prid.	22	ix	29	Prid.	26	vi
350	1	Dec. Kal.	23	viii	1	I. Inter. M. of Jul. Cæsar of 33 Days. Kal.	27	v
351	2	iv	24	vii	2	vi	28	iv
352	3	iii	25	vi	3	v	29	iii

Last Year of Confusion of 445 Days.	A			B			C					D		
353	4	Dec.	Prid.	26	Sept.	v	4		I. Inter. M. of J. Cæsar.	iv	Intercalation of sixty-seven days by Julius Cæsar between the months of November and December of the year of Numa.	30	Sept.	Prid.
354	5		Non.	27		iv	5			iii		1	Oct.	Kal.
355	6		viii	28		iii	6			Prid.		2		vi
356	7		vii	29		Prid.	7			Non.		3		v
357	8		vi	1	Oct.	Kal.	8			viii		4		iv
358	9		v	2		vi	9			vii		5		iii
359	10		iv	3		v	10			vi		6		Prid.
360	11		iii	4		iv	11			v		7		Non.
361	12		Prid.	5		iii	12			iv		8		viii
362	13		Idus.	6		Prid.	13			iii		9		vii
363	14		xvii	7		Non.	14			Prid.		10		vi
364	15		xvi	8		viii	15			Idus.		11		v
365	16		xv	9		vii	16			xix		12		iv
366	17		xiv	10		vi	17			xviii		13		iii
367	18		xiii	11		v	18			xvii		14		Prid.
368	19		xii	12		iv	19			xvi		15		Idus.
369	20		xi	13		iii	20			xv		16		xvii
370	21		x	14		Prid.	21			xiv		17		xvi
371	22		ix	15		Idus.	22			xiii		18		xv
372	23		viii	16		xvii	23			xii		19		xiv
373	24		vii	17		xvi	24			xi		20		xiii
374	25		vi	18		xv	25			x		21		xii
375	26		v	19		xiv	26			ix		22		xi
376	27		iv	20		xiii	27			viii		23		x
377	28		iii	21		xii	28			vii		24		ix
378	29		Prid.	22		xi	29			vi		25		viii
379	1	Jan.	Kal.	23		x	30			v		26		vii
380	2		iv	24		ix	31			iv		27		vi
381	3		iii	25		viii	32			iii		28		v
382	4		Prid.	26		vii	33			Prid.		29		iv
383	5		Non.	27		vi	34	1	II. Inter.M. of Jul. Cæsar of 34 days.	Kal		30		iii
384	6		viii	28		v	35	2		vi		31		Prid.
385	7		vii	29		iv	36	3		v		1	Nov	Kal.
386	8		vi	30		iii	37	4		iv		2		iv
387	9		v	31		Prid.	38	5		iii		3		iii
388	10		iv	1	Nov.	Kal.	39	6		Prid.		4		Prid.
389	11		iii	2		iv	40	7		Non.		5		Non.
390	12		Prid.	3		iii	41	8		viii		6		viii
391	13		Idus.	4		Prid.	42	9		vii		7		vii
392	14		xvii	5		Non.	43	10		vi		8		vi
393	15		xvi	6		viii	44	11		v		9		v
394	16		xv	7		vii	45	12		iv		10		iv
395	17		xiv	8		vi	46	13		iii		11		iii
396	18		xiii	9		v	47	14		Prid.		12		Prid.
397	19		xii	10		iv	48	15		Idus.		13		Idus.
398	20		xi	11		iii	49	16		xx		14		xviii
399	21		x	12		Prid.	50	17		xix		15		xvii
400	22		ix	13		Idus.	51	18		xviii		16		xvi
401	23		viii	14		xvii	52	19		xvii		17		xv

Last Year of Confusion of 445 Days.	A			B			C					D		
402	24	Jan.	vii	15	Nov.	xvi	53	20	II. Inter. M. of Jul. Cæsar of 34 days.	xvi	Intercalation of sixty-seven days by Julius Cæsar.	18	Nov.	xiv
403	25		vi	16		xv	54	21		xv		19		xiii
404	26		v	17		xiv	55	22		xiv		20		xii
405	27		iv	18		xiii	56	23		xiii		21		xi
406	28		iii	19		xii	57	24		xii		22		x
407	29		Prid.	20		xi	58	25		xi		23		ix
408	1	Feb.	Kal.	21		x	59	26		x		24		viii
409	2		iv	22		ix	60	27		ix		25		vii
410	3		iii	23		viii	61	28		viii		26		vi
411	4		Prid.	24		vii	62	29		vii		27		v
412	5		Non.	25		vi	63	30		vi		28		iv
413	6		viii	26		v	64	31		v		29		iii
414	7		vii	27		iv	65	32		iv		30		Prid.
415	8		vi	28		iii	66	33		iii		1	Dec.	Kal.
416	9		v	29		Prid.	67	34		Prid.		2		iv
417	10		iv	1	Dec.	Kal.	1		Dec.	Kal.		3		iii
418	11		iii	2		iv	2			iv		4		Prid.
419	12		Prid.	3		iii	3			iii		5		Non.
420	13		Idus.	4		Prid.	4			Prid.		6		viii
421	14		xvi	5		Non.	5			Non.		7		vii
422	15		xv	6		viii	6			viii		8		vi
423	16		xiv	7		vii	7			vii		9		v
424	17		xiii	8		vi	8			vi		10		iv
425	18		xii	9		v	9			v		11		iii
426	19		xi	10		iv	10			iv		12		Prid.
427	20		x	11		iii	11			iii		13		Idus.
428	21		ix	12		Prid.	12			Prid.		14		xix
429	22		viii	13		Idus.	13			Idus.		15		xviii
430	23		vii	14		xvii	14			xvii		16		xvii
431	24		vi	15		xvi	15			xvi		17		xvi
432	25		v	16		xv	16			xv		18		xv
433	26		iv	17		xiv	17			xiv		19		xiv
434	27		iii	18		xiii	18			xiii		20		xiii
435	28		Prid.	19		xii	19			xii		21		xii
436	1	Mart.	Kal.	20		xi	20			xi		22		xi
437	2		vi	21		x	21			x		23		x
438	3		v	22		ix	22			ix		24		ix
439	4		iv	23		viii	23			viii		25		viii
440	5		iii	24		vii	24			vii		26		vii
441	6		Prid.	25		vi	25			vi		27		vi
442	7		Non.	26		v	26			v		28		v
443	8		viii	27		iv	27			iv		29		iv
444	9		vii	28		iii	28			iii		30		iii
445	10		vi	29		Prid.	29			Prid.		31		Prid.

By the neglect of intercalations, the 1st of January had *retrograded*, so that it fell on the 23rd of October, according to Numa's calendar, differing ten days from the corrected Julian calendar, if that had then been used, because 365—355=10. On the contrary, during the two hundred and fifty-nine years between A.U.C. 304 and A.U.C. 563, the 1st of January had *advanced* from 70 to 73 days. For the true 14th of March being reckoned as the 11th of July, the 1st of January would fall on the 15th of March of the proleptic Julian year, or on the 13th of March according to Numa's calendar; and, allowing the excess of 7 days in two hundred and fifty-nine years of Numa, there was in that time an *excess* of about three intercalations of 22 days each. Whereas, from A.U.C. 563 to A.U.C. 707, a period of one hundred and forty-four years, there had been a *neglect* of three intercalations: 22+23+22=67 days. It is evident, therefore, that the previous excess had been corrected by the omission of three intercalations; and consequently, in the above-named period of one hundred and forty-four years, or six cycles of twenty-four years, there had been, by *design* and *neglect*, an omission of six intercalations. This proves too, as the reader will see by reverting to the tables in page 68, that the last year of confusion was either the eighth or sixteenth of the cycle of twenty-four years. For if the irregularity had taken place in the last eight years, only 66 days would have been wanting; whereas there were 67, beside the regular intercalation of 23 days belonging to that year. Each of the first eight years had 2930 days. But 2930—445=2485=355×7, or seven of Numa's common years.

The amount of the confusion being thus ascertained, we proceed to exhibit the Calendar of Julius Cæsar, as it has been gathered by learned antiquaries from remaining fragments of early Calendars, and the testimony principally of Ovid, Pliny, and the ancient Writers on agriculture. It is copied from Blondel's History of the Roman Calendar, and to it is annexed the Calendar of the ancient Church, as established by the Council of Nice. Though the latter is foreign from the main object of the present inquiry, it will be found useful in connecting the ancient with the modern computation of time.

CALENDAR OF CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR.						Calendar of the Ancient Church, established by the Council of Nice.			
Nundinal Letters.	Dies Fasti, Nefasti, &c	Golden Number.	Modern days.	Roman days.	JANUARY. Under the protection of the Goddess Juno.	Modern days.	Roman days.	Golden Number.	Sunday Letters.
A	F	I	1	Kal	Sacred to Janus, Juno, Jupiter and Esculapius	1	Kal	III	A
B	F		2	iv	Unlucky day, DIES ATER	2	iv		B
C	C	IX	3	iii	Cancer sets	3	iii	XI	C
D	C		4	Prid		4	Prid		D
E	F	XVII	5	Non	Lyra rises. Aquila sets in the evening	5	Non	XIX	E
F	F	VI	6	viii		6	viii	VIII	F
G	C		7	vii		7	vii		G
H	C	XIV	8	vi	Sacrifice to Janus	8	vi	XVI	A
A		III	9	v	AGONALIA	9	v	V	B
B	EN		10	iv	Mid Winter	10	iv		C
C	NP	XI	11	iii	CARMENTALIA	11	iii	XIII	D
D	C		12	Prid	Compitalia [through the city	12	Prid	II	E
E	NP	XIX	13	Idus	The pipers, dressed as women, make their purifications	13	Idus		F
F	EN	VIII	14	xix	DIES VITIOS, ex Sen. C.	14	xix	X	G
G			15	xviii	To CARMENTA, Porrima and Postverta	15	xviii		A
H	C	XVI	16	xvii	To Concord. Leo begins to set in the morning	16	xvii	XVIII	B
A	C	V	17	xvi	The Sun in Aquarius	17	xvi	VII	C
B	C		18	xv		18	xv		D
C	C	XIII	19	xiv		19	xiv	XV	E
D	C	II	20	xiii		20	xiii	IV	F
E	C		21	xii		21	xii		G
F	C	X	22	xi		22	xi	XII	A
G	C		23	x	Lyra sets	23	x	I	B
H	C	XVIII	24	ix	Festi Sementini, or the feast of Seedtime	24	ix		C
A	C	VII	25	viii		25	viii	IX	D
B	C		26	vii		26	vii		E
C	C	XV	27	vi	To Castor and Pollux	27	vi	XVII	F
D	C	IV	28	v		28	v	VI	G
E	F		29	iv	Equiria in the Campus Martius. The Pacalia	29	iv		A
F	F	XII	30	iii	Fidicula sets	30	iii	XIV	B
G	F	I	31	Prid	To the Dii Penates, or Household Gods	31	Prid	III	C
					FEBRUARY. Under the protection of Neptune.				
H	N	IX	1	Kal	To Juno Sospita, Jupiter, Hercules, Diana, the Lucaria	1	Kal		D
A	N		2	iv		2	iv	XI	E
B	N	XVII	3	iii	Lyra sets. The middle of Leo sets	3	iii	XIX	F
C	N	VI	4	Prid	The Dolphin sets	4	Prid	VIII	G
D			5	Non	Aquarius rises	5	Non		A
E	N	XIV	6	viii		6	viii	XVI	B
F	N	III	7	vii		7	vii	V	C
G	N		8	vi		8	vi		D
H	N	XI	9	v	Beginning of Spring	9	v	XIII	E
A	N		10	iv		10	iv	II	F
B	N	XIX	11	iii	Ludi Geniales, or Genialic games. Arcturus rises	11	iii		G
C	N	VIII	12	Prid		12	Prid	X	A
D	NP		13	Idus	To Faunus and Jupiter. Defeat and death of the Fabii	13	Idus		B
E	C	XVI	14	xvi	Corvus, Crater, and Anguis (or the Serpent) rise	14	xvi	XVIII	C
F	NP	V	15	xv	LUPERCALIA	15	xv	VII	D
G	END		16	xiv	The Sun in the sign Pisces	16	xiv		E
H	NP	XIII	17	xiii	QUIRINALIA	17	xiii	XV	F
A	C	II	18	xii	Fornacalia. Feralia to the Dii Manes, or Infernal Gods	18	xii	IV	G
B	C		19	xi		19	xi		A
C	C	X	20	x		20	x	XII	B
D	F		21	ix	To the Goddess Muta or Laranda. FERIALIA	21	ix	I	C
E	C	XVIII	22	viii	The Charistiæ	22	viii		D
F	NP	VII	23	vii	TERMINALIA	23	vii	IX	E
G	N		24	vi*	Regifugium. The place of the Bissextile	24	vi		F
H	C	XV	25	v	Arcturus rises at evening	25	v	XVII	G
A	EN	IV	26	iv		26	iv	VI	A
B	NP		27	iii	Equiria in the Campus Martius	27	iii		B
C	C	XII	28	Prid	The Tarquins vanquished	28	Prid	XIV	C

* As every fourth year consisted of 366 days, the 24th of February, or sixth before the kalends of March, was *doubled*. Hence it was called Bissextum or twice six, and the year itself received the name of Bissextile.

CALENDAR OF CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR.						Calendar of the Ancient Church, established by the Council of Nice.			
Nundinal Letters.	Dies Fasti, Nefasti, &c	Golden Number.	Modern days.	Roman days.	MARCH. Under the protection of Minerva.	Modern days.	Roman days.	Golden Number.	Sunday Letters.
D	NP	I	1	Kal	Matronalia, to Mars. Feast of the Ancilia	1	Kal	III	D
E	F		2	vi	To Juno Lucina	2	vi		E
F	C	IX	3	v	The Second Pisces sets	3	v	XI	F
G	C		4	iv		4	iv		G
H	C	XVII	5	iii	Arcturus sets. Vindemiator rises. Cancer rises [priest	5	iii	XIX	A
A	NP	VI	6	Prid	The Vestaliana. On this day Julius Cæsar was created high	6	Prid	VIII	B
B	F		7	Non	To Ve Jupiter in the wood of the Asylum. Pegasus rises	7	Non		C
C	F	XIV	8	viii	Corona rises	8	viii	XVI	D
D	C	III	9	vii	Orion rises. The northern of the Pisces rises	9	vii	V	E
E	C		10	vi		10	vi		F
F	C	XI	11	v		11	v	XIII	G
G	C		12	iv		12	iv	II	A
H	EN	XIX	13	iii	The opening of the Sea	13	iii		B
A	NP	VIII	14	Prid	THE SECOND EQUIRIA UPON THE TYBER	14	Prid	X	C
B	NP		15	Idus	To Anna Perenna. The Parricide. Scorpio sets	15	Idus		D
C	C	XVI	16	xvii		16	xvii	XVIII	E
D	NP	V	17	xvi	LIBERALIA, or Bacchanalia. The Agonalia. Milvius sets	17	xvi	VII	F
E	C		18	xv	The Sun in the sign Aries	18	xv		G
F	N	XIII	19	xiv	QUINQUATRIA of Minerva for five days	19	xiv	XV	A
G	C	II	20	xiii		20	xiii	IV	B
H	C		21	xii	The first day of the Century. Pegasus sets in the morning	21	xii		C
A	N	X	22	xi		22	xi	XII	D
B	NP		23	x	The TUBILUSTRIUM	23	x	I	E
C	QR	XVIII	24	ix	[Equinox	24	ix		F
D	C	VII	25	viii	The Hilaria to the Mother of the Gods. The Vernal	25	viii	IX	G
E	C		26	vii		26	vii		A
F	NP	XV	27	vi	ON THIS DAY CÆSAR MADE HIMSELF MASTER OF ALEX-	27	vi	XVII	B
G	C	IV	28	v	The Megalesia [ANDRIA	28	v	VI	C
H	C		29	iv		29	iv		D
A	C	XII	30	iii	To Janus, Concord, Salus, Pax	30	iii	XIV	E
B	C	I	31	Prid	To the Moon, or Diana upon the Aventine	31	Prid	III	F
					APRIL. Under the protection of the Goddess Venus.				
C	N	IX	1	Kal	To Venus with the flowers and myrtle. To Fortuna Vi-	1	Kal		G
D	C		2	iv	The Pleiades set [rilis	2	iv	XI	A
E	C	XVII	3	iii		3	iii		B
F	C	VI	4	Prid	MEGALESIAN GAMES TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS for	4	Prid	XIX	C
G			5	Non	[eight days	5	Non	VIII	D
H	NP	XIV	6	viii	To Fortuna Publica Primigenia	6	viii	XVI	E
A	N	III	7	vii	The birth of Apollo and Diana	7	vii	V	F
B	N		8	vi	Games for Cæsar's victory. Libra sets. Orion sets	8	vi		G
C	N	XI	9	v		9	v	XIII	A
D	N		10	iv	Cerealia. LUDI CIRCENSES, or the Circensian Games	10	iv	II	B
E	N	XIX	11	iii	[honour of Ceres for eight days	11	iii		C
F	N	VIII	12	Prid	The Mother of the Gods brought to Rome. Games in	12	Prid	X	D
G	NP		13	Idus	To Jupiter Victor and Liberty	13	Idus		E
H	N	XVI	14	xviii		14	xviii	XVIII	F
A	NP	V	15	xvii	FORDICIDIA or FORDICALIA	15	xvii	VII	G
B	N		16	xvi	AUGUSTUS saluted Emperor. The Hyades set	16	xvi		A
C	N	XIII	17	xv	[the foxes	17	xv	XV	B
D	N	II	18	xiv	EQUIRIA IN THE CIRCUS MAXIMUS. The burning of	18	xiv	IV	C
E	N		19	xiii	Cerealia. The Sun in the sign Taurus	19	xiii		D
F	N	X	20	xii		20	xii	XII	E
G	NP		21	xi	PALILIA or PARILIA. The Nativity of Rome	21	xi	I	F
H	N	XVIII	22	x	The second Agoniana or Agonalia	22	x		G
A	NP	VII	23	ix	The first VINALIA to Jupiter and Venus	23	ix	IX	A
B	C		24	viii		24	viii		B
C	NP	XV	25	vii	ROBIGALIA. Aries sets. Middle of Spring	25	vii	XVII	C
D	F	IV	26	vi	The Dog Star rises. The Goat rises	26	vi	VI	D
E	C		27	v	Latinæ Feriæ on the Mons Sacer	27	v		E
F	NP	XII	28	iv	FLORALIA during six days. The Goat rises in the morning	28	iv	XIV	F
G	C	I	29	iii	The Dog Star sets in the evening	29	iii	III	G
H	F		30	Prid	To Vesta Palatina. The first Larentalia	30	Prid		A

CALENDAR OF CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR.						Calendar of the Ancient Church, established by the Council of Nice.			
Nundinal Letters.	Dies Fasti, Nefasti, &c	Golden Number.	Modern days.	Roman days.	**MAY.** Under the protection of Apollo.	Modern days.	Roman days.	Golden Number.	Sunday Letters.
A	N	IX	1	Kal	To the Bona Dea. To Lares Præstites. Ludi Floræ for three days	1	Kal	XI	B
B	F		2	vi	The Compitalia	2	vi		C
C	C	XVII	3	v	The Centaur and the Hyades rise	3	v	XIX	D
D	C	VI	4	iv		4	iv	VIII	E
E	C		5	iii	Lyra rises	5	iii		F
F	C	XIV	6	Prid	The middle of Scorpio sets	6	Prid	XVI	G
G	N	III	7	Non	The Vergiliæ rise in the morning	7	Non	V	A
H	F		8	viii	The Goat rises	8	viii		B
A	N	XI	9	vii	Lemuria at night for three days. Luminaria	9	vii	XIII	C
B	C		10	vi		10	vi	II	D
C	N	XIX	11	v	Orion sets. Unfortunate wedding day	11	v		E
D	NP	VIII	12	iv	To MARS, THE AVENGER, AT THE CIRCUS	12	iv	X	F
E	N		13	iii	LEMURIA. The Pleiades rise. The beginning of Summer	13	iii		G
F	C	XVI	14	Prid	To Mercury. Taurus rises	14	Prid	XVIII	A
G	NP	V	15	Idus	To Jupiter. Feast of Merchants. Birth of Mercury. Lyra rises	15	Idus	VII	B
H	F		16	xvii		16	xvii		C
A	C	XIII	17	xvi		17	xvi	XV	D
B	C	II	18	xv		18	xv	IV	E
C	C		19	xiv	The Sun in Gemini	19	xiv		F
D	C	X	20	xiii		20	xiii	XII	G
E	NP		21	xii	AGONALIA, or Agoniana of Janus	21	xii	I	A
F	N	XVIII	22	xi	To Ve-Jupiter. The Dog-star rises	22	xi		B
G	NP	VII	23	x	The Feriæ of Vulcan. The TUBILUSTRIUM	23	x	IX	C
H	Q rex C.F.		24	ix		24	ix		D
A	C	XV	25	viii	To Fortuna Publica. Aquila rises	25	viii	XVII	E
B	C	IV	26	vii	The Second Regifugium. Arcturus sets	26	vii	VI	F
C	C		27	vi	The Hyades rise	27	vi		G
D	C	XII	28	v		28	v	XIV	A
E	C	I	29	iv		29	iv	III	B
F	C		30	iii		30	iii		C
G	C	IX	31	Prid		31	Prid	XI	D
					JUNE. Under the protection of Mercury.				
H	N	XVII	1	Kal	To Juno. To Moneta. To Tempestas. To Fabaria. Aquila rises	1	Kal		E
A	F	VI	2	iv	To Mars. To the Goddess Carna. The Hyades rise	2	iv	XIX	F
B	C		3	iii	To Bellona	3	iii	VIII	G
C	C	XIV	4	Prid	To Hercules at the circus	4	Prid	XVI	A
D	N	III	5	Non	To Fides. To Jupiter Sponsor, or Deus Fidius, Sanctus, Semi Pater	5	Non	V	B
E	N		6	viii	To Vesta	6	viii		C
F	N	XI	7	vii	The Piscatorian days in the Campus Martius. Arcturus rises	7	vii	XIII	D
G			8	vi	To INTELLECTUS AT THE CAPITOL	8	vi	II	E
H	N	XIX	9	v	VESTALIANA. Altar of Jupiter Pistor. Coronation of Asses	9	v		F
A	N	VIII	10	iv	MATRALIA. To Fortuna Fortis. The Dolphin rises at night	10	iv	X	G
B	N		11	iii	To Concord. To Mother Matuta	11	iii		A
C	N	XVI	12	Prid		12	Prid	XVIII	B
D	N	V	13	Idus	To Jupiter Invictus. The lesser Quinquatrus. The beginning of heat	13	Idus	VII	C
E	N		14	xviii		14	xviii		D
F	Q.ST. D.F.	XIII	15	xvii	THE CARRYING OF DUNG OUT OF THE TEMPLE OF VESTA. The Hyades rise	15	xvii	XV	E
G	C	II	16	xvi	Orion rises.	16	xvi	IV	F
H	C		17	xv	The whole Dolphin rises	17	xv		G
A	C	X	18	xiv		18	xiv	XII	A
B	C		19	xiii	To Minerva on Mount Aventine. The Sun in Cancer	19	xiii	I	B
C	C	XVIII	20	xii	To Summanus. Serpentarius rises (called also Ophiuchus)	20	xii		C
D	C	VII	21	xi		21	xi	IX	D
E	C		22	x		22	x		E
F	C	XV	23	ix		23	ix	XVII	F
G	C	IV	24	viii	To Fortuna Fortis. The Summer Solstice	24	viii	VI	G
H	C		25	vii		25	vii		A
A	C	XII	26	vi	The Girdle of Orion rises	26	vi	XIV	B
B	C	I	27	v	To Jupiter Stator and Lar	27	v	III	C
C	C		28	iv		28	iv		D
D	F	XI	29	iii	To Quirinus on the Quirinal Mount	29	iii	XI	E
E	F		30	Prid	To Hercules and the Muses. The Poplifugia	30	Prid		F

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Nundinal Letters.	Dies Fasti, Nefasti, &c	Golden Number.	Modern days.	Roman days.	**QUINTILIS, afterwards JULY.** Under the protection of Jupiter.	Modern days.	Roman days.	Golden Number.	Sunday Letters.
F	N	XVII	1	Kal	Removing from one house to another	1	Kal	XIX	G
G	N	VI	2	vi		2	vi	VIII	A
H	N		3	v		3	v		B
A	NP	XIV	4	iv	Corona sets in the morning. The Hyades rise	4	iv	XVI	C
B	N	III	5	iii	POPLIFUGIUM [Feminina	5	iii	V	D
C	N		6	Prid	LUDI APOLLINARES during eight days. To Fortuna	6	Prid		E
D	N	XI	7	Non	Nonæ Caprotinæ. Feast of Maid Servants. Romulus	7	Non	XIII	F
E	N		8	viii	Vitulatio. The middle of Capricorn sets [disappeared	8	viii	II	G
F	EN	XIX	9	vii	Cepheus rises at night	9	vii		A
G	C	VIII	10	vi	The Etesian winds begin to blow	10	vi	X	B
H	C		11	v		11	v		C
A	NP	XVI	12	iv	BIRTH OF JULIUS CÆSAR	12	iv	XVIII	D
B	C	V	13	iii		13	iii	VII	E
C	C		14	Prid	To Fortuna Feminina. THE MERKATUS or Mercurialia	14	Prid		F
D	NP	XIII	15	Idus	To Castor and Pollux [during six days	15	Idus	XV	G
E	F	II	16	xvii	The foremost dog rises	16	xvii	IV	A
F	C		17	xvi	The fatal day of the battle of Allia	17	xvi		B
G	C	X	18	xv		18	xv	XII	C
H	NP		19	xiv	Lucaria. Games during four days	19	xiv	I	D
A		XVIII	20	xiii	GAMES FOR CÆSAR'S VICTORY. The Sun in Leo	20	xiii		E
B	C	VII	21	xii	LUCARIA	21	xii	IX	F
C	C		22	xi		22	xi		G
D		XV	23	x	GAMES OF NEPTUNE	23	x	XVII	A
E	N	IV	24	ix		24	ix	VI	B
F	NP		25	viii	FURINALIA. Circensian games during six days. Aquarius	25	viii		C
G	C	XII	26	vii	Canis minor rises [sets	26	vii	XIV	D
H	C	I	27	vi	Aquila rises	27	vi	III	E
A	C		28	v		28	v		F
B	C	IX	29	iv		29	iv	XI	G
C	C		30	iii	Aquila sets	30	iii	XIX	A
D	C	XVII	31	Prid		31	Prid		B
					SEXTILIS, afterwards AUGUST. Under the protection of the Goddess Ceres.				
E	N		1	Kal	To Mars. To Hope	1	Kal	VIII	C
F	C	XIV	2	iv	Feriæ, BECAUSE CÆSAR SUBJUGATED SPAIN	2	iv	XVI	D
G	C	III	3	iii		3	iii	V	E
H	C		4	Prid	The middle of Leo rises	4	Prid		F
A	F	XI	5	Non	To Salus on the Quirinal Mount	5	Non	XIII	G
B	F		6	viii	To Hope. The middle of Arcturus sets	6	viii	II	A
C	C	XIX	7	vii	The middle of Aquarius sets	7	vii		B
D	C	VIII	8	vi	To Sol Indigetes on the Quirinal Mount	8	vi	X	C
E	NP		9	v		9	v		D
F	C	XVI	10	iv	To Opis and Ceres	10	iv	XVIII	E
G	C	V	11	iii	To Hercules in the Circus Flaminius. Lyra sets. Be-	11	iii	VII	F
H	C		12	Prid	The Lignapesia [ginning of Autumn	12	Prid		G
A	NP	XIII	13	Idus	To Diana in the Sylva Aricina. To Vertumnus. Feast of	13	Idus	XV	A
B	F	II	14	xix	The Dolphin sets in the morning [Slaves & Servant Maids	14	xix	IV	B
C	C		15	xviii		15	xviii		C
D	C	X	16	xvii		16	xvii	XII	D
E	NP		17	xvi	PORTUMNALIA to Janus	17	xvi	I	E
F	C	XVIII	18	xv	Consualia. The Rape of the Sabine Virgins	18	xv		F
G	FP	VII	19	xiv	The last VINALIA. Death of Augustus	19	xiv	IX	G
H	C		20	xiii	Lyra sets. The Sun in Virgo	20	xiii		A
A	NP	XV	21	xii	Vinalia Rustica. The Great Mysteries. CONSUALIA	21	xii	XVII	B
B	EN	IV	22	xi	Vindemiator rises in the morning	22	xi	VI	C
C	NP		23	x	VULCANALIA in the Circus Flaminius	23	x		D
D	C	XII	24	ix	Feriæ of the Moon	24	ix	XIV	E
E	NP	I	25	viii	The OPICONSIVÆ in the Capitol	25	viii	III	F
F	C		26	vii		26	vii		G
G	NP	IX	27	vi	VOLTURNALIA	27	vi	XI	A
H	NP		28	v	To VICTORY in the CURIA. Sagitta sets. The end of the	28	v	XIX	B
A	F	XVII	29	iv	[Etesian Winds	29	iv		C
B	F	VI	30	iii	The Ornaments of the Goddess Ceres are shown	30	iii	VIII	D
C	F		31	Prid	Andromeda rises at evening	31	Prid		E

CALENDAR OF CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR.						Calendar of the Ancient Church, established by the Council of Nice.			
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D	N	XIV	1	Kal	To Jupiter Maimactes. Feasts to Neptune	1	Kal	XVI	F
E	N	III	2	iv	To the victory of Augustus Feriæ	2	iv	V	G
F	NP		3	iii	Dionysiaca or Vindemiæ	3	iii		A
G	C	XI	4	Prid	ROMAN GAMES during eight days	4	Prid	XIII	B
H	F		5	Non		5	Non	II	C
A	F	XIX	6	viii	To Erebus, of a ram and a black sheep	6	viii		D
B	C	VIII	7	vii	Capreola rises	7	vii	X	E
C	C		8	vi		8	vi		F
D	C	XVI	9	v		9	v	XVIII	G
E	C	V	10	iv	The head of Medusa rises	10	iv	VII	A
F	C		11	iii	The middle of Virgo rises	11	iii		B
G	N	XIII	12	Prid	The middle of Arcturus rises	12	Prid	XV	C
H	NP	II	13	Idus	To Jupiter. Dedication of the Capitol. Nail fixed by the	13	Idus	IV	D
A	F		14	xviii	TRIAL OF HORSES [Prætor. Departure of the swallows	14	xviii		E
B		X	15	xvii	GRAND CIRCENSIAN GAMES VOWED during five days	15	xvii	XII	F
C	C		16	xvi		16	xvi	I	G
D	C	XVIII	17	xv		17	xv		A
E	C	VII	18	xiv	Spica Virginis rises in the morning	18	xiv	IX	B
F	C		19	xiii	The Sun in Libra	19	xiii		C
G	C	XV	20	xii	MERKATUS during four days. Birth of Romulus	20	xii	XVII	D
H	C	IV	21	xi		21	xi	VI	E
A	C		22	x	Argo and Pisces set	22	x		F
B	NP	XII	23	ix	Circensian Games. BIRTH OF AUGUSTUS. The Centaur	23	ix	XIV	G
C	C	I	24	viii	Autumnal Equinox [rises in the morning	24	viii	III	A
D	C		25	vii	To Venus, Saturn, and Mania	25	vii		B
E	C	IX	26	vi		26	vi	XI	C
F	C		27	v	To Venus the Mother, and Fortuna Redux	27	v	XIX	D
G	C	XVII	28	iv	The end of Virgo's rising	28	iv		E
H	F	VI	29	iii		29	iii	VIII	F
A	F	XIV	30	Prid	A feast to Minerva. The Meditrinalia	30	Prid		G

Nundinal Letters.	Dies Fasti, Nefasti, &c	Golden Number.	Modern days.	Roman days.	OCTOBER. Under the protection of the God Mars.	Modern days.	Roman days.	Golden Number.	Sunday Letters.
B	N	VIII	1	Kal		1	Kal	XVI	A
C	F		2	vi		2	vi	V	B
D	C	XI	3	v		3	v	XIII	C
E	C		4	iv	Bootes sets in the morning	4	iv	II	D
F	C	XIX	5	iii	The ornaments of Ceres are shown	5	iii		E
G	C	VIII	6	Prid	To the Dii Manes	6	Prid	X	F
H	F		7	Non		7	Non		G
A	F	XVI	8	viii	The bright star of Corona rises	8	viii	XVIII	A
B	C	V	9	vii		9	vii	VII	B
C	C		10	vi	Ramalia	10	vi		C
D		XIII	11	v	MEDITRINALIA. Beginning of Winter	11	v	XV	D
E	NP	II	12	iv	AUGUSTALIA	12	iv	IV	E
F	NP		13	iii	FONTINALIA. To Jupiter Liberator. Games during	13	iii		F
G	NP	X	14	Prid	[three days	14	Prid	XII	G
H	NP		15	Idus	The merchants to Mercury	15	Idus	I	A
A	F	XVIII	16	xvii	Popular Games. Arcturus sets	16	xvii		B
B	C	VII	17	xvi		17	xvi	IX	C
C	C		18	xv	To Jupiter Liberator. Games	18	xv		D
D	NP	XV	19	xiv	ARMILUSTRIUM	19	xiv	XVII	E
E	C	IV	20	xiii	The Sun in Scorpio	20	xiii	VI	F
F	C		21	xii	Games during four days	21	xii		G
G	C	XII	22	xi		22	xi	XIV	A
H	C	I	23	x	To Liber Pater. Taurus sets	23	x	III	B
A	C		24	ix		24	ix		C
B	C	IX	25	viii		25	viii	XI	D
C	C		26	vii		26	vii	XIX	E
D	C	XVII	27	vi	GAMES TO VICTORY	27	vi		F
E	C	VI	28	v	The Lesser Mysteries. Vigiliæ set	28	v	VIII	G
F	C		29	iv		29	iv		A
G	C	XIV	30	iii	Feriæ of Vertumnus. Games vowed	30	iii	XVI	B
H	C	III	31	Prid	Arcturus sets	31	Prid	V	C

CALENDAR OF CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR.						Calendar of the Ancient Church, established by the Council of Nice.			
Nundinal Letters.	Dies Fasti, Nefasti, &c	Golden Number.	Modern days.	Roman days.	NOVEMBER. Under the protection of the Goddess Diana.	Modern days.	Roman days.	Golden Number.	Sunday Letters.
A	N		1	Kal	Banquet of Jupiter. The Circensian Games. Head of	1	Kal		D
B	F	XI	2	iv	Arcturus sets in the evening [Taurus sets	2	iv	XIII	E
C	F		3	iii	Fidicula rises in the morning	3	iii	II	F
D		XIX	4	Prid		4	Prid		G
E	F	VIII	5	Non	NEPTUNALIA. Games during eight days	5	Non	X	A
F	F		6	viii		6	viii		B
G	C	XVI	7	vii	A show of ornaments	7	vii	XVIII	C
H	C	V	8	vi	The bright star of Scorpio rises	8	vi	VII	D
A	C		9	v		9	v		E
B	C	XIII	10	iv		10	iv	XV	F
C	C	II	11	iii	The shutting of the sea. The Vergiliæ set	11	iii	IV	G
D	C		12	Prid		12	Prid		A
E	NP	X	13	Idus	BANQUET COMMANDED. Lectisternia	13	Idus	XII	B
F	F		14	xviii	TRIAL OF HORSES	14	xviii	I	C
G	C	XVIII	15	xvii	POPULAR GAMES IN THE CIRCUS during three days	15	xvii		D
H	C	VII	16	xvi	End of seed-time for wheat	16	xvi	IX	E
A	C		17	xv	[tarius	17	xv		F
B	C	XV	18	xiv	THE MERKATUS during three days. The Sun in Sagit-	18	xiv	XVII	G
C	C	IV	19	xiii	Supper of the Pontiffs in honour of Cybele	19	xiii	VI	A
D	C		20	xii	The horns of Taurus set	20	xii		B
E	C	XII	21	xi	The Liberalia. Lepus sets in the morning	21	xi	XIV	C
F	C	I	22	x	To Pluto and Proserpina	22	x	III	D
G	C		23	ix		23	ix		E
H		IX	24	viii	Bruma or Brumalia during thirty days	24	viii	XI	F
A	C		25	vii	Canicula sets at sunrise	25	vii	XIX	G
B	C	XVII	26	vi		26	vi		A
C	C	VI	27	v	Funeral Sacrifices to the Gauls dug up, and to the Greeks	27	v	VIII	B
D	C		28	iv	[in the Forum Boarium	28	iv		C
E	C	XIV	29	iii		29	iii	XVI	D
F	F	III	30	Prid		30	Prid	V	E
					DECEMBER. Under the protection of the Goddess Vesta.				
G	N	XI	1	Kal	To Fortuna Feminina	1	Kal	XIII	F
H			2	iv		2	iv	II	G
A		XIX	3	iii		3	iii		A
B		VIII	4	Prid	To Minerva and Neptune	4	Prid	X	B
C	F		5	Non	The Faunalia	5	Non		C
D	C	XVI	6	viii	The middle of Sagittarius sets	6	viii	XVIII	D
E	C	V	7	vii	Aquila rises in the morning	7	vii	VII	E
F	C		8	vi		8	vi		F
G	C	XIII	9	v	To Juno Jugalis	9	v	XV	G
H	C	II	10	iv		10	iv	IV	A
A	NP		11	iii	AGONALIA. The fourteen Halcyonian Days	11	iii		B
B	EN	X	12	Prid		12	Prid	XII	C
C	NP		13	Idus	The Equiria or Horse Races	13	Idus	I	D
D	F	XVIII	14	xix	Brumalia. Ambrosiana	14	xix		E
E	NP	VII	15	xviii	CONSUALIA. The whole of Cancer rises in the morning	15	xviii	IX	F
F	C		16	xvii		16	xvii		G
G		XV	17	xvi	THE SATURNALIA during five days	17	xvi	XVII	A
H	C	IV	18	xv	Cygnus rises. The Sun in Capricorn	18	xv	VI	B
A	NP		19	xiv	OPALIANA	19	xiv		C
B	C	XII	20	xiii	Sigillaria during two days [with wine mixed with honey	20	xiii	XIV	D
C	NP	I	21	xii	Angeronalia. THE DIVALIA. To Hercules and Venus,	21	xii	II	E
D	C		22	xi	Compitalia. Feriæ dedicated to the Lares. Games	22	xi		F
E	NP	IX	23	x	The Feriæ of Jupiter. LARENTINALIA or LAURENTI-	23	x	XI	G
F	C		24	ix	Juvenalia. Games [NALIA. Capra sets	24	ix	XIX	A
G	C	XVII	25	viii	The end of the Brumalia. The Winter Solstice	25	viii		B
H	C	VI	26	vii		26	vii	VIII	C
A	C		27	vi	To Phœbus during three days. The Dolphin rises in the	27	vi		D
B	C	XIV	28	v	[morning	28	v	XVI	E
C	F	III	29	iv	Aquila sets in the evening	29	iv	V	F
D	F		30	iii	Canicula sets in the evening	30	iii		G
E	F	XI	31	Prid		31	Prid	XIII	A

In the preceding calendar, the first column contains the nundinal letters, from A to H, or eight letters in continual series from the first to the last day of the year. They were intended to regulate those assemblies every ninth day, in which the inhabitants of the country around Rome went to the city for information concerning the discipline of their religion and the administration of civil affairs. From this arrangement the Christians took their system of Sunday letters, substituting the series seven, from A to G, for the nundinal series.

The second column denotes: 1. by the letter F, those days called Fasti, because it was lawful for the Prætor to hold his courts of justice,—" quibus fas esset jure agere"; 2. by N, those days called Nefasti, in which it was not permitted to try causes,—" quibus nefas esset"; 3. by F P, or Fastus primo, those in which trials might be held in the morning and not in the afternoon; 4. by N P, Nefastus primo, in which trials might not be so held; 5. by E N, or E N D, for Endotercisus, intersected,—those days in which courts might be held at certain hours and not at others; 6. by C, for the days in which the people might assemble in the Campus Martius to hold the Comitia. Two days in the year (March 24th and May 24th), when it was not lawful to hold the Comitia, unless the Pontiff, called Rex, or king, were present, are marked Q. R. or Q. Rex C. F. for " quando rex comitiavit fas." Once a year (June 15th), the temple of Vesta was cleansed; after which, and not before, it was lawful to transact public business. Hence it is marked Q. ST. D. F. for " quando stercus delatum fas." This column, of course, had no counterpart in the Christian calendar.

The third column contains the lunar cycle of Meton, called the golden number; and it is contained both in the calendar of Julius Cæsar and in that of the ancient Church. The arrangement of the nineteen numbers is the same in both, with this difference, that in the calendar of Cæsar, opposite to the 1st of January is the golden number I, whereas in that of the council of Nice it is the number III. To explain this, we must enter somewhat into the method of arrangement of the ancient computists in both calendars.

The golden numbers, from I. to XIX. represent a series of years, containing 235 lunations, and intended to mark the new moons in each year, on the days in which they were supposed to fall. Sosigenes, and probably other learned astronomers, employed by

Cæsar in this matter, finding that there would be a new moon eight days after the winter solstice, fixed on that day for the commencement of the new year, in order that the lunar and the solar year might commence together. Consequently the calends of January were marked with the golden number I., to show that it was the first in the series of the Metonic cycle. The first lunar month, from the conjunction of the sun and moon on the 1st of January, consisted of thirty days. The second lunar month, of twenty-nine days, began on the 31st of January, and ended on the 28th of February. The third lunar month, of thirty days, began on the 1st and ended on the 30th of March. The fourth lunar month, of twenty-nine days, began on the 31st of March, and ended on the 28th of April. The fifth lunar month, of thirty days, began on the 29th of April, and ended on the 28th of May. The sixth lunar month, of twenty-nine days, began on the 29th of May, and ended on the 26th of June. In like manner the remaining six lunations ended on the 20th of December, thus falling short eleven days of the solar year. The thirteenth lunation, consisting of thirty days, would end on the 19th of the following January. On examining the golden numbers, the reader will find that number one is placed opposite to the first day of each of these lunar months, and that on the 20th of January commences the number two, to denote that the first lunation in the second year of Meton's cycle commenced on that day. That lunation, being the fourteenth, consisted of twenty-nine days, and therefore would end on the 17th of February, and the second month of the second year would begin February 18th, consequently the number two is placed opposite to that day. Reckoning again thirty days, or eleven days in February and nineteen in March, we come to number two opposite to March 20th, as the beginning of the third month in the second year. In this manner the twelfth lunation, which completes the second lunar year of 354 days, begins December 10th and ends January 8th of the following solar year. On the 9th of January the third lunar year begins, and consequently the golden number *three* is opposite to that day. In the same manner the whole nineteen years were reckoned;—and such was the arrangement of Cæsar's calendar.

The computists of the Council of Nice proceeded in a similar manner, but with a different object. The precession of the equinoxes had in the interval of time shifted the cardinal points in the zodiac, so that the winter solstice had passed from the 25th to the 21st of December, and the vernal equinox from the 25th to the 21st of March. The object of the council was to determine the day of the paschal full moon; and to establish a rule for the computation of Easter. They found that the first new moon after the vernal equinox, in the year of their session, fell on the 23d of March. They made it therefore the beginning of a new cycle of nineteen years, and consequently marked it with the golden number one. It is possible that in the ordinary course of the Julian calendar, the year of their session was the third of the Metonic cycle; but whether that was or was not the case, the result of placing the golden number one opposite to the 23d of March was as follows:

I.		II.		III.	
Jan. 23 to Feb. 20	29	Jan. 12 to Feb. 9	29	Jan. 1 to Jan. 30	30
Feb. 21 to Mar. 22	30	Feb. 10 to Mar. 11	30	Jan. 31 to Feb. 28	29
Mar. 23 to Apr. 20	29	Mar. 12 to Apr. 9	29	Mar. 1 to Mar. 30	30
Apr. 21 to May 20	30	Apr. 10 to May 9	30	Mar. 31 to Apr. 28	29
May 21 to June 18	29	May 10 to June 7	29	Apr. 29 to May 28	30
June 19 to July 18	30	June 8 to July 7	30	May 29 to June 26	29
July 19 to Aug. 16	29	July 8 to Aug. 5	29	June 27 to July 26	30
Aug. 17 to Sept. 15	30	Aug. 6 to Sept. 4	30	July 27 to Aug. 24	29
Sept. 16 to Oct. 14	29	Sept. 5 to Oct. 3	29	Aug. 25 to Sept. 23	30
Oct. 15 to Nov. 13	30	Oct. 4 to Nov. 2	30	Sept. 24 to Oct. 22	29
Nov. 14 to Dec. 12	29	Nov. 3 to Dec. 1	29	Oct. 23 to Nov. 21	30
Dec. 13 to Jan. 11	30	Dec. 2 to Dec. 31	30	Nov. 22 to Dec. 20	29
				Dec. 21 to Jan. 19	30
Twelve Lunations	354	Twelve Lunations	354	Thirteen Lunations	384

This mode of computation continued to be generally used in the Christian Church until the year of our Lord 1582, when the reigning pontiff, Gregory XIII, published his bull abolishing the use of the calendar established by the Council of Nice, and substituting that which has since been called the Gregorian. In this the golden numbers were discontinued, and the system of epacts, applied by Aloysio Lilio to the cycle of nineteen years, was adopted in its stead. Ten days were retrenched from the year on account of the precession of the equinoxes, to bring forward again the vernal equinox to the 21st of March, and the 5th of October was thenceforward to be counted as the 15th. In Spain and Portugal, and a part of Italy, the retrenchment took place on the same day as at Rome. In France the tenth of the following December was counted as the 20th. In Brabant, Flanders, Artois, Hainault and Holland, the 15th of December was counted as the 25th. In Germany, the provinces in communion with the pope received the new calendar in 1584, Poland in 1586, and Hungary in 1587. The Protestants in general continued to retain their old calendar until A. D. 1700, when they adopted a new calendar of their own; but this being found inconvenient, the diet of Ratisbon, in the year 1774, at the instance of the king of Prussia, determined that Easter should be celebrated in 1778, according to the Gregorian calendar.

In England, the year had been reckoned as commencing on the 25th of March, the vernal equinox of the Julian calendar, until parliament enacted in 1751, that the year 1752, and all following years, should begin on the 1st of January of the Julian calendar, and that the 3rd of September, 1752, should be counted as the 14th of the same month. The Church of England, however, did not adopt the Gregorian calendar, but continued to use that of the ancient Church. The only difference made was to adjust that calendar to the modern retrenchment. Hence the golden number XIV, which in the Nicene calendar stands opposite to the 30th of March, was shifted so as to stand opposite to the 21st of that month. This will be seen by comparing the calendar in the Prayer-books published before the act of parliament of 1751, with those published subsequently. In the latter the golden number is omitted in the other months, and one cycle only is inserted from March 21st, as being the only one necessary for the calculation of Easter.

The reader, it is hoped, will not be displeased with this digression, because it connects more clearly the ancient and modern computations of time. Having done this, we return to the consideration of the calendar of Julius Cæsar.

The fourth and fifth columns require no comment. The fourth, containing the modern computation of days, is added merely for convenience; and the fifth contains the Roman division of calends, nones, and ides, explained in common school-books, and therefore within the reach of every one. The same remark applies to the first and second columns of the ancient calendar of the Church.

The sixth column only remains to be considered, and it is very important to our subject, because it shows the religious festivals of the ancient Romans, and the accuracy with which they observed the movements of the heavenly bodies.

We are apt to undervalue the science of the ancients. We ought rather to look upon them with respect and admiration. It is truly astonishing that, with their imperfect instruments, they arrived at so much accuracy in their astronomical calculations. The very want of instruments led to an intensity of observation much greater than ours. As the savage inhabitant of the forest, without a compass, marks his course through the pathless wilds with an accuracy far beyond that of the civilized man, so, at a very early period of the world's history, did even barbarous nations learn, by the rising and setting of the constellations, to regulate the course of the year. However rude, therefore, the Romans under Romulus may have been, it was impossible for them to depart greatly from the tropical year; because they watched the constellations, and connected with their rising and setting the seasons of agriculture and the times of their religious festivals. Any aberration would be quickly perceived, and the very observances of a religion, the gods of which presided over their secular employments, served as a balance-wheel to regulate the movements of their chronology. Hence we infer with Censorinus, that from the very building of Rome to the time in which he wrote, the years mentioned by historians are to be considered as natural or solar: "Itaque cum de aliquo annorum numero hic dicetur, non alios par erit quam naturales accipere."

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE JULIAN PERIOD.

Why so named.—The Multiple of the Lunar and Solar Cycles, and the Indiction.—The Solar Cycle explained.—History of the Indictions; and the several steps taken before the invention of the Julian Period, traced up to the Paschal Cycle of Victorius.—Abstract of his system.—Æra of Dionysius the Little.—Explanation of his scheme, from his letter to Petronius.—The first who dated from our Lord's Incarnation. Not much noticed till the time of Bede; after which it was generally adopted.—The first two Cycles of Dionysius from Bede, given and explained.—Errors in Bede's computation detected.—Method by which Scaliger connected the Julian Period with the Common or Dionysian Æra.—Advantages of the Julian Period, as a uniform measure of ancient time.

The Julian period is a fictitious æra, designed to serve as a common rule for all other æras. It was so called by its inventor, Joseph Justus Scaliger, because it supposes the Roman year, as reformed by Julius Cæsar, to be extended back, so as to be a general measure of time from the beginning of the world. It consists of 7980 years,—the product of the lunar cycle of nineteen solar years, or 235 lunations, the solar cycle of twenty-eight solar years, and the indiction, a period of fifteen years, multiplied into each other.

The lunar cycle of nineteen years has been already explained. The solar cycle, or cycle of Sunday letters, is as follows:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
G	E	D	C	B	G	F	E	D	B	A	G	F	D	C	B	A	F	E	D	C	A	G	F	E	C	B	A
F				A				C				E				G				B				D			

It is occasioned by the fourth of Cæsar's years being bissextile, or consisting of 366 days. Hence it follows that every fourth year there must be two sunday letters; the one continuing until the twenty-fourth of February, the other following that day for the remainder of the year.

As the common year consists of 365 days, or fifty-two weeks and one day, it follows that the letter A, opposite, in the Christian calendar, to the first of January, marks not only the beginning of each of the fifty-two weeks, but also the beginning of the fifty-third week, and therefore falls on the last of December. If the first of January be Sunday, the last of December is also Sunday, and the first of January of the second year is Monday. Consequently Sunday will fall on the seventh day, marked G, and that will be the Sunday letter. As the year commenced on Monday it will end on Monday; and the third year will begin with Tuesday, opposite the letter A. Consequently, Sunday will fall on the sixth of January, and the Sunday letter will be F. The fourth year will begin on Wednesday, opposite to the letter A; consequently, the Sunday letter will be E, the fifth of January. But this being a bissextile year, the letter F, which is opposite to the 24th of February, or the sixth before the kalends of March, is repeated. The letter E being the Sunday letter, the 23rd of February is Sunday; the 24th of February is Monday; the 25th, the second F, is Tuesday; the 26th, or G, is Wednesday; the 27th, or A, is Thursday; the 28th, or B, is Friday; the 29th, or C, is Saturday; and the first of March, opposite to the letter D, will be Sunday. Therefore D becomes the Sunday letter for the remainder of the year. Thus it will be seen that the letters proceed in retrograde order from year to year; that in common years there is only one Sunday letter, and in the intercalary years two; and that the last of these letters in the natural order serves first, and the first last. This interruption of the bissextiles is the cause why the same order of Dominical or Sunday letters cannot return till the end of twenty-eight years. These twenty-eight years are therefore called the solar cycle, because the Lord's day is called Dies Solis or Sunday.

The cycle of fifteen solar years, called the Indiction, is of very obscure and doubtful origin. The word Indictio was originally used in the sense of tax, tribute, or assessment. At least it is so employed by Ammianus Marcellinus, and in the Theodosian code.[1] Why it denoted also a term of years can only be conjectured; and when it was first so used authors are not agreed. In the Chronicon Paschale, under the title "beginning of Indictions," it is asserted that "in the first year of Caius Julius Cæsar—the consulship of Lepidus and Plancus—the indictions began to be used from the first of the month Gorpiæus"[2] (September). No example is or can be given of its use at that early period; and in the same work, the beginning of the Constantinian indictions is placed under that year in which Constantine Augustus iv. (it should be iii.) and Licinius iii. were consuls, or A.D. 313.[1]

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[1] Indictionale augmentum. Am. Mar. Lib. xvii. cap. iii. Id futuræ Indictioni conlationique proficiat. Cod. Theod. Lib. xi. tit. v. de Indictionibus.

[2] Chron. Pasch. p. 187, ed. Paris.

Godefroy, in his table of twenty-four indictions of which express mention is made in the Theodosian code, places the first in the consulship of Constantius viii. and Julian, that is A.D. 356.[2] Previous to the reign of Valentinian and Valens, he observes, the computation of the Indictions was the same in the eastern and western empire; but he thinks that from the time of those emperors there was a quadruple variety of indictions. First, the Italian indiction, beginning A.D. 312; secondly, the Oriental, from A.D. 313; thirdly, that of proconsular Africa, from A.D. 314; and fourthly, that of the African diocese, from A.D. 315.[3] Why the indictions should not everywhere have the same beginning, does not appear.

The first ecclesiastical writer who used this mode of computation was Athanasius. He speaks of an assembly of ninety Arian bishops at Antioch, in the presence of the impious Constantius, in the consulship of Marcellinus and Probinus, the 14th indiction.[4] The consulship of Antonius Marcellinus and Petronius Probinus was A.D. 341. This would be the fourteenth year of the second cycle of indictions, or the 29th year, reckoning from A.D. 313 as the first. But perhaps the dates of 312 and 313 may be reconciled by considering the time of the year in which the indictions began.

There are three dates in use among writers. The first is from the calends or first day of September. This date was used by the emperors of Constantinople, and occurs invariably in the Byzantine historians. The second is from the eighth before the calends of October, or September 24th. The chronologers ascribe its origin to Constantine the Great, and it is therefore called the Constantinian. This date is used by Bede.[5] The third is the Roman or pontifical indiction, the commencement of which, as Ducange observes,[6] is uncertain, but which, according to the learned Benedictines, began on the 25th of December or the first of January.[7]

We are concerned only with the two first; and it is very probable that the true date of the indictions is from the 24th of September

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[1] Chron. Pasch. p. 281, ed. Paris.

[2] Constantii Imp. lex 2 de Legatis, data ad Musonianum P.F.P. xviii. Kal. Feb. Med. Indictione xv.

[3] Codex Theodosianus Jacobi Gothofredi, Lips. 1736, tom. i. proleg. ccv-ccvii.

[4] Athan. de Synodis, 25. Opera, ed. Bened. tom. i. pars ii. p. 737.

[5] Incipiunt autem Indictiones ad viii. Calendas Octobris, ibidemque terminantur. Bed. De Temp. Rat. lib. c. 46.

[6] Gloss. Lat. tom. iii. voce Indictio.

[7] L'Art de Vérifier les Dates, tom. i. xiv. § iv. Des Indictions.

A.D. 312. From this it was easy to reckon back to A.D. 1, which, it may be readily seen, would be the fourth year of the twenty-first proleptic cycle.

Having thus shown the elements from which the Julian period was formed, we proceed to state the several steps taken to arrive at it.

The first idea of providing for a general measure of time from the Creation, by means of a constantly recurring cycle of 532 Julian years, must, I think, be attributed to Victorius, a native of Aquitaine. He was at Rome during the pontificate of Leo the Great, and was requested by Hilary, then archdeacon of Rome, to reconcile the differences of the eastern and western churches in relation to the computations of the paschal full moon. This gave rise to his work, the object of which is explained in the preface. It is too long for insertion in this place; but the following abstract will show his plan:

After speaking of the defects attending the paschal cycles of 84, 95, and 112 years, and the different modes of computing the paschal full moon in use among the Latins and Egyptians, he proceeds to say, that by computation and consulting the works of Eusebius, Jerom, and Prosper, he had adopted the following dates from the creation to the consulship of Constantinus and Rufus, A.D. 457.

	YEARS
I. From the Creation to the Deluge	2242
II. From the Deluge to the birth of Abraham, in the forty-second year of the reign of Ninus	942
III. From Abraham to Valens VI. and Valentinian II. Coss. [A.D. 378]	2295
IV. From Ausonius and Olybrius Coss. [A.D.379] to Valentinianus Aug. VIII. and Anthemius [A.D. 455], the year Victorius was in Rome	77
V. To Constantinus and Rufus, the then present Consuls [A.D. 457]	2
Being from the Creation of the World to A.D. 457	5558[1]

With these years, for the more certain investigation of the truth, he connected the bissextiles; that it might more clearly appear whether the ratio of the bissextile days would, by continual computation, harmonize, as well with the first days of the several Januaries, as with the eighth before the calends of April (the vernal equinox or March 25th), on which day, according to tradition, the world was created. When these were adjusted, it remained to inquire, whether the moon's reckoning, which on the fourth day of the world's age, *i.e.* on the fifth before the calends of April, (or March 28th) and therefore the full or fourteenth moon, arose, at the Creator's bidding, at the beginning of night, would, in the computation of so many centuries, agree, according to a uniform law, with past and present times. And it was found, in the consulship of Constantinus and Rufus, according to the Egyptian method of calculation, that on Tuesday (Feria iii.) the first of January the moon was twenty days old, and on Monday (Feria ii.) the eighth before the calends of April (March 25th) the moon was fourteen days old. Hence it was most evidently discovered that the cycle of nineteen years, extended in perpetual revolution, would measure this year and the first beginning with xx.* No doubt remaining that the days, moons, and bissextiles from the creation to his own time were in wonderful harmony, it remained, in order to accomplish his task, that he should search into the time of the institution of the passover in Egypt, and also that time in which Christ our passover was sacrificed for us.

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[1] The sum in the text is V.DCLVIII. or 5,658; but unless there be a mistake in the component numbers, there is an error here. The statement is correct of seventy-seven years from Ausonius and Olybrius to Valentinianus VIII. and Anthemius.

Having compared the accounts of time, from the creation to the deliverance of the children of Israel by the blood of the Lamb, and the bissextiles being calculated, Victorius found that on Thursday (Feria v.), at the commencement of the evening, the ninth before the calends of April (March 24th), the 13th day of the moon's age, 3689 years were completed. Consequently, on Friday (Feria vi.), the eighth before the calends of April (March 25th), the 14th of the moon, at the beginning of the night, in the first month of the 3690th year, the Hebrews sacrificed the lamb. For the passover was sacrificed at the beginning and not at the end of the year. By the same chronicles, it is shown that our Lord Jesus Christ suffered when 5228 years were passed from the creation. That this took place at the beginning of the 29th year cannot be doubted, since it was in the first month, on the 14th day of the moon, the eighth before the calends of April, just as it began on the fourth day from the beginning of creation; and adding the bissextiles to this sum of 5228 years, it comes to Thursday (Feria v.) in the following 29th year. After speaking further of our Lord's crucifixion on Friday, and His resurrection on Sunday, he concludes this sketch of his system by remarking, that, to give a clear knowledge of the subject, it would be necessary to describe the days and lunar months from the beginning of the world. From this task he excuses himself, and says that he should begin only from the year of our Lord's passion, diligently noting the days of the calends of January, and the names of the consuls from the consulship of the two Gemini, Rufus (Fufius) and Rubellius, to the consulship of Constantinus and Rufus, for 430 years, with the moons and times; and thenceforward, without consuls, for 102 future years, that the whole sum might consist of 532 years. This sum embraces in its revolution a series of rules, according to which, by pursuing the same path, it will return to that from which it set out, and so revolving, will arrive continually at its original termination (ad finem pristinum).[1]

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* To understand this intricate sentence, it must be observed, that in the year in which Victorius wrote, the consulship of Constantinus and Rufus, or A.D. 457, the first of January, fell on Tuesday (Feria III), that it was the twentieth day of the moon's age, that Easter Sunday fell on the second before the calends of April, or March 31st, when the moon's age was also twenty, and therefore that the full moon was on the eighth before the calends of April, or March 25th. According to his computations, the fourth day of the world's age (that is, according to Gen. i. 14-19, the day in which the sun and moon were made the measures of time) was the fifth before the calends of April, or March 28th; and that the moon rose full at the edge of the evening. Hence it would follow that the first day of creation was the eighth before the calends of April, or March 25, the vernal equinox; and that by reckoning the lunar cycle backward, it would be found to measure the first year of creation, as well as that in which he wrote.

We shall have occasion hereafter to revert to the testimony of Victorius concerning our Lord's passion. The analysis now given is introduced here for no other purpose but to show that he first conceived the grand idea of making the Julian year the uniform measure of time from the beginning of creation.* Victorius evidently supposed that at the end of 532 years the new moons would again fall on the same days of the week, and the same days of the month, and by the repetition of the cycle continue to do so for ever. And so they would, if 235 lunations were exactly equal to nineteen solar years. But that this supposition was in fact erroneous, may easily be made to appear. For taking the mean tropical year to consist of 365d. 5h. 48′ 49″, nineteen tropical years would amount to 6939d. 14h. 28′ 21″. In like manner, taking each lunation to be 29d. 12h. 44′ 3″ 2‴, the 235 lunations in 19 solar years would amount to 6939d. 16h. 31′ 52″ 50‴; so that in 19 years there would be a variation between lunar and solar time of 2h. 3′ 31″ 50‴; and this sum multiplied by 28, makes the difference in 532 years amount to 2d. 12h. 2′ 51″ 20‴.

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[1] Victorii Canon Paschalis apud Bucherii de Doct. Temp. Comm. Antverp. 1634, fol. pp. 2 to 9.

* Victorius actually added the Cycle of the Indictions, making the year 28 of the vulgar Christian æra, the consulship of the two Gemini, the first number of the Cycle. If the true commencement of the Constantinian Indiction was Sept. 24, A.D. 312, then it will be found by reckoning backwards that the nineteenth Proleptic Indiction (19 × 15=285, and 312—285=27) began Sept. 24, A.D. 27, and ended Sept. 23, A.D. 28. With the exception, therefore, of the difference from Sept. 24 to Jan. 1, or ninety-nine days, the computation of Victorius was correct.

From seventy to seventy-five years after Victorius, flourished Dionysius, surnamed Exiguus or the Little, on account of his diminutive stature. He was a Scythian monk, and he came to Rome about the year 525 of the æra which now bears his name. In his letter to a bishop named Petronius, he states that of the cycles of St. Cyril of Alexandria, whose computations of Easter had been for five lunar cycles of ninety-five years, there remained only six years unexpired. He therefore proposes to calculate Easter for another period of ninety-five years. St. Cyril's first cycle began with the 153rd year of Diocletian, and the last would terminate in the 247th year of that æra. Consequently, he proposes to begin his calculation with the 248th year of that tyrant; "but," he adds, "we have been unwilling to connect with our cycles the memory of an impious persecutor, and we have therefore chosen to date our years FROM THE INCARNATION OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST."[1]

The æra of Diocletian, or of the martyrs, in use among the Egyptian Christians, began on the first day of their month Thoth, or August 29th, A.D. 284. Adding to this 152 solid years, we come to the 29th of August A.D. 436, as the beginning of the 153rd year of Diocletian, in which the first of Cyril's cycles began. Four of these cycles and thirteen years of the fifth cycle were ended, and six years yet remained, when Dionysius wrote. Consequently ($19 \times 4 + 13 = 89$) by adding 89 to 436, we arrive at the year 525, when Dionysius wrote; and the computations of Cyril would end in A.D. 531. To this sum add ninety-five years, for the new computation of Dionysius, and it brings us down to A.D. 626, as the end of his new calculation. It does not appear to have attracted much attention at the time; for we find the fourth council of Orange, A.D. 541, solemnly adopting the cycle of Victorius, as the general rule for the computation of Easter.

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[1] Quia vero Sanctus Cyrillus primum cyclum ab anno Diocletiani CLIII cœpit, et ultimum in CCXLVII terminavit: nos a CCXLVIII anno ejusdem Tyranni potiùs quàm Principis inchoantes, noluimus circulis nostris memoriam impii et persecutoris innectere, sed magis elegimus AB INCARNATIONE DOMINI NOSTRI JESU CHRISTI annorum tempora prænotare.—Epist. Prima Dionysii Exigui apud Petav. de Doct. Temp. tom. ii. Appendix, p. 498.

But early in the eighth century, the far-famed Anglo-Saxon monk Beda, commonly called the venerable Bede, adopted the computations of Dionysius as the basis of his own, and extended them through eighty-six Metonic cycles, or 1634 years. His reputation for learning and sanctity, called the attention of the whole western Church to the labours of Dionysius, and led to the general adoption of the common Christian æra. "The practice of reckoning years by those of Jesus Christ," say the learned authors of the Art of Verifying Dates, "was introduced into Italy in the sixth century, by Dionysius the Little, and into France in the seventh century; but it was not well established till towards the eighth, under the kings Pepin and Charlemagne. We have three councils, that of Germany in 742, that of Liptines, or Lestines, held in 743, and that of Soissons, celebrated in 744, which are dated by the years of the Incarnation. Since that time, and especially since Charlemagne, our historians have been accustomed to date the facts they relate by the years of Jesus Christ, but they do not all agree as to the beginning of the year." They then proceed to state, and to give examples of eight different manners of commencing the year among the Latins: 1. from March 1st; 2. from January 1st; 3. from December 25th; 4. from March 25th, or the Incarnation, commonly called the Annunciation. Some, 5. began the year nine months and seven days before the common computation, *e.g.* the year 1000 from the 25th of March 999; others, 6. differed from the former a whole year, beginning the year three months and seven days later than we now do, reckoning as the year 999 until the 24th of March, that which we call 1000, beginning with January. Some, 7. began the year at Easter, on whatever day that might fall, about three months after the present usage; and others, 8. though few in number, seem to have begun their year twelve months later than we do, reckoning, for example, that year as 1103, which we reckon as 1102.[1]

The same writers affirm in a note, that Augustin the monk carried the Dionysian method of computing years into England, when he went to convert the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity, A.D. 596.

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[1] L'Art de Vérifier les Dates, fol. Paris, 1783, tom. i. Diss. sur les Dates, § ii.

If so, we can easily account for the adoption of it by Bede, and the reflex operation of his labours upon the rest of Europe. We may also, if I mistake not, account for the national usage of beginning the year from the 25th of March, which prevailed in England until the year 1751.

I proceed to exhibit the first two cycles of Dionysius, according to Bede's computation, as these are all that concern our present inquiry.

I.—First Cycle.

	Anno Dom.	Indictions.	Epacts.	Concurrents.	Lunar Cycles.*	Fourteenth Moon.		Easter Sunday.		Moon on that day.	Sunday Letters.
		3	0	4	17	Nonæ	Aprilis	4 Iduum	Aprilis	20	e
	1	4	11	5	18	8 Kalend	Aprilis	6 Kalend	Aprilis	16	d c
	2	5	22	6	19	Idus	Aprilis	16 Kalend	Aprilis	17	b
	3	6	3	7	1	4 Nonarum	Aprilis	7 Iduum	Aprilis	20	a
	4	7	14	2	2	11 Kalend	Aprilis	10 Kalend	Aprilis	15	g
	5	8	25	3	3	4 Idus	Aprilis	2 Iduum	Aprilis	20	f e
	6	9	6	4	4	3 Kalend	Aprilis	2 Nonarum	Aprilis	19	d
	7	10	17	5	5	14 Kalend	Maij	8 Kalend	Maij	20	c
Ogdoad	8	11	28	7	6	7 Idus	Aprilis	6 Iduum	Aprilis	15	b
	9	12	9	1	7	6 Kalend	Aprilis	2 Kalend	Aprilis	18	a g
	10	13	20	20	8	17 Kalend	Maij	12 Kalend	Maij	19	f
	11	14	1	3	9	2 Nonarum	Aprilis	Nonæ	Aprilis	15	e
	12	15	12	5	10	9 Kalend	Aprilis	6 Kalend	Aprilis	17	d
	13	1	23	6	11	2 Iduum	Aprilis	16 Kalend	Maij	18	c b
	14	2	4	7	12	Kalend	Aprilis	6 Iduum	Aprilis	21	a
	15	3	15	1	13	12 Kalend	Aprilis	9 Kalend	Aprilis	17	g
	16	4	26	3	14	5 Iduum	Aprilis	2 Iduum	Aprilis	17	f
	17	5	7	4	15	4 Kalend	Aprilis	2 Nonarum	Aprilis	20	e d
Hendecad	18	6	18	5	16	15 Kalend	Maij	8 Kalend	Maij	21	c
II.—Second Cycle.											
	19	7	0	6	17	Nonæ	Aprilis	5 Idus	Aprilis	18	b
	20	8	11	1	18	8 Kalend	Aprilis	2 Idus	Aprilis	20	a
	21	9	22	2	19	Idus	Aprilis	12 Kalend	Maij	21	g f
	22	10	3	3	1	4 Nonarum	Aprilis	Nonæ	Aprilis	18	e
	23	11	14	4	2	11 Kalend	Aprilis	5 Kalend	Aprilis	20	d
	24	12	25	6	3	4 Iduum	Aprilis	16 Kalend	Maij	20	c
	25	13	6	7	4	3 Kalend	Aprilis	Kalend	Aprilis	16	b a
Ogdoad	26	14	17	1	5	14 Kalend	Maij	11 Kalend	Maij	16	g
	27	15	28	2	6	7 Iduum	Aprilis	Idus	Aprilis	20	f
	28	1	9	4	7	6 Kalend	Aprilis	5 Kalend	Aprilis	15	e
	29	2	20	5	8	17 Kalend	Maij	15 Kalend	Maij	21	d c
	30	3	1	6	9	2 Nonarum	Aprilis	5 Idus	Aprilis	19	b
	31	4	12	7	10	9 Kalend	Aprilis	8 Kalend	Aprilis	15	a
	32	5	23	2	11	2 Iduum	Aprilis	Idus	Aprilis	15	g
	33	6	4	3	12	Kalend	Aprilis	Nonæ	Aprilis	18	f e
	34	7	15	4	13	12 Kalend	Aprilis	5 Kalend	Aprilis	21	d
	35	8	26	5	14	5 Iduum	Aprilis	4 Idus	Aprilis	15	c
	36	9	7	7	15	4 Kalend	Aprilis	Kalend	Aprilis	17	b
Hendecad	37	10	18	1	16	15 Kalend	Maij	11 Kalend	Maij	18	a g

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* *i. e.* of Alexandria.

In the preceding tables, the first column contains the years of our Lord according to the present computation; the second, the Indictions reckoned backward from the 24th of September 312, or the 1st of January 313; the third and fourth, the Epacts and Concurrents, of which it will be necessary to give some explanation, in order to correct an error into which this ancient author, or the transcribers of his works, have fallen.

The Epact is the excess of the solar above the lunar year. Supposing the solar and the lunar year to begin on the same day, it is obvious that at the end of the first year of each, the excess would be eleven days. The next year there would be an excess of twenty-two days. At the end of the third there would, without intercalation, be thirty-three. But as in the third year there would be an intercalation of a full month, or thirty days, the remaining number three would show that the solar, at the beginning of the fourth year, was still in advance of the lunar three days. At the end of the fourth year, or beginning of the fifth, it would be fourteen; and so on to the end of the lunar cycle, as follows:

Years ...	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Epacts...	0	xi	xxii	iii	xiv	xxv	vi	xvii	xxviii	ix	xx	i	xii	xxiii	iv	xv	xxvi	vii	xviii

On comparing the third column in the two cycles, the reader will see that such is the uniform arrangement. It was the method used at Alexandria, and it was introduced among the Romans by Dionysius.

The Concurrents in the fourth column are so called, because they concur with the solar cycle, or follow its course. They are in each year the excess over fifty-two weeks, and consist in common years of one day, and in bissextile years of two days. As the weeks are designated by continually recurring series of seven letters, so the Concurrents form a cycle of seven days; and as the ancient computists denoted them by numbers, they selected F as the first of the series.

F	E	D	C	B	A	G
i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii

The number of Concurrents in each year was equal to the distance of the Sunday letter from F. Supposing the Sunday letter in the first year of the calendar to be A, the Concurrents would be six. Consequently, the next year being bissextile and marked

G F, the Sunday letter till the bissextile would be G 7, and after the bissextile, F 1. Here therefore the last Sunday in February would be on the 25th G, and on the first Sunday in March, or the third of that month, the new cycle of concurrents, or F 1, would begin. Doubtless this is the real reason why the series of concurrents was counted, as Bede says it was, from March, though he assigns several very different reasons, such as that the world was created in March, and Romulus began his year in that month.[1]

If the reader will now turn to the solar cycle at the beginning of this chapter, he will see that the concurrents ran as follows:

Nos. of Cycle.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
Sunday Letters.	G F	E	D	C	B A	G	F	E	D C	B	A	G	F E	D	C	B	A G	F	E	D	C B	A	G	F	E D	C	B	A
Concurrents.	1	2	3	4	6	7	1	2	4	5	6	7	2	3	4	5	7	1	2	3	5	6	7	1	3	4	5	6

D and C, wherever they occur as Sunday letters, show that the concurrents of that year are invariably three and four. No less invariably do the concurrents five show that the Sunday letter, in common years, is B, and in bissextile years C and B. Here, then, we have the touchstone by which we can detect the error of Bede, or his transcribers, as to the Sunday letter of the first year of our Lord, according to the Dionysian æra. The number of concurrents is five, and consequently the Sunday letter should be B, and not D C, as it is erroneously noted in the ninth column. On recurring to the solar cycle it will be seen, that D C holds the ninth and B the tenth place in the cycle. The series of letters in the table shows that it could be no other, and that it was not a bissextile year.

This is evident also from our common computations; for the bissextile years are always reckoned as falling on the equal, not on the unequal numbers. In the paschal tables likewise of Victorius, as we shall see hereafter, the year 28 of the common Christian æra is marked as bissextile. Consequently the years 4, 8, 12, 16, 20, and 24 were also bissextile, and not 5, 9, 13, &c. as they would have been, if the first year of the æra had been so.

Petavius has detected another error in Bede of much greater magnitude. Previous to his time, the learned had taken all their ideas of the computations of Dionysius from the works of Bede. But it was his good fortune to find an ancient mannscript of the two epistles of Dionysius, in which he explained his system, and which are referred to by Bede, and on carefully reading these, he found that Dionysius began the first year of his cycle on the 17th of April, the paschal full moon, A. D. 531. From that day he counted the five hundred and thirty-second year of the Incarnation, whereas Bede counted from the first of January following. The incarnation and nativity of Christ were therefore, according to Dionysius, on the 25th of March, and the 25th of December preceding the 1st of January of that year which Bede counted as the first of the Dionysian æra. The modern computation is that of Bede; but it is a curious fact, that the scheme of Dionysius was retained in practice, and that the common Christian æra always supposes the nativity to have been on the 25th of December in the preceding year, that is, in the year of the Julian period 4713.[1]

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[1] See Bedæ Presbyteri Libellus de Argumentis Lunæ. Opera, ed. Cologne, tom. i. p. 143.

The fact being now established, that the first year of our Lord, according to Bede's corrected computation, was the second year of the first lunar cycle of Dionysius, though the eighteenth of that used in Alexandria; that it was the fourth of the indiction, whether reckoned from September or January; and the concurrents being five, that its Sunday letter was B, the tenth of the solar cycle; I proceed to show by what method Scaliger connected with it what he called the Julian period.

The object was, to determine which of the 7980 years of this fictitious period was to be considered as representing the first year of the æra thus brought into general use by Bede. Scaliger found that, by using the solar cycle 28, the lunar cycle 19, and the indiction 15, as separate divisors, there was but one number which, so divided, would leave the several remainders, 10, 2, and 4. That number was 4714. Divided by 28, it would give 168 solar cycles, and 10 as the remainder. Divided by 19, it would give 248 lunar cycles, and 2 as the remainder. Divided by 15, it would give 314 indictions, and 4 as the remainder.

If Scaliger had done nothing else for chronology, this invention alone would have entitled him to the grateful thanks of every student of ancient history. No one, unless he has made the experiment of comparing ancient authors, can be aware of the utter confusion which seems to pervade the whole of ancient chronology, from the different modes of computing time employed in various nations, and by different historians. To have, therefore, one uniform measure of ancient time, affords to the student the greatest possible relief. Even Petavius, who seems to take the pleasure of a blood-hound in tearing Scaliger to pieces, is obliged to confess, that "without the Julian period, the labours of chronologers would be almost useless. Certainly," he adds, "they would be most troublesome, and surrounded by innumerable difficulties, all of which, by the use of that period, are easily avoided." All epochs find their place in it. The reigns of kings and emperors, how differently soever calculated, may easily be adjusted to it. So also may the variety of years, whether beginning with the summer solstice, or in the autumn, or in the winter, or constantly shifting, like those of the Egyptians and Arabians. It is no less useful to astronomers than to historians. For dates, it serves the purpose of an artificial memory. Let the student commit to memory a few epochs, and he will be able to refer all the rest to them. "It is scarcely credible," says the same bitter enemy of Scaliger, "how easy and how accurate is this method; and if any one shall exercise himself in it, so as to become familiar with the practice, he will carry chronology about with him, instead of leaving it to lurk in books and papers."[1]

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[1] Petav. de Doct. Tem. lib. xii. c. ii.

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[1] De Doct. Temp. lib. vii. c. viii. tom. i. pp. 356-7.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE REMAINING ÆRAS MENTIONED BY CENSORINUS, WITH TABLES ADJUSTING THE WHOLE TO THE JULIAN PERIOD.

SECTION I.—1. Augustan years. Testimony of Censorinus, Macrobius, and other ancient authors. Correction by Augustus of the error in inserting the Bissextiles, explained. Reflexions on this event.—2. Egyptian-Augustan years. Testimony of Censorinus and Dion Cassius. Date of the capture of Alexandria. Account of the ancient Egyptian year, how changed by introducing the Bissextile computation.—3. Æra of Nabonassar. Ancient form of the Egyptian year convenient to astronomers, and therefore adopted by Ptolemy. His canon, the ancient astronomical calculation adjusted by Hipparchus. Its correctness proved by modern computation of eclipses. Method of turning Egyptian into Roman or Julian years, and of ascertaining in what day, month and year, of the Julian period, the first year of Nabonassar began.—4. Æra of Philip, why so called. A continuation merely of the æra of Nabonassar.——SECTION II. Result of the present and preceding chapters shown in a series of Tables, from the first year of the first olympiad, B.C. 776, to the year when Censorinus wrote, A.D. 238, a period of 1014 tropical years.

SECTION I.—THE ÆRAS.

HAVING, in the last chapter, explained the Julian period, it remains only, first, to notice as briefly as possible the remaining æras mentioned by Censorinus, and, secondly, to exhibit the adjustment of the whole, to this exact and complete measure of time.

I. THE ÆRA OR YEARS OF AUGUSTUS.

By reference to the third section of the chapter on the olympiads, it will be seen that Censorinus speaks of the year in which he wrote as the 265th of those called Augustan, commencing with the first of January in the seventh consulship of the emperor Cæsar, and the third of Agrippa, when the title of Augustus was conferred on the former by the senate and Roman people. The same author states, in his twenty-second chapter, that the month which had been called Sextilis was, by a decree of the senate, called August, in honour of Augustus, when Marcius Censorinus and Caius Asinius Gallus were consuls, in the Augustan year xx.[1]

Macrobius gives the decree of the senate at full length.[2] In his chapter on the reformation of the calendar, he states that after Cæsar had by a public decree regulated the civil year, the priests introduced a new error from that very emendation; for whereas the intercalation of the day formed from the four quarters ought to have been made at the end of the fourth, and before the beginning of the fifth year, they made the intercalation, not at the *end* but at the *beginning* of the fourth year. This error continued for six-and-thirty years, during which time an intercalation of twelve days took place, when it ought to have been of nine only. This error being at last detected, Augustus ordered that the next twelve years should pass without any intercalation, and that afterwards, according to the arrangement of Cæsar, the intercalation should be made at the beginning of the fifth year. This order he caused to be engraved on brass for perpetual observation.[3]

Solinus, though confused in his account of Cæsar's reformation of the calendar, is correct in what he says of the emendation by Augustus. "For whereas the precept was in the fourth year to intercalate one day, and it ought to have been observed at the end of the fourth year and before the beginning of the fifth, they [the priests] intercalated at the beginning, and not at the end of the fourth. Thus for six-and-thirty years, when nine days only would have been sufficient, twelve were intercalated. This Augustus detected and reformed. He ordered twelve years to run on without intercalation, so that restitution might thus be made of the three days which had been inconsiderately intercalated beyond the nine."[4]

Suetonius states the fact of this reformation, and then adds, that Augustus, on that occasion, called the month Sextilis after his own name, rather than the month of September, in which he was born, because his first consulship and his most brilliant victories had occurred in that month.[5]

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[1] Qui autem Sextilis fuerat ex S. C. Marcio Censorino, C. Asinio Gallo Coss. in Augusti honorem dictus est Augustus, anno Augustano xx.—De Die Nat. c. xxii.

[2] Saturn. lib. i. c. xii.

[3] Ib. lib. i. cap. xiv. ed. Volpii, p. 231.

[4] Solinus Polyh. ap. Petav. de Doc. Temp. lib. iv. cap. iii. tom. i. p. 163.

[5] Annum a D. Julio ordinatum, sed postea negligentia conturbatum atque confusum, rursus ad pristinam rationem redegit: in cujus ordinatione Sextilem mensem e suo cognomine nuncupavit, magis quam Septembrem, quo erat natus, quia hoc sibi et primus consulatus et insignes victoriæ obtigissent.—Suet. Octavianus, § 31, ed. Wolfii, Lips. 1802, 8vo. vol. i. p. 149.

In his seventh consulship, as we shall show hereafter. the emperor offered to restore the republic, but was unanimously entreated by the senate to retain his authority. On that occasion they conferred on him the title of Augustus. From this time forth a perfect monarchy was established, and therefore Censorinus speaks of it as an æra. The detection of the error in the bissextile years was twenty years later, in the thirty-seventh year of Cæsar's reformed calendar.

We have seen in the last chapter, that the year preceding the first of the common Christian æra was the ninth in the solar cycle, having D C for the Sunday letters. Being the year 4713 of the Julian period, it was, as we shall soon see by the computations of Censorinus, the 45th year of the reformed calendar of Julius Cæsar. Consequently it was preceded by forty-four solid years, or eleven periods of four years, and the first year of each period was bissextile. The year, therefore, which followed the last of confusion, or the first of the reformed calendar, consisted of 366 days. Undoubtedly Julius Cæsar, or the astronomers employed by him, saw that the intercalation took place rightly in February of that year. But on the 15th of the following March, as we shall see hereafter, Cæsar was murdered; and subsequent events diverting the public attention from the subject, the following intercalations, instead of being made as they ought, in the 5th, 9th, 13th, 17th, 21st, 25th, 29th, and 33rd years, were made by the priests in the 4th, 7th, 10th, 13th, 16th, 19th, 22nd, 25th, 28th, 31st, and 34th years. The result will appear from the following comparative table of the two computations.

Correct Computation.

1.	B.	1.	366	
		2.	365	
		3.	365	
		4.	365	
				1461
2.	B.	5.	366	
		6.	365	
		7.	365	
		8.	365	
				1461
3.	B.	9.	366	
		10.	365	
		11.	365	
		12.	365	
				1461
4.	B.	13.	366	
		14.	365	
		15.	365	
		16.	365	
				1461
5.	B.	17.	366	
		18.	365	
		19.	365	
		20.	365	
				1461
6.	B.	21.	366	
		22.	365	
		23.	365	
		24.	365	
				1461
7.	B.	25.	366	
		26.	365	
		27.	365	
		28.	365	
				1461
8.	B.	29.	366	
		30.	365	
		31.	365	
		32.	365	
				1461
9.	B.	33.	366	
		34.	365	
		35.	365	
		36.	365	
				1461
			Days	13,149

Erroneous Computation.

1.	B.	1.	366	
		2.	365	
		3.	365	
				1096
2.	B.	4.	366	
		5.	365	
		6.	365	
				1096
3.	B.	7.	366	
		8.	365	
		9.	365	
				1096
4.	B.	10.	366	
		11.	365	
		12.	365	
				1096
5.	B.	13.	366	
		14.	365	
		15.	365	
				1096
6.	B.	16.	366	
		17.	365	
		18.	365	
				1096
7.	B.	19.	366	
		20.	365	
		21.	365	
				1096
8.	B.	22.	366	
		23.	365	
		24.	365	
				1096
9.	B.	25.	366	
		26.	365	
		27.	365	
				1096
10.	B.	28.	366	
		29.	365	
		30.	365	
				1096
11.	B.	31.	366	
		32.	365	
		33.	365	
				1096
12.	B.	34.	366	
		35.	365	
		36.	365	
				1096
				13,152
				13,149
				3

Excess of three days in the course of thirty-six years by erroneous computation.

To correct this error, Augustus ordered that the three next intercalary years, viz. the 37th, 41st, and 45th of the reformed calendar, or the years 4705, 4709, and 4713 of the Julian period, should be counted as common years. This correction took place nine years before the common Christian æra; and by this simple method the supernumerary days were absorbed. After the year 4713 of the Julian period, the bissextile years became regular, and continued so for seventeen centuries.* The first intercalation took place in the year 49 of the Julian calendar, 4717 of the Julian period, and 4 of the common Christian æra, according to the computists of the Council of Nice. The solar cycle of that year was 13, the lunar cycle 5, the indiction 7, and F E were the Sunday letters; but according to the reformed calendar of Cæsar, the solar cycle was 21, the lunar cycle 11, and the Sunday letters C B.

To the contemplative Christian it is interesting to observe, that among the arrangements of Divine Providence for the entrance of our blessed Lord into the world, that of the correct admeasurement of time seems to have been one. The system which prevailed through the whole Roman empire, on the authority of Augustus Cæsar, was not brought to its greatest accuracy till the time had arrived in which the desire of all nations was to make His appearance among men.

II. EGYPTIAN ÆRA OF AUGUSTUS.

Censorinus proceeds to state that the Egyptians reckoned the year in which he wrote the 267th of the Augustan years, because they were subjected to the dominion of the Roman people two years before that in which Cæsar received the appellation of Augustus. There is a difficulty here which it will be necessary to explain.

Dio, the accurate historian of that period, gives us the precise date of the naval engagement near Actium, between Antony and Cleopatra on the one side, and Octavianus Cæsar on the other. It took place on the second of September, in the year when Cæsar, the third time, and M. Valerius Corvinus Messala were consuls. He then proceeds to state, that Cæsar, in the middle of the following winter, when Cæsar the fourth time, and M. Crassus, were consuls, went to Italy, but stopped at Brundusium, where he received the senate and a deputation of the Roman people without going to Rome. As this was in his fourth consulship, it was after the first of January; and as mid-winter, according to the Roman calendar, was on the tenth of January, it was probably after the middle of that month. The thirtieth day after his coming to Italy he returned to Greece, and thence into Asia, with so much celerity, that Antony and Cleopatra heard of his departure and return at the same time. Several vain attempts at negotiation were made by Antony and Cleopatra, which only consumed time, until at length Cæsar arrived before Pelusium, which he appeared to take by force, when in reality it was surrendered to him by Cleopatra. In like manner, when he approached Alexandria, she secretly forbade the citizens to defend themselves, while openly she exhorted them to meet the enemy. In this manner was Antony betrayed and conquered. His death speedily followed; and Cleopatra, finding herself deceived in the expectations which had led to her treachery, put an end to her own life. Then and thus was Egypt first reduced to be a province of the Roman empire, under the præfecture of Cornelius Gallus. Dio adds that, "the day in which Alexandria was captured was accounted fortunate, and thenceforward that year was reckoned as the beginning of their computation."[1]

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* I have said "for seventeen centuries," because, at the reformation of the Julian calendar by Gregory XIII, it was ordered that the year of our Lord 1600 should continue to be bissextile, but that 1700, 1800, and 1900, should be counted as common years of 365 days. The rule, as I have before said, was to leave out the intercalary day at the end of every century of years not divisible by four. As the mean tropical year consists of 11′ 11″ less than 365 days 6 hours, or nearly one 130th part of a day, it follows that a day would be gained in about 130 years, or three days in somewhat less than 400 years. By considering one of these 400 years as bissextile, and the other three as common, this encroachment would be nearly remedied. Even this correction leaves a small error, which in 4,000 years will amount to one day and eleven-hundredths of a day; so that if the world shall last so long, our posterity must then omit another bissextile.

If the reader will now turn to the calendar in the Chapter on the Roman Year, he will see that the sixth before the calends of April, or March 27th, was celebrated as the day in which Cæsar rendered himself master of Alexandria, in his fourth consulship. And if the Egyptian Augustan years were reckoned from the capture of Alexandria, then *they would precede the first Augustan year at Rome two years, nine months, and four days;* for the Augustan year at Rome, as Censorinus states, began on the first of January, in the seventh consulship of Cæsar, and the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh consulships were in successive years.

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[1] Dion Cassius, Hist. Rom. lib. li. 1-19, pp. 442-457, B. Ed. Reimar, tom. i.

But from what Censorinus says soon after, we may infer that the Egyptians began their computation on the first day of their month Thoth, which fell in Cæsar's fourth consulship, on the 31st day of August; and in that case, the Egyptian Augustan years must have preceded the Roman Augustan, not two years only, but *two years, four months, and one day.* In considering, therefore, this computation of Censorinus, we must reckon by Egyptian and not Roman years.

The ancient Egyptian year consisted always of 365 days only, divided into twelve months of thirty days and five supernumerary days. Every four years, therefore, the first month Thoth began one day earlier; thus receding continually, until, in the course of 120 years, the difference would amount to a month, and in 1460 years, to 365 days. Thus Thoth would travel back through all the months and seasons, and 1460 Roman years would be equal to 1461 Egyptian years. In the sixth year after the capture of Alexandria, or A.J.P. 4689, the Roman system of inserting one day every four years appears to have been there adopted; and thenceforth the first day of Thoth was made to coincide always with the twenty-ninth of Sextilis, or August, because in that year the first of Thoth coincided with that day. The Egyptian calendar then began to be reckoned in the following manner:

1	Thoth	29 August	30	
2	Paophi	28 September	30	
3	Athyr	29 October	30	
4	Choiak	27 November	30	
5	Tybi	27 December	30	
6	Mechir	26 January	30	
7	Phamenoth	26 February	30	
8	Pharmuthi	27 March	30	
9	Pashons	26 April	30	
10	Paoni	26 May	30	
11	Epiphi	25 June	30	
12	Meshori	25 July	30	
			360	360
	Epagomenai in common years		5	
	In bissextile years			6
			365	366

But from what Censorinus says, it is evident that the practice of the bissextile intercalation had not become general even in his time; for he states that in the year when he wrote, (the 283rd of Cæsar's reformed calendar, and, as he computes, the 267th of the Egyptian Augustan years), the first of Thoth fell on the seventh before the calends of July, or June 25th. It had therefore receded from the 29th of August, sixty-five days, equivalent to a period of 260 years. The difference, however, may be accounted for by the error which had taken place in the Roman calendar, by the insertion of five intercalations instead of three, previous to the year in which Alexandria was conquered. These two days being added, the month Thoth had receded 67 days, equal exactly to the period of 268 years. We may therefore compute the Egyptian Augustan years as beginning on the 31st of August, in the fourth consulship of Cæsar. It will be seen hereafter that the battle of Actium took place on the second of September, in the year of the Julian period 4682. The capture of Alexandria followed, on the 27th of March, in the year 4683 of the Julian period, and the first Egyptian Augustan year began with the first of Thoth, or August 31st in the same year. Consequently the 268th year would terminate, according to the ancient computation, June 24th, or as adjusted to the Roman calendar, on the 28th of August, in the year 4951 of the Julian period, the year in which Censorinus wrote.

III. ÆRA OF NABONASSAR.

The Egyptian year of 365 days was convenient to the ancient astronomers, because it avoided fractions of days; and therefore Ptolemy made all his astronomical calculations by years of 365 days, from the æra of Nabonassar. Of that æra we have, therefore, now to speak.

Nabonassar is supposed to have been the son of Pul, king of Assyria, and the younger brother of Tiglath Pileser.* But, without entering into questions foreign to our purpose, it is sufficient to observe, that Ptolemy, in his Canon, has given a series of reigns, from the first year of Nabonassar to the death of Alexander the Great, comprehending a period of 424 Egyptian years, or 154,760 days. The same philosopher has also transmitted to us the oldest astronomical calculations known, which, under the direction of Aristotle, had been transmitted by Callisthenes from

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* See the Appendix to Two Discourses on Prophecy, by the author of the present work, New York, J. A. Sparks, 1843, pp. 107 and 140.

Babylon to Greece, and afterwards adjusted, by Hipparchus of Alexandria, to the Egyptian method of computing time. By means of these, we are enabled to ascertain the exact date of this ancient and most famous æra.

Petavius has diligently compared these calculations with those of modern times, and has found them remarkably correct through the whole series. The following will serve as a specimen of the whole; for all lead invariably to the same results:

In Ptolemy's fourth book, he gives an account of three lunar eclipses, which took place in two successive years. The first happened when Phanostratus was Archon, in the year of Nabonassar 366, on the 27th of Thoth, six hours and thirty minutes from midnight at Alexandria. Modern computations show that it was on Tuesday, December 23rd, in the year of the Julian period 4331, lunar cycle 18, solar cycle 19, Sunday letter E, in the year 383 before the beginning of the Dionysian æra, A.J.P. 4714. The first step to be taken, is to turn the Egyptian into Julian or Roman years; and this is done by multiplying them by 365, to turn them into days, then dividing them by 1461, the number of days in four Roman years, and multiplying the quotient by four. The remainder will be the number of days in the next Roman year. As Thoth is the first month in the 366th Egyptian year, and the eclipse took place 6h. 30′ after midnight on the 27th of that month, the sum must be stated thus:

365*y*. 26*d*. 6*h*. 30*m*. 1461)133,251(91
365 4
Rem. 300 | 364
Days 133,251 6*h*. 30*m*. = *R. Y.* 364. 300*d*. 6*h*. 30*m*.

From the 1st of January to the 22nd of December, inclusive, in the year 4331 of the Julian period, were 356 days.

Therefore from A.J.P.	4330	356*d*.	6*h*.	30*m*.
Subtract	364	300	6	30
And there remain	3966	56	0	0

Fifty-six days are equal to January 31 and February 25. Consequently, the æra of Nabonassar began on the 26th of February, in the year 3967 of the Julian period.

Without mentioning the other two eclipses, which took place in June and December, A.J.P. 4332, we proceed to another remarkable eclipse of the moon, in the year of Nabonassar 547, the 16th of

Meshori, at 7 o'clock P.M. This eclipse, as calculated by Petavius, occurred A.J.P. 4513, on Friday, September 22nd, at 7h. 15′ P.M., lunar cycle 10, solar cycle 5, Sunday letters B A. As it was a bissextile year, the number of days, from the 1st of January to the 22nd of September, was 266; and, according to the Egyptian calculation, from the 1st of Thoth to the 16th of Meshori, were 346 days. 546 solid Egyptian years and 346 days, amount to 199,636 days, which are equal to 546 Julian or Roman years and 210 days. Deduct that sum from 4512 years and 266 days, and there remain 3966 years and 56 days as before. Therefore, the 1st of Thoth in the first year of Nabonassar, coincided with February 26th, A.J.P. 3967.

Censorinus says that the year in which he wrote, was the 986th year of Nabonassar, and Thoth began that year on the seventh before the calends of July, or June 25th. It was the 4951st year of the Julian period, lunar cycle 11, solar cycle 23, Sunday letter G. Being a common year, the number of days from January 1st to June 24th, inclusive, was 175. Nine hundred and eighty-five solid Egyptian years, ending June 24th, A.J.P. 4951, are equal to 359,525 days, or 984 Julian years and 119 days. Subtract that sum from 4950 years and 175 days, and there remain as before 3966 years and 56 days, or February 26th, A.J.P. 3967, for the commencement of the æra of Nabonassar.

IV. YEARS OF PHILIP.

It has been already stated, in speaking of the canon of Ptolemy, that the period of time, from the first year of Nabonassar to the death of Alexander the Great, was computed by him to be 424 Egyptian years. Subtract that sum from 986, and the remainder, 562, is the number of Egyptian years from the death of Alexander to the year when Censorinus wrote. In whichever way we reckon, whether forward 424, or backward 562, it will bring us, according to the method of calculation already explained, to the 12th of November, in the year 4390 of the Julian period, as the 1st day of Thoth after the death of Alexander. This is called by Ptolemy, and after him by Censorinus, the first year of Philip, from Philip Aridæus, a half brother of Alexander the Great, who succeeded him on the throne of Macedon. It accords with the first year of the 114th olympiad, in which Diodorus Siculus places the death of Alexander.[1]

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[1] Diod. Sic. Biblioth. lib. xvii. § 113-117.

SECTION II.—THE TABLES.

The several æras mentioned by Censorinus having been thus examined, the result of the whole will now be exhibited in a series of tables, by which the accuracy of the preceding computations will be demonstrated.

Column 1 contains the 1014 years of Censorinus, from Olympiad I. year 1, to Olympiad CCLIV. year 2.

Column 2, the years of the Julian period, from January 1, 3938, to December 31, 4952.

Columns 3 and 4, the several Olympiads, divided each into four years, and the victors in the stadium.

Column 5, the years of Rome, reckoned backward from the year in which Censorinus wrote, *i.e.* as he says, the 991st from April 21. By this method it becomes evident that he followed the computation of Varro.

Column 6 exhibits the æra of Nabonassar, and the correctness of the computations of Censorinus; for, by astronomical computation, Thoth in the first year began Feb. 26, A.J.P. 3967, and, as Censorinus states, it began in A.J.P. 4952, when he wrote June 20, and that was the 987th year of the æra.

Columns 7 and 8 contain the Julian and Augustan years; and

Column 9, the Dionysian or common Christian æra. It began with the last half of the 776th year from the first olympiad. Its first year coincided with the last six months of Olympiad CXCIV. 4, and the first six months of Olympiad CXCV. 1, A.J.P. 4714, reformed calendar of Julius Cæsar 46. It was the 29th of the Augustan years, and not the 28th; and thus the only mistake made by Censorinus is detected.

It did not appear necessary to add a separate column for the years of Philip, because they are comprehended in the æra of Nabonassar.

In all questions of ancient chronology, it will be required only to add or subtract, as the case may be, 45 for the years of Julius Cæsar, and 4713 of the Julian period, in order to connect the common Christian æra with the various æras in use in ancient times. A little practice will render this easy; and thus, to repeat the language of Petavius, the reader will carry chronology about with him, instead of leaving it to lurk in books and papers.

Olym. years of Censorinus.	Julian Period.	Olympiads.	Victors in the Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome. Censorinus.	Æra Nabon.	Olym. years of Censorinus.	Julian Period.	Olympiads.	Victors in the Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome. Censorinus.	Æra Nabon.
1	3938	Ol. I.	CHORÆBUS			21	3958	Ol. VI.	OÏBOLAS		
2	3939	„ 2				22	3959	„ 2			
3	3940	„ 3				23	3960	„ 3			
4	3941	„ 4				24	3961	„ 4		1	
5	3942	Ol. II.	ANTIMACHUS			25	3962	Ol. VII	DIOCLES or DARCLES	2	
6	3943	„ 2				26	3963	„ 2		3	
7	3944	„ 3				27	3964	„ 3		4	
8	3945	„ 4				28	3965	„ 4		5	
9	3946	Ol. III.	ANDROCLUS			29	3966	O. VIII.	ANTICLES	6	
10	3947	„ 2				30	3967	„ 2		7	Thoth 1 Febr. 26
11	3948	„ 3				31	3968	„ 3		8	2
12	3949	„ 4				32	3969	„ 4		9	3
13	3950	Ol. IV.	POLYCHARES			33	3970	Ol. IX.	XENOCLES	10	4 T. Feb. 25
14	3951	„ 2				34	3971	„ 2		11	5
15	3952	„ 3				35	3972	„ 3		12	6
16	3953	„				36	3973	„ 4		13	7
17	3954	Ol. V.	ÆSCHINES			37	3974	Ol. X.	DOTADES	14	8 T. Feb. 24
18	3955	„ 2				38	3975	„ 2		15	9
19	3956	„ 3				39	3976	„ 3		16	10
20	3957	„ 4				40	3977	„ 4		17	11

Olym. years of Censorinus.	Julian Period.	Olympiads.	Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome. Censorinus.	Æra Nabon.	Olym. years of Censorinus.	Julian Period.	Olympiads.	Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome. Censorinus.	Æra Nabon.
41	3978	Ol. XI.	LEOCHARES	18	12 T.Feb.23	61	3998	Ol. XVI.	PYTHAGORAS	38	32 T.Feb.18
42	3979	„ 2		19	13	62	3999	„ 2		39	33
43	3980	„ 3		20	14	63	4000	„ 3		40	34
44	3981	„ 4		21	15	64	4001	„ 4		41	35
45	3982	Ol. XII.	OXYTHEMIS	22	16 T.Feb.22	65	4002	Ol. XVII.	POTUS	42	36 T.Feb.17
46	3983	„ 2		23	17	66	4003	„ 2		43	37
47	3984	„ 3		24	18	67	4004	„ 3		44	38
48	3985	„ 4		25	19	68	4005	„ 4		45	39
49	3986	Ol. XIII.	DIOCLES	26	20 T.Feb.21	69	4006	Ol. XVIII.	TULLUS or TELLIS	46	40 T.Feb.16
50	3987	„ 2		27	21	70	4007	„ 2		47	41
51	3988	„ 3		28	22	71	4008	„ 3		48	42
52	3989	„ 4		29	23	72	4009	„ 4		49	43
53	3990	Ol. XIV.	DESMON	30	24 T.Feb.20	73	4010	Ol. XIX.	MENUS	50	44 T.Feb.15
54	3991	„ 2		31	25	74	4011	„ 2		51	45
55	3992	„ 3		32	26	75	4012	„ 3		52	46
56	3993	„ 4		33	27	76	4013	„ 4		53	47
57	3994	Ol. XV.	ORSIPPUS	34	28 T.Feb.19	77	4014	Ol. XX.	ATHERADAS	54	48 T.Feb.14
58	3995	„ 2		35	29	78	4015	„ 2		55	49
59	3996	„ 3		36	30	79	4016	„ 3		56	50
60	3997	„ 4		37	31	80	4017	„ 4		57	51

Olym. years of Censorinus.	Julian Period.	Olympiads.	Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome. Censorinus.	Æra Nabon.	Olym. years of Censorinus.	Julian Period.	Olympiads.	Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome. Censorinus.	Æra Nabon.
81–	4018	Ol. XXI.	PANTACLES	58	52 T.Feb.13	101–	4038	Ol. XXVI.	CALISTHENES	78	72 T. Feb. 8
82–	4019	„ 2		59	53	102–	4039	„ 2		79	73
83–	4020	„ 3		60	54	103–	4040	„ 3		80	74
84–	4021	„ 4		61	55	104–	4041	„ 4		81	75
85–	4022	Ol. XXII.	PANTACLES. II.	62	56 T.Feb.12	105–	4042	Ol. XXVII.	EURYBUS, or EURIBOTAS	82	76 T. Feb. 7
86–	4023	„ 2		63	57	106–	4043	„ 2		83	77
87–	4024	„ 3		64	58	107–	4044	„ 3		84	78
88–	4025	„ 4		65	59	108–	4045	„ 4		85	79
89–	4026	Ol. XXIII.	ICARIUS	66	60 T.Feb.11	109–	4046	Ol. XXVIII	CHARMIS	86	80 T. Feb. 6
90–	4027	„ 2		67	61	110–	4047	„ 2		87	81
91–	4028	„ 3		68	62	111–	4048	„ 3		88	82
92–	4029	„ 4		69	63	112–	4049	„ 4		89	83
93–	4030	Ol. XXIV.	CLEOPTOLEMUS	70	64 T.Feb.10	113–	4050	Ol. XXIX.	CHIONIS	90	84 T. Feb. 5
94–	4031	„ 2		71	65	114–	4051	„ 2		91	85
95–	4032	„ 3		72	66	115–	4052	„ 3		92	86
96–	4033	„ 4		73	67	116–	4053	„ 4		93	87
97–	4034	Ol. XXV.	THALPIS	74	68 T. Feb. 9	117–	4054	Ol. XXX.	CHIONIS II.	94	88 T. Feb. 4
98–	4035	„ 2		75	69	118–	4055	„ 2		95	89
99–	4036	„ 3		76	70	119–	4056	„ 3		96	90
100–	4037	„ 4		77	71	120–	4057	„ 4		97	91

Olym. years of Censorinus.	Julian Period.	Olympiads.	Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome. Censorinus.	Æra Nabon.	Olym. years of Censorinus.	Julian Period.	Olympiads.	Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome. Censorinus.	Æra Nabon.
121–	4058	Ol. xxxi.	CHIONIS III.	98	92 T. Feb. 3	141–	4078	Ol. xxxvi.	PHRYNON	118	112 T. Jan. 29
122–	4059	„ 2		99	93	142–	4079	„ 2		119	113
123–	4060	„ 3		100	94	143–	4080	„ 3		120	114
124–	4061	„ 4		101	95	144–	4081	„ 4		121	115
125–	4062	Ol. xxxii.	CRATINUS	102	96 T. Feb. 2	145–	4082	O. xxxvii.	EURYCLIDAS	122	116 T. Jan. 28
126–	4063	„ 2		103	97	146–	4083	„ 2		123	117
127–	4064	„ 3		104	98	147–	4084	„ 3		124	118
128–	4065	„ 4		105	99	148–	4085	„ 4		125	119
129–	4066	Ol. xxxiii	GYGIS	106	100 T. Feb. 1	149–	4086	O. xxxviii	OLYNTHEUS	126	120 T. Jan. 27
130–	4067	„ 2		107	101	150–	4087	„ 2		127	121
131–	4068	„ 3		108	102	151–	4088	„ 3		128	122
132–	4069	„ 4		109	103	152–	4089	„ 4		129	123
133–	4070	Ol. xxxiv	STOMUS	110	104 T. Jan. 31	153–	4090	Ol. xxxix	RIPSOLAUS, or RIPSOLKOS	130	124 T. Jan. 26
134–	4071	„ 2		111	105	154–	4091	„ 2		131	125
135–	4072	„ 3		112	106	155–	4092	„ 3		132	126
136–	4073	„ 4		113	107	156–	4093	„ 4		133	127
137–	4074	Ol. xxxv.	SPHÆRUS	114	108 T. Jan. 30	157–	4094	Ol. xl.	OLYNTHEUS. II.	134	128 T. Jan. 25
138–	4075	„ 2		115	109	158–	4095	„ 2		135	129
139–	4076	„ 3		116	110	159–	4096	„ 3		136	130
140	4077	„ 4		117	111	160–	4097	„ 4		137	131

Olym. years of Censorinus.	Julian Period.	Olympiads.	Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome. Censorinus.	Æra Nabon.	Olym. years of Censorinus.	Julian Period.	Olympiads.	Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome. Censorinus.	Æra Nabon.
161	4098	OL. XLI.	CLEONTHUS	138	132 T.Jan.24	181	4118	OL. XLVI.	CHRYSOMACHUS or CHRYSAMAXOS	158	152 T.Jan.19
162	4099	„ 2		139	133	182	4119	„ 2		159	153
163	4100	„ 3		140	134	183	4120	„ 3		160	154
164	4101	„ 4		141	135	184	4121	„ 4		161	155
165	4102	OL. XLII.	LYCOTAS	142	136 T.Jan.23	185	4122	OL. XLVII.	EURYCLES	162	156 T.Jan.18
166	4103	„ 2		143	137	186	4123	„ 2		163	157
167	4104	„ 3		144	138	187	4124	„ 3		164	158
168	4105	„ 4		145	139	188	4125	„ 4		165	159
169	4106	OL. XLIII.	CLEON	146	140 T.Jan.22	189	4126	OL. XLVIII.	GLYCON	166	160 T.Jan.17
170	4107	„ 2		147	141	190	4127	„ 2		167	161
171	4108	„ 3		148	142	191	4128	„ 3		168	162
172	4109	„ 4		149	143	192	4129	„ 4		169	163
173	4110	OL. XLIV.	GELON	150	144 T.Jan.21	193	4130	OL. XLIX.	LYCINUS	170	164 T.Jan.16
174	4111	„ 2		151	145	194	4131	„ 2		171	165
175	4112	„ 3		152	146	195	4132	„ 3		172	166
176	4113	„ 4		153	147	196	4133	„ 4		173	167
177	4114	OL. XLV.	ANTICRATES	154	148 T.Jan.20	197	4134	OL. L.	EPETELIDAS	174	168 T.Jan.15
178	4115	„ 2		155	149	198	4135	„ 2		175	169
179	4116	„ 3		156	150	199	4136	„ 3		176	170
180	4117	„ 4		157	151	200	4137	„ 4		177	171

Olym. years of Censorinus.	Julian Period.	Olympiads.	Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome. Censorinus.	Æra Nabon.	Olym. years of Censorinus.	Julian Period.	Olympiads.	Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome. Censorinus.	Æra Nabon.
201	4138	OL. LI.	ERATOSTHENES	178	172 T. Jan. 14	221	4158	OL. LVI.	PHÆDRUS	198	192 T. Jan. 9
202	4139	„ 2		179	173	222	4159	„ 2		199	193
203	4140	„ 3		180	174	223	4160	„ 3		200	194
204	4141	„ 4		181	175	224	4161	„ 4		201	195
205	4142	OL. LII.	AGIS	182	176 T. Jan. 13	225	4162	OL. LVII.	LADRONIUS	202	196 T. Jan. 8
206	4143	„ 2		183	177	226	4163	„ 2		203	197
207	4144	„ 3		184	178	227	4164	„ 3		204	198
208	4145	„ 4		185	179	228	4165	„ 4		205	199
209	4146	OL. LIII.	ANON, or AGNON	186	180 T. Jan. 12	229	4166	OL. LVIII.	DIOGNETUS	206	200 T. Jan. 7
210	4147	„ 2		187	181	230	4167	„ 2		207	201
211	4148	„ 3		188	182	231	4168	„ 3		208	202
212	4149	„ 4		189	183	232	4169	„ 4		209	203
213	4150	OL. LIV.	HIPPOSTRATUS	190	184 T. Jan. 11	233	4170	OL. LIX.	ARCHILOCHUS	210	204 T. Jan. 6
214	4151	„ 2		191	185	234	4171	„ 2		211	205
215	4152	„ 3		192	186	235	4172	„ 3		212	206
216	4153	„ 4		193	187	236	4173	„ 4		213	207
217	4154	OL. LV.	HIPPOSTRATUS. II.	194	188 T. Jan. 10	237	4174	OL. LX.	APELLÆUS	214	208 T. Jan. 5
218	4155	„ 2		195	189	238	4175	„ 2		215	209
219	4156	„ 3		196	190	239	4176	„ 3		216	210
220	4157	„ 4		197	191	240	4177	„ 4		217	211

Olym. years of Censorinus.	Julian Period.	Olympiads.	Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome. Censorinus.	Æra Nabon.	Olym. years of Censorinus.	Julian Period.	Olympiads.	Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome. Censorinus.	Æra Nabon.
241	4178	Ol. LXI.	AGATHARCUS	218	212 T. Jan. 4	261	4198	Ol. LXVI.	ISCHYRUS	238	233
242	4179	„ 2		219	213	262	4199	„ 2		239	234
243	4180	„ 3		220	214	263	4200	„ 3		240	235
244	4181	„ 4		221	215	264	4201	„ 4		241	236 T.Dec.29
245	4182	Ol. LXII.	ERYXIAS	222	216 T. Jan. 3	265	4202	Ol. LXVII.	PHANNAS	242	237
246	4183	„ 2		223	217	266	4203	„ 2		243	238
247	4184	„ 3		224	218	267	4204	„ 3		244	239
248	4185	„ 4		225	219	268	4205	„ 4		245	240 T.Dec.28
249	4186	Ol. LXIII.	PARMENIDES	226	220 T. Jan. 2	269	4206	Ol. LXVIII	ISOMACHUS	246	241
250	4187	„ 2		227	221	270	4207	„ 2		247	242
251	4188	„ 3		228	222	271	4208	„ 3		248	243
252	4189	„ 4		229	223	272	4209	„ 4		249	244 T.Dec.27
253	4190	Ol. LXIV.	MENANDRUS, or EVANDRAS	230	224 T. Jan. 1	273	4210	Ol. LXIX.	ISOMACHUS.II.	250	245
254	4191	„ 2		231	225	274	4211	„ 2		251	246
255	4192	„ 3		232	226	275	4212	„ 3		252	247
256	4193 Bissext.	„ 4		233	227 T. Jan. 1 228 T.Dec.31	276	4213	„ 4		253	248 T.Dec.26
257	4194	Ol. LXV.	AMACHUS, or AXOCHAS	234	229 T.Dec.31	277	4214	Ol. LXX.	NICEAS, or NICAISTAS	254	249
258	4195	„ 2		235	230	278	4215	„ 2		255	250
259	4196	„ 3		236	231	279	4216	„ 3		256	251
260	4197	„ 4		237	232 T.Dec.30	280	4217	„ 4		257	252 T.Dec.25

Olym. years of Censorinus.	Julian Period.	Olympiads.	Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome, Censorinus.	Æra Nabon.
281	4218	OL. LXXI.	TISICRATES	258	253
282	4219	„ 2		259	254
283	4220	„ 3		260	255
284	4221	„ 4		261	256 T.Dec.24
285	4222	OL. LXXII.	TISICRATES. II.	262	257
286	4223	„ 2		263	258
287	4224	„ 3		264	259
288	4225	„ 4		265	260 T.Dec.23
289	4226	OL. LXXIII	ASTYALUS	266	261
290	4227	„ 2		267	262
291	4228	„ 3		268	263
292	4229	„ 4		269	264 T.Dec.22
293	4230	OL. LXXIV	ASTYALUS. II.	270	265
294	4231	„ 2		271	266
295	4232	„ 3		272	267
296	4233	„ 4		273	268 T.Dec.21
297	4234	OL. LXXV.	ASTYALUS. III.	274	269
298	4235	„ 2		275	270
299	4236	„ 3		276	271
300	4237	„ 4		277	272 T.Dec.20
301	4238	OL. LXXVI.	SCAMANDRUS	278	273
302	4239	„ 2		279	274
303	4240	„ 3		280	275
304	4241	„ 4		281	276 T.Dec.19
305	4242	O. LXXVII.	DANDINUS, or DANDIS	282	277
306	4243	„ 2		283	278
307	4244	„ 3		284	279
308	4245	„ 4		285	280 T.Dec.18
309	4246	O. LXXVIII	PARMENIDES	286	281
310	4247	„ 2		287	282
311	4248	„ 3		288	283
312	4249	„ 4		289	284 T.Dec.17
313	4250	OL. LXXIX	XENOPHON	290	285
314	4251	„ 2		291	286
315	4252	„ 3		292	287
316	4253	„ 4		293	288 T.Dec.16
317	4254	OL. LXXX.	TURYMMAS	294	289
318	4255	„ 2		295	290
319	4256	„ 3		296	291
320	4257	„ 4		297	292 T.Dec.15

Olym. years of Censorinus.	Julian Period.	Olympiads.	Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg Rome. Censorinus.	Æra Nabon	Olym. years of Censorinus.	Julian Period.	Olympiads.	Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome. Censorinus.	Æra Nabon.
321	4258	OL. LXXXI.	POLYMNASTUS	298	293	341	4278	O. LXXXVI.	THEOPOMPUS	318	313
322	4259	„ 2		299	294	342	4279	„ 2		319	314
323	4260	„ 3		300	295	343	4280	„ 3		320	315
324	4261	„ 4		301	296 T. Dec. 14	344	4281	„ 4		321	316 T. Dec. 9
325	4262	OL. LXXXII	LYCUS	302	297	345	4282	OL. LXXXVII.	EUPHRANOR, or SOPHRON	322	317
326	4263	„ 2		303	298	346	4283	„ 2		323	318
327	4264	„ 3		304	299	347	4284	„ 3		324	319
328	4265	„ 4		305	300 T. Dec. 13	348	4285	„ 4		325	320 T. Dec. 8
329	4266	O. LXXXIII	CRISSON	306	301	349	4286	OL. LXXXVIII.	SYMMACHUS	326	321
330	4267	„ 2		307	302	350	4287	„ 2		327	322
331	4268	„ 3		308	303	351	4288	„ 3		328	323
332	4269	„ 4		309	304 T. Dec. 12	352	4289	„ 4		329	324 T. Dec. 7
333	4270	O. LXXXIV.	CRISSON II.	310	305	353	4290	O. LXXXIX.	SYMMACHUS. II.	330	325
334	4271	„ 2		311	306	354	4291	„ 2		331	326
335	4272	„ 3		312	307	355	4292	„ 3		332	327
336	4273	„ 4		313	308 T. Dec. 11	356	4293	„ 4		333	328 T. Dec. 6
337	4274	OL. LXXXV	CRISSON III.	314	309	357	4294	OL. XC.	HYPERBIUS	334	329
338	4275	„ 2		315	310	358	4295	„ 2		335	330
339	4276	„ 3		316	311	359	4296	„ 3		336	331
340	4277	„ 4		317	312 T. Dec. 10	360	4297	„ 4		337	332 T. Dec. 5

Olym. years of Censorinus.	Julian Period.	Olympiads.	Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome. Censorinus.	Æra Nabon.	Olym. years of Censorinus.	Julian Period.	Olympiads.	Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome. Censorinus.	Æra Nabon.
361	4298	Ol. xci.	EXIGENTUS	338	333	381	4318	Ol. xcvi.	EUPOLEMUS	358	353
362	4299	„ 2		339	334	382	4319	„ 2		359	354
363	4300	„ 3		340	335	383	4320	„ 3		360	355
364	4301	„ 4		341	336 T. Dec. 4	384	4321	„ 4		361	356 T.Nov.29
365	4302	Ol. xcii.	EXIGENTUS II.	342	337	385	4322	Ol. xcvii.	TIRINÆUS	362	357
366	4303	„ 2		343	338	386	4323	„ 2		363	358
367	4304	„ 3		344	339	387	4324	„ 3		364	359
368	4305	„ 4		345	340 T. Dec. 3	388	4325	„ 4		365	360 T.Nov.28
369	4306	Ol. xciii.	EUROTAS, or EUKATOS	346	341	389	4326	Ol. xcviii.	SOSIPPUS	366	361
370	4307	„ 2		347	342	390	4327	„ 2		367	362
371	4308	„ 3		348	343	391	4328	„ 3		368	363
372	4309	„ 4		349	344 T. Dec. 2	392	4329	„ 4		369	364 T.Nov.27
373	4310	Ol. xciv.	CROCINAS	350	345	393	4330	Ol. xcix.	DICON	370	365
374	4311	„ 2		351	346	394	4331	„ 2		371	366
375	4312	„ 3		352	347	395	4332	„ 3		372	367
376	4313	„ 4		353	348 T. Dec. 1	396	4333	„ 4		373	368 T.Nov.26
377	4314	Ol. xcv.	MINON	354	349	397	4334	Ol. c.	DIONYSODORUS	374	369
378	4315	„ 2		355	350	398	4335	„ 2		375	370
379	4316	„ 3		356	351	399	4336	„ 3		376	371
380	4317	„ 4		357	352 T.Nov.30	400	4337	„ 4		377	372 T.Nov.25

Olym. years of Censorinus.	Julian Period.	Olympiads.	Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome. Censorinus.	Æra Nabon.
401–	4338	Ol. CI.	DAMON	378	373
402–	4339	„ 2		379	374
403–	4340	„ 3		380	375
404–	4341	„ 4		381	376 T.Nov.24
405–	4342	Ol. CII.	DAMON. II.	382	377
406–	4343	„ 2		383	378
407–	4344	„ 3		384	379
408–	4345	„ 4		385	380 T.Nov.23
409–	4346	Ol. CIII.	PYTHOSTRATUS	386	381
410–	4347	„ 2		387	382
411–	4348	„ 3		388	383
412–	4349	„ 4		389	384 T.Nov.22
413–	4350	Ol. CIV.	PHOCIDES	390	385
414–	4351	„ 2		391	386
415–	4352	„ 3		392	387
416–	4353	„ 4		393	388 T.Nov.21
417–	4354	Ol. CV.	PORUS	394	389
418–	4355	„ 2		395	390
419–	4356	„ 3		396	391
420–	4357	„ 4		397	392 T.Nov.20
421–	4358	Ol. CVI.	PORUS. II.	398	393
422–	4359	„ 2		399	394
423–	4360	„ 3		400	395
424–	4361	„ 4		401	396 T.Nov.19
425–	4362	Ol. CVII.	MICRINAS	402	397
426–	4363	„ 2		403	398
427–	4364	„ 3		404	399
428–	4365	„ 4		405	400 T.Nov.18
429–	4366	Ol. CVIII.	POLYCLES	406	401
430–	4367	„ 2		407	402
431–	4368	„ 3		408	403
432–	4369	„ 4		409	404 T.Nov.17
433–	4370	Ol. CIX.	ARISTOLOCHUS	410	405
434–	4371	„ 2		411	406
435–	4372	„ 3		412	407
436–	4373	„ 4		413	408 T.Nov.16
437–	4374	Ol. CX.	ANICLES or ANTICLES	414	409
438–	4375	„ 2		415	410
439–	4376	„ 3		416	411
440–	4377	„ 4		417	412 T.Nov.15

Olym. years of Censorinus.	Julian Period.	Olympiads.	Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome. Censorinus.	Æra Nabon.	Olym. years of Censorinus.	Julian Period.	Olympiads.	Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome. Censorinus.	Æra Nabon.
441–	4378	– Ol. CXI.	CLEOMANTIS	418	413	461–	4398	– Ol. CXVI.	DEMOSTHENES, DINOSTHENES or DINOMENES	438	433
442–	4379	– „ 2		419	414	462–	4399	– „ 2		439	434
443–	4380	– „ 3		420	415	463–	4400	– „ 3		440	435
444–	4381	– „ 4		421	416 T. Nov. 14	464–	4401	– „ 4		441	436 T. Nov. 9
445–	4382	– Ol. CXII.	EURYLAS	422	417	465–	4402	– Ol. CXVII.	PARMENIDES	442	437
446–	4383	– „ 2		423	418	466–	4403	– „ 2		443	438
447–	4384	– „ 3		424	419	467–	4404	– „ 3		444	439
448–	4385	– „ 4		425	420 T. Nov. 13	468–	4405	– „ 4		445	440 T. Nov. 8
449–	4386	– Ol. CXIII.	CLITO	426	421	469–	4406	– Ol. CXVIII.	ANDROMENES	446	441
450–	4387	– „ 2		427	422	470–	4407	– „ 2		447	442
451–	4388	– „ 3		428	423	471–	4408	– „ 3		448	443
452–	4389	– „ 4		429	424 T. Nov. 12	472–	4409	– „ 4		449	444 T. Nov. 7
453–	4390	– Ol. CXIV.	MICINNAS	430	425	473–	4410	– Ol. CXIX.	ANDROMENES II.	450	445
454–	4391	– „ 2		431	426	474–	4411	– „ 2		451	446
455–	4392	– „ 3		432	427	475–	4412	– „ 3		452	447
456–	4393	– „ 4		433	428 T. Nov. 11	476–	4413	– „ 4		453	448 T. Nov. 6
457–	4394	– Ol. CXV.	DAMASIAS	434	429	477–	4414	– Ol. CXX.	PYTHAGORAS	454	449
458–	4395	– „ 2		435	430	478–	4415	– „ 2		455	450
459–	4396	– „ 3		436	431	479–	4416	– „ 3		456	451
460–	4397	– „ 4		437	432 T. Nov. 10	480–	4417	– „ 4		457	452 T. Nov. 5

Olym. years of Censorinus.	Julian Period.	Olympiads.	Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome. Censorinus.	Æra Nabon.	Olym. years of Censorinus.	Julian Period.	Olympiads.	Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome. Censorinus.	Æra Nabon.
481–	4418	– OL. CXXI.	PYTHAGORAS. II.	458	453	501–	4438	–OL. CXXVI.	IDÆUS, or NICATOR	478	473
482–	4419	– „ 2		459	454	502–	4439	– „ 2		479	474
483–	4420	– „ 3		460	455	503–	4440	– „ 3		480	475
484–	4421	– „ 4		461	456 T. Nov. 4	504–	4441	– „ 4		481	476 T. Oct.30
485–	4422	–OL. CXXII.	ANTIGONUS	462	457	505–	4442	–OL.CXXVII	PERIGENES	482	477
486–	4423	– „ 2		463	458	506–	4443	– „ 2		483	478
487–	4424	– „ 3		464	459	507–	4444	– „ 3		484	479
488–	4425	– „ 4		465	460 T. Nov. 3	508–	4445	– „ 4		485	480 T. Oct.29
489–	4426	–OL.CXXIII.	ANTIGONUS. II.	466	461	509–	4446	–O. CXXVIII	SELEUCUS	486	481
490–	4427	– „ 2		467	462	510–	4447	– „ 2		487	482
491–	4428	– „ 3		468	463	511–	4448	– „ 3		488	483
492–	4429	– „ 4		469	464 T. Nov. 2	512–	4449	– „ 4		489	484 T. Oct.28
493–	4430	–OL. CXXIV.	PHILOMELUS	470	465	513–	4450	–OL. CXXIX.	PHILINUS	490	485
494–	4431	– „ 2		471	466	514–	4451	– „ 2		491	486
495–	4432	– „ 3		472	467	515–	4452	– „ 3		492	487
496–	4433	– „ 4		473	468 T. Nov. 1	516–	4453	– „ 4		493	488 T. Oct.27
497–	4434	– OL. CXXV.	LADAS	474	469	517–	4454	– OL. CXXX.	PHILINUS. II.	494	489
498–	4435	– „ 2		475	470	518–	4455	– „ 2		495	490
499–	4436	– „ 3		476	471	519–	4456	– „ 3		496	491
500–	4437	– „ 4		477	472 T. Oct.31	520–	4457	– „ 4		497	492 T. Oct.26

Olym. years of Censorinus.	Julian Period.	Olympiads.	Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome. Censorinus.	Æra Nabon.	Olym. years of Censorinus.	Julian Period.	Olympiads.	Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome. Censorinus.	Æra Nabon.
521	4458	Ol. CXXXI.	AMMONIUS	498	493	541	4478	O. CXXXVI.	PYTHOCLES	518	513
522	4459	„ 2		499	494	542	4479	„ 2		519	514
523	4460	„ 3		500	495	543	4480	„ 3		520	515
524	4461	„ 4		501	496 T. Oct. 25	544	4481	„ 4		521	516 T. Oct. 20
525	4462	Ol. CXXXII	XENOPHANES	502	497	545	4482	O. CXXXVII	MENESTHEUS	522	517
526	4463	„ 2		503	498	546	4483	„ 2		523	518
527	4464	„ 3		504	499	547	4484	„ 3		524	519
528	4465	„ 4		505	500 T. Oct. 24	548	4485	„ 4		525	520 T. Oct. 19
529	4466	O. CXXXIII	SIMELUS	506	501	549	4486	Ol. CXXXVIII.	DEMETRIUS	526	521
530	4467	„ 2		507	502	550	4487	„ 2		527	522
531	4468	„ 3		508	503	551	4488	„ 3		528	523
532	4469	„ 4		509	504 T. Oct. 23	552	4489	„ 4		529	524 T. Oct. 18
533	4470	O. CXXXIV.	ALCIDAS	510	505	553	4490	O. CXXXIX.	IOLAIDAS	530	525
534	4471	„ 2		511	506	554	4491	„ 2		531	526
535	4472	„ 3		512	507	555	4492	„ 3		532	527
536	4473	„ 4		513	508 T. Oct. 22	556	4493	„ 4		533	528 T. Oct. 17
537	4474	Ol. CXXXV	ERATON	514	509	557	4494	Ol. CXL.	ZOPYRUS	534	529
538	4475	„ 2		515	510	558	4495	„ 2		535	530
539	4476	„ 3		516	511	559	4496	„ 3		536	531
540	4477	„ 4		517	512 T. Oct. 21	560	4497	„ 4		537	532 T. Oct. 16

Olym. years of Censorinus.	Julian Period.	Olympiads.	Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome. Censorinus.	Æra Nabon.	Olym years of Censorinus.	Julian Period.	Olympiads.	Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome. Censorinus.	Æra Nabon.
561–	4498	– Ol. CXLI.	DOROTHEUS	538	533	581–	4518	–Ol. CXLVI.	MICION	558	553
562–	4499	– ” 2		539	534	582–	4519	– ” 2		559	554
563–	4500	– ” 3		540	535	583–	4520	– ” 3		560	555
564–	4501	– ” 4		541	536 T. Oct. 15	584–	4521	– ” 4		561	556 T. Oct. 10
565–	4502	– Ol. CXLII.	CRATES	542	537	585–	4522	–Ol. CXLVII	AGEMACHUS	562	557
566–	4503	– ” 2		543	538	586–	4523	– ” 2		563	558
567–	4504	– ” 3		544	539	587–	4524	– ” 3		564	559
568–	4505	– ” 4		545	540 T. Oct. 14	588–	4525	– ” 4		565	560 T. Oct. 9
569–	4506	–Ol. CXLIII.	HERACLITUS	546	541	589–	4526	–O. CXLVIII	ARCESILAUS	566	561
570–	4507	– ” 2		547	542	590–	4527	– ” 2		567	562
571–	4508	– ” 3		548	543	591–	4528	– ” 3		568	563
572–	4509	– ” 4		549	544 T. Oct. 13	592–	4529	– ” 4		569	564 T. Oct. 8
573–	4510	–Ol. CXLIV.	HERACLIDES	550	545	593–	4530	–Ol. CXLIX.	HIPPOSTRATUS	570	565
574–	4511	– ” 2		551	546	594–	4531	– ” 2		571	566
575–	4512	– ” 3		552	547	595–	4532	– ” 3		572	567
576–	4513	– ” 4		553	548 T. Oct. 12	596–	4533	– ” 4		573	568 T. Oct. 7
577–	4514	– Ol. CXLV.	PYRRHIAS	554	549	597–	4534	– Ol. CL.	ONESICRATUS	574	569
578–	4515	– ” 2		555	550	598–	4535	– ” 2		575	570
579–	4516	– ” 3		556	551	599–	4536	– ” 3		576	571
580–	4517	– ” 4		557	552 T. Oct. 11	600–	4537	– ” 4		577	572 T. Oct. 6

Olym. years of Censorinus.	Julian Period.	Olympiads.	Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome. Censorinus.	Æra Nabon.	Olym. years of Censorinus.	Julian Period.	Olympiads.	Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome. Censorinus.	Æra Nabon.
601–	4538	– Ol. CLI.	THYMELUS	578	573	621–	4558	– Ol. CLVI.	LEONIDAS. III.	598	593
602–	4539	– „ 2		579	574	622–	4559	– „ 2		599	594
603–	4540	– „ 3		580	575	623–	4560	– „ 3		600	595
604–	4541	– „ 4		581	576 T. Oct. 5	624–	4561	– „ 4		601	596 T.Sep.30
605–	4542	– Ol. CLII.	DEMOCRATES	582	577	625–	4562	– Ol. CLVII.	LEONIDAS. IV.	602	597
606–	4543	– „ 2		583	578	626–	4563	– „ 2		603	598
607–	4544	– „ 3		584	579	627–	4564	– „ 3		604	599
608–	4545	– „ 4		585	580 T. Oct. 4	628–	4565	– „ 4		605	600 T.Sep.29
609–	4546	– Ol. CLIII.	ARISTANDRUS	586	581	629–	4566	– Ol. CLVIII.	ORTHON	606	601
610–	4547	– „ 2		587	582	630–	4567	– „ 2		607	602
611–	4548	– „ 3		588	583	631–	4568	– „ 3		608	603
612–	4549	– „ 4		589	584 T. Oct. 3	632–	4569	– „ 4		609	604 T.Sep.28
613–	4550	– Ol. CLIV.	LEONIDAS	590	585	633–	4570	– Ol. CLIX.	ALCIMUS	610	605
614–	4551	– „ 2		591	586	634–	4571	– „ 2		611	606
615–	4552	– „ 3		592	587	635–	4572	– „ 3		612	607
616–	4553	– „ 4		593	588 T. Oct. 2	636–	4573	– „ 4		613	608 T.Sep.27
617–	4554	– Ol. CLV.	LEONIDAS. II.	594	589	637–	4574	– Ol. CLX.	ANODORUS, or ANODOKOS	614	609
618–	4555	– „ 2		595	590	638–	4575	– „ 2		615	610
619–	4556	– „ 3		596	591	639–	4576	– „ 3		616	611
620–	4557	– „ 4		597	592 T. Oct. 1	640–	4577	– „ 4		617	612 T.Sep.26

Olym. years of Censorinus.	Julian Period.	Olympiads.	Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome. Censorinus.	Æra Nabon.	Olym. years of Censorinus.	Julian Period.	Olympiads.	Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome. Censorinus.	Æra Nabon.
641–	4578	– OL. CLXI.	ANTIPATER	618	613	661–	4598	–OL. CLXVI.	CHRYSOGONUS	638	633
642–	4579	– „ 2		619	614	662–	4599	– „ 2		639	634
643–	4580	– „ 3		620	615	663–	4600	– „ 3		640	635
644–	4581	– „ 4		621	616 T.Sep.25	664–	4601	– „ 4		641	636 T.Sep.20
645–	4582	–OL. CLXII.	DAMON	622	617	665–	4602	–OL.CLXVII	CHRYSOGONUS. II.	642	637
646–	4583	– „ 2		623	618	666–	4603	– „ 2		643	638
647–	4584	– „ 3		624	619	667–	4604	– „ 3		644	639
648–	4585	– „ 4		625	620 T.Sep.24	668–	4605	– „ 4		645	640 T.Sep.19
649–	4586	–OL.CLXIII.	TIMOTHEUS	626	621	669–	4606	–O. CLXVIII	NICOMACHUS	646	641
650–	4587	– „ 2		627	622	670–	4607	– „ 2		647	642
651–	4588	– „ 3		628	623	671–	4608	– „ 3		648	643
652–	4589	– „ 4		629	624 T.Sep.23	672–	4609	– „ 4	..	649	644 T. Sep.18
653–	4590	–OL. CLXIV.	BOIOTUS	630	625	673–	4610	–OL. CLXIX.	NICODEMUS	650	645
654–	4591	– , 2		631	626	674–	4611	– „ 2	..	651	646
655–	4592	– ., 3		632	627	675–	4612	– „ 3		652	647
656–	4593	– „ 4		633	628 T.Sep.22	676–	4613	– „ 4		653	648 T.Sep.17
657–	4594	– OL. CLXV.	ACUSILAUS	634	629	677–	4614	– OL. CLXX.	SIMMEUS	654	649
658–	4595	– „ 2		635	630	678–	4615	– „ 2		655	650
659–	4596	– „ 3		636	631	679–	4616	– „ 3		656	651
660–	4597	– „ 4		637	632 T.Sep.21	680–	4617	– „ 4		657	652 T.Sep.16

Olym. years of Censorinus.	Julian Period.	Olympiads.	Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome. Censorinus.	Æra Nabon.
681	4618	Ol. CLXXI.	PARMENISCUS	658	653
682	4619	„ 2		659	654
683	4620	„ 3		660	655
684	4621	„ 4		661	656 T.Sep.15
685	4622	Ol. CLXXII	EUDAMUS	662	657
686	4623	„ 2		663	658
687	4624	„ 3		664	659
688	4625	„ 4		665	660 T.Sep.14
689	4626	O. CLXXIII	PARMENISCUS. II.	666	661
690	4627	„ 2		667	662
691	4628	„ 3		668	663
692	4629	„ 4		669	664 T.Sep.13
693	4630	O. CLXXIV.	DEMOSTRATUS	670	665
694	4631	„ 2		671	666
695	4632	„ 3		672	667
696	4633	„ 4		673	668 T.Sep.12
697	4634	Ol. CLXXV	EPÆNETUS	674	669
698	4635	„ 2		675	670
699	4636	„ 3		676	671
700	4637	„ 4		677	672 T Sep.11
701	4638	O. CLXXVI.	DION	678	673
702	4639	„ 2		679	674
703	4640	„ 3		680	675
704	4641	„ 4		681	676 T.Sep.10
705	4642	O. CLXXVII	HECATOMNUS	682	677
706	4643	„ 2		683	678
707	4644	„ 3		684	679
708	4645	„ 4		685	680 T. Sep. 9
709	4646	Ol. CLXXVIII.	DIOCLES	686	681
710	4647	„ 2		687	682
711	4648	„ 3		688	683
712	4649	„ 4		689	684 T. Sep. 8
713	4650	O. CLXXIX.	ANDREAS	690	685
714	4651	„ 2		691	686
715	4652	„ 3		692	687
716	4653	„ 4		693	688 T. Sep. 7
717	4654	Ol. CLXXX	ANDROMACHUS	694	689
718	4655	„ 2		695	690
719	4656	„ 3		696	691
720	4657	„ 4		697	692 T. Sep. 6

Olym. years of Censorinus.	Julian Period.	Olympiads.	Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome. Censorinus.	Æra Nab.	Ref. Cal. of Julius Cæsar.	Olym. years of Censorinus.	Julian Period.	Olympiads.	Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome. Censorinus.	Æra Nab.	Ref. Cal. of Julius Cæsar.	Æra of Augustus.	
721–	4658	CLXXXI	LAMACHUS	698	693	Confusion from want of intercalation, eight years.	741–	4678	CLXXXVI	SCAMANDRUS	718	713	10		
722–	4659	„ 2		699	694		742–	4679	„ 2		719	714	11		
723–	4660	„ 3		700	695		743–	4680	„ 3		720	715	12		
724–	4661	„ 4		701	696 Sep.5		744–	4681	„ 4		721	716 Aug.31	13		
725–	4662	Ol. CLXXXII.	ANTHESTION	702	697		745–	4682	Ol. CLXXXVII.	ARISTON II.	722	717	14		
726–	4663	„ 2		703	698		746–	4683	„ 2		723	718	15		
727–	4664	„ 3		704	699		747–	4684	„ 3		724	719	16		
728–	4665	„ 4		705	700 Sep.4		748–	4685	„ 4		725	720 Aug.30	17		
729–	4666	Ol. CLXXXIII	THEODORUS	706	701		749–	4686	Ol. CLXXXVIII	SOPATER	726	721	18		1
730–	4667	„ 2		707	702		750–	4687	„ 2		727	722	19	1	2
731–	4668	„ 3		708	703	Year of 445 days.	751–	4688	„ 3		728	723	20	2	3
732–	4669	„ 4		709	704 Sep.3	1	752–	4689	„ 4		729	724 Aug.29	21	3	4
733–	4670	Ol. CLXXXIV	THEODORUS. II.	710	705	2	753–	4690	Ol. CLXXXIX	ASCLEPIADES	730	725	22	4	5
734–	4671	„ 2		711	706	3	754–	4691	„ 2		731	726	23	5	6
735–	4672	„ 3		712	707	4	755–	4692	„ 3		732	727	24	6	7
736–	4673	„ 4		713	708 Sep.2	5	756–	4693	„ 4		733	728 Aug.28	25	7	8
737–	4674	Ol. CLXXXV	ARISTON	714	709	6	757–	4694	Ol. CXC.	AUPHIDIUS	734	729	26	8	9
738–	4675	„ 2		715	710	7	758–	4695	„ 2		735	730	27	9	10
739–	4676	„ 3		716	711	8	759–	4696	„ 3		736	731	28	10	11
740–	4677	„ 4		717	712 Sep.1	9	760–	4697	„ 4		737	732 Aug 27	29	11	12

Olym. years of Censorinus.	Julian Period	Olympiads, and Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome. Censorinus.	Æra Nab.	Ref. Cal. of Julius Cæsar.	Æra of Augustus.		Vulg. Christ. Æra.	Olym. years of Censorinus.	Julian Period	Olympiads, and Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome. Censorinus.	Æra Nab.	Ref. Cal. of Julius Cæsar.	Æra of Augustus.		Vulg. Christ. Æra.
761–	4698	OL. CXCI. (Diodotus)	738	733	30	12	13		781–	4718	OL. CXCVI. (Pasenes, or Pammenes)	758	753	50	32	33	5
762–	4699	„ 2	739	734	31	13	14		782–	4719	„ 2	759	754	51	33	34	6
763–	4700	„ 3	740	735	32	14	15		783–	4720	„ 3	760	755	52	34	35	7
764–	4701	„ 4	741	736 Aug.26	33	15	16		784–	4721	„ 4	761	756 Aug.21	53	35	36	8
765–	4702	OL. CXCII. (Diophanes)	742	737	34	16	17		785–	4722	OL. CXCVII (Asiaticus)	762	757	54	36	37	9
766–	4703	„ 2	743	738	35	17	18		786–	4723	„ 2	763	758	55	37	38	10
767–	4704	„ 3	744	739	36	18	19		787–	4724	„ 3	764	759	56	38	39	11
768–	4705	„ 4	745	740 Aug.25	37	19	20		788–	4725	„ 4	765	760 Aug.20	57	39	40	12
769–	4706	OL. CXCIII. (Artesidorus)	746	741	38	20	21		789–	4726	O. CXCVIII. (Diophanes)	766	761	58	40	41	13
770–	4707	„ 2	747	742	39	21	22		790–	4727	„ 2	767	762	59	41	42	14
771–	4708	„ 3	748	743	40	22	23		791–	4728	„ 3	768	763	60	42	43	15
772–	4709	„ 4	749	744 Aug.24	41	23	24		792–	4729	„ 4	769	764 Aug.19	61	43	44	16
773–	4710	OL. CXCIV. (Dimatrus)	750	745	42	24	25		793–	4730	OL. CXCIX. (Æschines)	770	765	62	44	45	17
774–	4711	„ 2	751	746	43	25	26		794–	4731	„ 2	771	766	63	45	46	18
775–	4712	„ 3	752	747	44	26	27		795–	4732	„ 3	772	767	64	46	47	19
776–	4713	„ 4	753	748 Aug.23	45	27	28		796–	4733	„ 4	773	768 Aug.18	65	47	48	20
777–	4714	OL. CXCV. (Dimatrus. II.)	754	749	46	28	29	1	797–	4734	OL. CC. (Polemon)	774	769	66	48	49	21
778–	4715	„ 2	755	750	47	29	30	2	798–	4735	„ 2	775	770	67	49	50	22
779–	4716	„ 3	756	751	48	30	31	3	799–	4736	„ 3	776	771	68	50	51	23
780–	4717	„ 4	757	752 Aug.22	49	31	32	4	800–	4737	„ 4	777	772 Aug.17	69	51	52	24

Olym. years of Censorinus.	Julian Period	Olympiads, and Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome, Censorinus	Æra Nab	Ref. Cal. of Julius Cæsar.	Æra of Augustus.		Vulg. Christ. Æra.
801–	4738	– OL. CCI. (Damas)	778	773	70	52	53	25
802–	4739	– „ 2	779	774	71	53	54	26
803–	4740	– „ 3	780	775	72	54	55	27
804–	4741	– „ 4	781	776 Aug.16	73	55	56	28
805–	4742	– OL. CCII. (Hermogenes)	782	777	74	56	57	29
806–	4743	– „ 2	783	778	75	57	58	30
807–	4744	– „ 3	784	779	76	58	59	31
808–	4745	– „ 4	785	780 Aug.15	77	59	60	32
809–	4746	– OL. CCIII. (Apollonius)	786	781	78	60	61	33
810–	4747	– „ 2	787	782	79	61	62	34
811–	4748	– „ 3	788	783	80	62	63	35
812–	4749	– „ 4	789	784 Aug.14	81	63	64	36
813–	4750	– OL. CCIV. (Sarapion)	790	785	82	64	65	37
814–	4751	– „ 2	791	786	83	65	66	38
815–	4752	– „ 3	792	787	84	66	67	39
816–	4753	– „ 4	793	788 Aug.13	85	67	68	40
817–	4754	– OL. CCV. (Eubulidas)	794	789	86	68	69	41
818–	4755	– „ 2	795	790	87	69	70	42
819–	4756	– „ 3	796	791	88	70	71	43
820–	4757	– „ 4	797	792 Aug.12	89	71	72	44
821–	4758	– OL. CCVI. (Valerius)	798	793	90	72	73	45
822–	4759	– „ 2	799	794	91	73	74	46
823–	4760	– „ 3	800	795	92	74	75	47
824–	4761	– „ 4	801	796 Aug 11	93	75	76	48
825–	4762	– OL. CCVII. (Athenodorus)	802	797	94	76	77	49
826–	4763	– „ 2	803	798	95	77	78	50
827–	4764	– „ 3	804	799	96	78	79	51
828–	4765	– „ 4	805	800 Aug.10	97	79	80	52
829–	4766	– OL. CCVIII. Athenodorus. II.	806	801	98	80	81	53
830–	4767	– „ 2	807	802	99	81	82	54
831–	4768	– „ 3	808	803	100	82	83	55
832–	4769	– „ 4	809	804 Aug.9	101	83	84	56
833–	4770	– OL. CCIX. (Callicles)	810	805	102	84	85	57
834–	4771	– „ 2	811	806	103	85	86	58
835–	4772	– „ 3	812	807	104	86	87	59
836–	4773	– „ 4	813	808 Aug.8	105	87	88	60
837–	4774	– OL. CCX. (Athenodorus)	814	809	106	88	89	61
838–	4775	– „ 2	815	810	107	89	90	62
839–	4776	– „ 3	816	811	108	90	91	63
840–	4777	– „ 4	817	812 Aug.7	109	91	92	64

Olym. years of Censorinus.	Julian Period	Olympiads, and Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome, Censorinus.	Æra Nab.	Ref. Cal. of Julius Cæsar.	Æra of Augustus.		Vulg. Christ. Æra.	Olym. years of Censorinus.	Julian Period	Olympiads, and Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome, Censorinus.	Æra Nab.	Ref. Cal. of Julius Cæsar.	Æra of Augustus.		Vulg. Christ. Æra.
841–	4778	–O. CCXI. (—)	818	813	110	92	93	65	861–	4798	–O. CCXVI Apollophanes or Papes	838	833	130	112	113	85
842–	4779	– „ 2	819	814	111	93	94	66	862–	4799	– „ 2	839	834	131	113	114	86
843–	4780	– „ 3 (Tryphon.)	820	815	112	94	95	67	863–	4800	– „ 3	840	835	132	114	115	87
844–	4781	– „ 4	821	816 Aug.6	113	95	96	68	864–	4801	– „ 4	841	836 Aug.1	133	115	116	88
845–	4782	OL. – CCXII. (Polites)	822	817	114	96	97	69	865–	4802	OL. –CCXVII. Hermogenes. II.	842	837	134	116	117	89
846–	4783	– „ 2	823	818	115	97	98	70	866–	4803	– „ 2	843	838	135	117	118	90
847–	4784	– „ 3	824	819	116	98	99	71	867–	4804	– „ 3	844	839	136	118	119	91
848–	4785	– „ 4	825	820 Aug.5	117	99	100	72	868–	4805	– „ 4	845	840 July 31	137	119	120	92
849–	4786	OL. – CCXIII. (Rhodon, or Theodorus)	826	821	118	100	101	73	869–	4806	OL. –CCXVIII. (Apollinus, or Apollonius)	846	841	138	120	121	93
850–	4787	– „ 2	827	822	119	101	102	74	870–	4807	– „ 2	847	842	139	121	122	94
851–	4788	– „ 3	828	823	120	102	103	75	871–	4808	– „ 3	848	843	140	122	123	95
852–	4789	– „ 4	829	824 Aug.4	121	103	104	76	872–	4809	– „ 4	849	844 July 30	141	123	124	96
853–	4790	OL. – CCXIV (Straton)	830	825	122	104	105	77	873–	4810	OL. – CCXIX (Stephanus)	850	845	142	124	125	97
854–	4791	– „ 2	831	826	123	105	106	78	874–	4811	– „ 2	851	846	143	125	126	98
855–	4792	– „ 3	832	827	124	106	107	79	875–	4812	– „ 3	852	847	144	126	127	99
856–	4793	– „ 4	833	828 Aug.3	125	107	108	80	876–	4813	– „ 4	853	848 July 29	145	127	128	100
857–	4794	OL. – CCXV. Hermogenes	834	829	126	108	109	81	877–	4814	OL. – CCXX. (Achilles)	854	849	146	128	129	101
858–	4795	– „ 2	835	830	127	109	110	82	878–	4815	– „ 2	855	850	147	129	130	102
859–	4796	– „ 3	836	831	128	110	111	83	879–	4816	– „ 3	856	851	148	130	131	103
860–	4797	– „ 4	837	832 Aug.2	129	111	112	84	880–	4817	– „ 4	857	852 July 28	149	131	132	104

Olym. years of Censorinus.	Julian Period	Olympiads, and Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome. Censorinus.	Æra Nab.	Ref. Cal. of Julius Cæsar.	Æra of Augustus.		Vulg. Christ Æra.	Olym years of Censorinus.	Julian Period	Olympiads, and Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome. Censorinus.	Æra Nab.	Ref. Cal. of Julius Cæsar.	Æra of Augustus.		Vulg. Christ. Æra.
881–	4818	– CCXXI. (Theonas, or Smaragdus)	858	853	150	132	133	105	901–	4838	– CCXXVI. (Dionysius)	878	873	170	152	153	125
882–	4819	– „ 2	859	854	151	133	134	106	902–	4839	– „ 2	879	874	171	153	154	126
883–	4820	– „ 3	860	855	152	134	135	107	903–	4840	– „ 3	880	875	172	154	155	127
884–	4821	– „ 4	861	856 July 27	153	135	136	108	904–	4841	– „ 4	881	876 July 22	173	155	156	128
885–	4822	Ol. – CCXXII. (Callistus)	862	857	154	136	137	109	905–	4842	Ol. –CCXXVII Dionysius.II.	882	877	174	156	157	129
886–	4823	– „ 2	863	858	155	137	138	110	906–	4843	– „ 2	883	878	175	157	158	130
887–	4824	– „ 3	864	859	156	138	139	111	907–	4844	– „ 3	884	879	176	158	159	131
888–	4825	– „ 4	865	860 July 26	157	139	140	112	908–	4845	– „ 4	885	880 July 21	177	159	160	132
889–	4826	Ol. –CCXXIII. (Eustolus)	866	861	158	140	141	113	909–	4846	Ol. CCXXVIII. (Lucas)	886	881	178	160	161	133
890–	4827	– „ 2	867	862	159	141	142	114	910–	4847	– „ 2	887	882	179	161	162	134
891–	4828	– „ 3	868	863	160	142	143	115	911–	4848	– „ 3	888	883	180	162	163	135
892–	4829	– „ 4	869	864 July 25	161	143	144	116	912–	4849	– „ 4	889	884 July 20	181	163	164	136
893–	4830	Ol. – CCXXIV. (Isarion)	870	865	162	144	145	117	913–	4850	Ol. –CCXXIX. Epidaurus, or Ammonius	890	885	182	164	165	137
894–	4831	– „ 2	871	866	163	145	146	118	914–	4851	– „ 2	891	886	183	165	166	138
895–	4832	– „ 3	872	867	164	146	147	119	915–	4852	– „ 3	892	887	184	166	167	139
896–	4833	– „ 4	873	868 July 24	165	147	148	120	916–	4853	– „ 4	893	888 July 19	185	167	168	140
897–	4834	Ol. – CCXXV. (Aristeas)	874	869	166	148	149	121	917–	4854	Ol. – CCXXX. (Didymus)	894	889	186	168	169	141
898–	4835	– „ 2	875	870	167	149	150	122	918–	4855	– „ 2	895	890	187	169	170	142
899–	4836	– „ 3	876	871	168	150	151	123	919–	4856	– „ 3	896	891	188	170	171	143
900–	4837	– „ 4	877	872 July 23	169	151	152	124	920–	4857	– „ 4	897	892 July 18	189	171	172	144

lym. years of enso- inus.	Julian Period	Olympiads, and Victors in Stadium.	Years fron bdg. Rome. Censorinus.	Æra Nab.	Ref. Cal. of Julius Cæsar.	Æra of Augustus.		Vulg. Christ. Æra.
921–	4858	–CCXXXI. (Cranaus)	898	893	190	172	173	145
922–	4859	– „ 2	899	894	191	173	174	146
923–	4860	– „ 3	900	895	192	174	175	147
924–	4861	– „ 4	901	896 July 17	193	175	176	148
925–	4862	Ol. –CCXXXII (Atticus)	902	897	194	176	177	149
926–	4863	– „ 2	903	898	195	177	178	150
927–	4864	– „ 3	904	899	196	178	179	151
928–	4865	– „ 4	905	900 July 16	197	179	180	152
929–	4866	Ol. CCXXXIII. (Demetrius)	906	901	198	180	181	153
930–	4867	– „ 2	907	902	199	181	182	154
931–	4868	– „ 3	908	903	200	182	183	155
932–	4869	– „ 4	909	904 July 15	201	183	184	156
933–	4870	Ol. CCXXXIV. (Heras)	910	905	202	184	185	157
34–	4871	– „ 2	911	906	203	185	186	158
35–	4872	– „ 3	912	907	204	186	187	159
36–	4873	– „ 4	913	908 July 14	205	187	188	160
37–	4874	Ol. –CCXXXV. Mnasibulus	914	909	206	188	189	161
38–	4875	– „ 2	915	910	207	189	190	162
39–	4876	– „ 3	916	911	208	190	191	163
40–	4877	– „ 4	917	912 July 13	209	191	192	164

Olym. years of Censo- rinus.	Julian Period	Olympiads, and Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome. Censorinus.	Æra Nab.	Ref. Cal. of Julins Cæsar.	Æra of Augustus.		Vulg. Christ. Æra.
941–	4878	CCXXXVI. (Aithales)	918	913	210	192	193	165
942–	4879	– „ 2	919	914	211	193	194	166
943–	4880	– „ 3	920	915	212	194	195	167
944–	4881	– „ 4	921	916 July 12	213	195	196	168
945–	4882	Ol. –CCXXXVII (Eudæmon)	922	917	214	196	197	169
946–	4883	– „ 2	923	918	215	197	198	170
947–	4884	– „ 3	924	919	216	198	199	171
948–	4885	– „ 4	925	920 July 11	217	199	200	172
949–	4886	Ol. CCXXXVIII. (Agathopus)	926	921	218	200	201	173
950–	4887	– „ 2	927	922	219	201	202	174
951–	4888	– „ 3	928	923	220	202	203	175
952–	4889	– „ 4	929	924 July 10	221	203	204	176
953–	4890	Ol. CCXXXIX. Agathopus.II	930	925	222	204	205	177
954–	4891	– „ 2	931	926	223	205	206	178
955–	4892	– „ 3	932	927	224	206	207	179
956–	4893	– „ 4	933	928 July 9	225	207	208	180
957–	4894	–Ol.CCXL (Anubion, or Phidus)	934	929	226	208	209	181
958–	4895	– „ 2	935	930	227	209	210	182
959–	4896	– „ 3	936	931	228	210	211	183
960–	4897	– „ 4	937	932 July 8	229	211	212	184

Olym. years of Censorinus.	Julian Period	Olympiads, and Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome. Censorinus.	Æra Nab.	Ref. Cal. of Julius Cæsar.	Æra of Augustus.		Vulg. Christ. Æra.
961–	4898	Ol. CCXLI (Heron)	938	933	230	212	213	185
962–	4899	– ” 2	939	934	231	213	214	186
963–	4900	– ” 3	940	935	232	214	215	187
964–	4901	– ” 4	941	936 July 7	233	215	216	188
965–	4902	Ol. – CCXLII. (Magnus)	942	937	234	216	217	189
966–	4903	– ” 2	943	938	235	217	218	190
967–	4904	– ” 3	944	939	236	218	219	191
968–	4905	– ” 4	945	940 July 6	237	219	220	192
969–	4906	Ol. – CCXLIII. Sidorus, Isidorus, or Artemidorus	946	941	238	220	221	193
970–	4907	– ” 2	947	942	239	221	222	194
971–	4908	– ” 3	948	943	240	222	223	195
972–	4909	– ” 4	949	944 July 5	241	223	224	196
973–	4910	Ol. – CCXLIV. Sidorus, Isidorus, or Artemidorus. II.	950	945	242	224	225	197
974–	4911	– ” 2	951	946	243	225	226	198
975–	4912	– ” 3	952	947	244	226	227	199
976–	4913	– ” 4	953	948 July 4	245	227	228	200
977–	4914	Ol. – CCXLV. (Alexander)	954	949	246	228	229	201
978–	4915	– ” 2	955	950	247	229	230	202
979–	4916	– ” 3	956	951	248	230	231	203
980–	4917	– ” 4	957	952 July 3	249	231	232	204
981–	4918	– CCXLVI. (Epenicus, or Cynas)	958	953	250	232	233	205
982–	4919	– ” 2	959	954	251	233	234	206
983–	4920	– ” 3	960	955	252	234	235	207
984–	4921	– ” 4	961	956 July 2	253	235	236	208
985–	4922	Ol. – CCXLVII (Saturninus)	962	957	254	236	237	209
986–	4923	– ” 2	963	958	255	237	238	210
987–	4924	– ” 3	964	959	256	238	239	211
988–	4925	– ” 4	965	960 July 1	257	239	240	212
989–	4926	Ol. CCXLVIII. Heliodorus or Trosidamas	966	961	258	240	241	213
990–	4927	– ” 2	967	962	259	241	242	214
991–	4928	– ” 3	968	963	260	242	243	215
992–	4929	– ” 4	969	964 Jun. 30	261	243	244	216
993–	4930	Ol. – CCXLIX. Heliodorus, or Trosidamas. II.	970	965	262	244	245	217
994–	4931	– ” 2	971	966	263	245	246	218
995–	4932	– ” 3	972	967	264	246	247	219
996–	4933	– ” 4	973	968 Jun. 29	265	247	248	220
997–	4934	– Ol. CCL. (—)	974	969	266	248	249	221
998–	4935	– ” 2	975	970	267	249	250	222
999–	4936	– ” 3	976	971	268	250	251	223
1000	4937	– ” 4	977	972 Jun. 28	269	251	252	224

Olym. years of Censorinus.	Julian Period	Olympiads, and Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome. Censorinus.	Æra Nab.	Ref. Cal. of Julius Cæsar.	Æra of Augustus.		Vulg. Christ Æra.
1001–	4938	– O. CCLI. (—)	978	973	270	252	253	225
1002–	4939	– „ 2	979	974	271	253	254	226
1003–	4940	– „ 3	980	975	272	254	255	227
1004–	4941	– „ 4	981	976 Jun. 27	273	255	256	228
1005–	4942	Ol. – CCLII. (—)	982	977	274	256	257	229
1006–	4943	– „ 2	983	978	275	257	258	230
1007–	4944	– „ 3	984	979	276	258	259	231
1008–	4945	– „ 4	985	980 Jun. 26	277	259	260	232
1009–	4946	Ol. – CCLIII. (—)	986	981	278	260	261	233
1010–	4947	– „ 2	987	982	279	261	262	234
1011–	4948	– „ 3	988	983	280	262	263	235
1012–	4949	– „ 4	989	984 Jun. 25	281	263	264	236
1013–	4950	– O. CCLIV (—)	990	985	282	264	265	237
1014–	4951	– „ 2	991	986	283	265	266	238

	Julian Period	Olympiads, and Victors in Stadium.	Years from bdg. Rome. Censorinus.	Æra Nab.	Ref. Cal. of Julius Cæsar.	Æra of Augustus.		Vulg. Christ Æra.
	4952	– „ 3	992	987	284	266	267	239
	4953	– „ 4	993	988 Jun. 24	285	267	268	240
	4954	Ol. – CCLV. (—)	994	989	286	268	269	241
	4955	– „ 2	995	990	287	269	270	242
	4956	– „ 3	996	991	288	270	271	243
	4957	– „ 4	997	992 Jun. 23	289	271	272	244
	4958	Ol. – CCLVI. (—)	998	993	290	272	273	245
	4959	– „ 2	999	994	291	273	274	246
	4960	– „ 3	1000	995	292	274	275	247
	4961	– „ 4	1001	996 Jun. 22	293	275	276	248
	4962	Ol. – CCLVII. (—)	1002	997	294	276	277	249
	4963	– „ 2	1003	998	295	277	278	250
	4964	– „ 3	1004	999	296	278	279	251
	4965	– „ 4	1005	1000 Jun. 21	297	279	280	252

CHAPTER VI.

THE SUCCESSION OF CONSULS CONNECTED WITH THE DATES NOW ESTABLISHED.

Period chosen from the birth of Augustus to the death of Tiberius; and why.—— SECTION I.—Series of Consuls from Cicero and Antonius to Proculus and Nigrinus, how known. 1. By fragments of the Fasti Capitolini and other marbles. 2. The history of Dion Cassius. 3. The ancient lists of Consuls. 4. Incidental notices in Latin authors.—Collation of these several authorities, showing the whole period to be one hundred years.——SECTION II. Connexion of each Consulship with its proper year.—The whole difficulty grows out of the question as to the year of Cæsar's war in Spain with the sons of Pompey.—This question decided: 1. By astronomical calculations. 2. By the testimony of historians and inscriptions.—Careful examination of this testimony with regard to the several years of the civil war, proving that the last year of Cæsar's life was the *first* of his reformed calendar, and not, as generally stated, the *second*.—The year of Cicero's consulship ascertained by reckoning backward.—That year rendered memorable by three great events; the conspiracy of Catiline, the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey, and the birth of Augustus.—The testimony of Josephus concerning the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey considered.—General conclusion, that the consulship of Cicero and Antonius coincided with A.J.P. 4650, the sixty-fourth year before the common Christian æra.

OUR next step must be, to connect with the dates, thus established, the succession of consuls. As in the latter times, at least, of the republic, they entered upon their office on the 1st of January, and usually held it the whole year, it was sufficient, in order to designate any particular year, to name its consuls; and such is the usual method of the Roman historians. It is essential, therefore, to our inquiry, that we should connect with the tables we have framed, the consuls who entered on their office on the 1st of January of each year; and, that we may limit the inquiry within proper bounds, we shall take only that period which extends from the birth of Augustus to the death of Tiberius. This interval includes all the dates which it is now important to establish, as connected with the subject of our Saviour's residence upon earth.

The object of this chapter will therefore be two-fold: first, to give a correct list of the consuls within that period; and, secondly, to connect each consulship with the year to which it properly belongs.

SECT. I. THE SERIES OF CONSULS.

Suetonius informs us (in Octaviano, § 5) that Augustus was born when Marcus Tullius Cicero and Antonius were consuls, on the ninth before the kalends of October (ix. kalendas Octobres); which, according to the calendar of Numa Pompilius then in use, was the 22nd of our September, or, according to that of Julius Cæsar, the 23rd of that month. Tiberius died, according to Suetonius and Tacitus, in the consulship of Proculus and Nigrinus. The object is now to show, by irrefragable evidence, the number of years which intervened between these two events. For this purpose, we are to examine the testimony of antiquity, as far as it has been saved from the ravages of time. This testimony may be divided under four heads: first, the fragments of inscriptions, principally on marble, which have been collected and preserved by modern care and industry; secondly, the invaluable history of the accurate Dion Cassius; thirdly, three ancient lists of consuls, two in Latin, and one in Greek; and fourthly, such incidental notices of the consuls of each year as occur in various Latin authors.

Of the inscriptions which remain, unquestionably the most important are,

THE FASTI CAPITOLINI.

The fragments of the Fasti Capitolini, or, as they were anciently called, the Fasti Consulares, which now cover the walls of the fourth chamber in the hall of the conservators at Rome, were discovered in the sixteenth century, near the church of Santa Maria Liberatrice, in the precincts of the Forum, and near the site of the ancient Comitium. It is reasonably believed, therefore, that they were exposed in the Comitium, and were perhaps affixed to the wall of the Roman Curia, or court of justice.[1] They are evidently public records: and, if they were complete, there could be no appeal from their authority. Imperfect as they are, they extend from the reign of L. Tarquinius Priscus, the fifth king of Rome, to the death of Augustus. They are most perfect from A.U.C. 440, to A.U.C. 531. They designate the reigns of the kings, the succession of the consuls, the appointment of dictators, with their magistri equitum, or generals of cavalry, the tribunes of the people, the censors, the triumphs and ovations, with the year of the city, and day of the month on which each was celebrated, and such other notices and dates as were thought worthy of observation. They were first published by Bartholomew Marliano, at Rome, in 1549, 8vo; next at Modena, in 1550; and afterwards by the Aldi, at Venice, in 1555, folio. The following year, a second edition was published by the same printers, enriched with the commentary of Sigonius.[1] They were reprinted in the first volume of the works of Sigonius, published by Philip Argelati, at Milan, 6 vols. folio, 1732. From that work, the extracts here made are taken. The capital letters exhibit the inscription in its present imperfect state: and the smaller letters, the part supplied by the industry and learning of the modern editors, taken either from other inscriptions relating to the same subject, or from the testimony of the Greek and Latin historians.

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[1] Nardini Roma Antica, Roma, 1666, 4to. Nibby, Itinerario di Roma, 1827, 4to. p. 222. Venuti Antichità di Roma, 8vo. tom. i. p. 150-1. ediz. 3, tom. i. p. 73. Roma, 1824, 2 tom.

The other inscriptions are principally taken from the commentary of Sigonius, and the Thesaurus of Gruter.

The history of Dion Cassius is our principal guide. He generally names the consuls of each year; and to the several remaining books of his history, the list of consuls during the period of time embraced in each book, is prefixed, with their names at full length, as they would be registered in public inscriptions and official documents. This is of the greatest use, because it serves to harmonize the testimony of the various Latin historians and other writers, who speak of their public magistrates with more familiarity, and, when the consul had several names, sometimes use one, and sometimes another. As Dion flourished about the year 229 of the common Christian æra, and was himself of consular dignity, his means of obtaining information were of the best character; and, therefore, his testimony alone is of the greatest authority.

But in addition to this, we have three ancient lists of consuls.

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[1] Muratori Vita Sigonii, prefixed to the collection of his works edited by Muratori, and printed at Milan in 1732. Renouard, Imprimerie des Aldes, ed. 2, Paris, 1825, tom. i. pp. 400 and 408.

The first is attributed to Idatius, a Spanish bishop, who flourished about A.D. 428. The second is by Cassiodorus, who was consul A.D. 514, and prime minister of Theodoric, king of the Goths. After the subversion of the Gothic dominion, he retired to a monastery in Calabria, where he wrote his works. The third is in the Greek language, and comes down to the twentieth year of Heraclius, or A.D. 629. It was found in Sicily, and was first quoted by Sigonius and others under the title of Fasti Siculi. The work which contains it was subsequently called the Chronicon Alexandrinum, and more justly the Chronicon Paschale, under which title it forms one of the volumes of the Byzantine Collection. The compiler of this latter work has endeavoured to connect with his list of consuls, the years of the olympiads; but he has committed constant metachronisms, and in the names and arrangement of the consuls made many omissions and palpable blunders. Indeed, all these catalogues have suffered by the errors of transcribers. Their mistakes, however, often serve a valuable purpose, since they prove that they were derived from different and independent sources.

In addition to these are given, in a separate column, the incidental notices of the consuls of each year as they occur in various Latin authors. These will be found to coincide so exactly with the professed catalogues, and with the fragments of inscriptions which time has spared, that no doubt can be entertained as to the accuracy of the whole series. From the consulship of Cicero and Antonius, or the year of the birth of Augustus, to the consulship of Proculus and Nigrinus, during which Tiberius died, there are, including both extremes, one hundred pairs of consuls, or one hundred years. This will be made apparent to the reader by the following collation of these several authorities.

No. of Years.	Fasti Consulares seu Capitolini.	Various Inscriptions.	Chronicon of Idacius, or Fasti Idatiani.
1			Cicerone et Antonino
2			Silano et Muræna
3			Pisone Frugi et Messala Nigro
4			Afronio et Metello Celere
5	C. IVLIVS C.F. C.N. Cæsar		Decio Cæsare et Bibolo
6	L. CALPVRNIVS, L.F.L.N. Piso Cæsoninus		Pisone et Gabinio
7	P. CORNELIVS, P.F. Lentulus Spinther		Lentulo et Metello Nepote
8	CN. CORNELIV . Lentulus Marcellus		Marcellino et Philippo
9			Pompejo II et Crasso II
10			Ahenobarbo et Pulchro
11			Balbino et Messala
12			Pompejo III et Metello Scipione

Dion Cassius.	Cassiodorus.	Various Authors.	Chronicon Paschale, or Fasti Siculi.
M. Tullius Cicero C. Antonius	M. Cicero C. Antonius	M. Tullius Cicero, C. Antonius. *Eut.* vi. 15. *Sallust. Bel. Cat.* 25.	Olympiad 178 15* Cicero and Antonius
D. Junius M. F. Silanus, L. Licinius L. F. Muræna	D. Silanus L. Muræna	D. Junius Silanus L. Murena *Eut.* vi. 16.	2 16 Silanus and Murena
M. Pupius Piso M. Valerius Messala Niger	M. Pupius M. Valerius	M. Pisone; M. Messala Coss. *Plin.* vii. $\frac{46}{27}$ viii. $\frac{54}{56}$ xxxiii. $\frac{6}{2}$. M. Messala et M. Pisone Coss. *Cic. ad Att.* i. *Ep.* 13. Marco Messala et Marco Pisone Coss. *Cæs. Gal.* 1.	3 17 Piso and Messala
Lucius Afranius Metellus Celer	Qu. Metellus L. Afranius	Quinto Metello L. Afranio Coss. *Jul. Obsequens de Prod.* 123, *Cic. ad Att.* Lib. i. Ep. 18	4 18 Afranius & Metellus
C. J. Cæsar M. Bibulus	C. Cæsar M. Bibulus	C. Julius Cæsar; L. Bibulus *Eutrop.* vi. 17	Olympiad 179 19 Decius Cæsar and Bibulus
L. Piso A. Gabinius	L. Piso A. Gabinius	Lucio Pisone, Aulo Gabinio Coss. *Cæs. de Bel. Gal.* L. i. c. 6.	2 20 Piso and Gabinus
P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther Q. Cæcilius Metellus Nepos	P. Lentulus Qu. Metellus.	Lentulus Spinther Metellus Nepos *Valer. Maximus*, ix. c. 14.	3 21 Lentulus and Marcellus
Cn. Corn. Lentulus Marcellinus. L. Marcius Philippus	Cn. Lentulus L. Philippus	Lentulo et Philippo Coss. *Cic. ad Attic.* v. Ep. 21.	4 22 Marcellus II and Philippus
Cn. Pompejus Magnus II M. Licinius Crassus II	Cn. Pompeius M. Crassus	Cn. Pompejus Magnus M. Licinius Crassus *Eutrop.* vi. 18.	Olympiad 180 23 Pompeius & Crassus
Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus Appius Claudius Pulcher	App. Claudius L. Domitius	Cn. Domitio; Appio Claudio, Coss *Jul. Obsequens de Prod.* 124	2 24 Aënobarbus & Pulcher
Cneius Domitius Calvinus M. Valerius Messala	Cn. Domitius M. Messala	Domitius Messala *Cic. ad Q. fratrem*, iii. 8.	3 25 Balbinus & Messala
Pompejus III Quintus Cæcilius Metellus Scipio	Cn. Pompejus Q. Metellus		4 26 Pompeius II and Metellus

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* The compiler of the Greek list of consuls has inserted too many. The numbers prefixed to each consulship from ιε or 15 to λ or 30, and then α or 1, ϐ or 2, &c., till the indictions begin, are given here merely as proof that no subsequent interpolation has taken place in the Greek consecutive list, and therefore that the original compiler was in fault.

No. of Years.	Fasti Consulares seu Capitolini.	Various Inscriptions.	Chronicon of Idatius, or Fasti Idatiani.
13		*Mur. Nov. Thes.* tom. i. p. 293. 1. SER. SVLPICIO ET COS. M. MARCELLO	Rufo et Marcello
14			Marcello et Paulo
15	C. CLAVDIVS, M.F.M.N. MARCELLVS L. COR . . . . EODEM ANNO C. IVLIVS C.F.C.N. CAESAR DIC.		Lentulo et Marcello
16	C. IVLIVS. C.F.C.N. CAESAR. II P. SER		Cæsare et Servilio Isaurico
17	C. JULIUS C.F.C.N. CÆSAR II D ... M. ANTONIUS M.F.M.N. MA . EODEM ANNO Q. FUFIUS C.F.C.N. CALENUS P. VA		Caleno et Vatino
18	C. JULIUS C.F.C.N. CÆSAR III M. A		Cæsare III et Lepido
19	C. JULIUS C.F.C.N. CÆSAR III D M. ÆMILIUS M.F.Q.N. LEPIDUS MA . EODEM ANNO C. JULIUS C.F.C.N. CÆSAR IIII SINE C. EODEM ANNO. Q.FABIUS Q.F Q.N. MAXIMUS IN M... MORTUUS. EST. IN. EJUS. L... C. CANINIUS. C.F.C.N. RE...	*Gruter.* tom. i. pars. ii. p. ccxcviii. C. IVLIVS CAESAR IIII SINE. CONLEGA. DIC SvF Q. FABIVS MAXIM. C. TREBONIVS C.F. C. CANINIVS. C.F. ...VLIVS CAESAR. DICT. IV. M. AEMILIVS. M. EQ.	Cæsare IV solo
20	C IVLIVS C.F.C.N. CAESAR V P. CO	C. IVLIVS CAESAR V. M. ANTONIVS M.F. SvF P. CORNELIVS. P.F.	Cæsare V et Antonino
21	C. VIBIVS IN MAGI C. IVLIUS. C.F. POSTEA IMP. EST ABD. IN	C. VIBIVS C. F. PANSA. A. HIRTIVS. A.F. SvF C. IVLIVS CAESAR C. CARRINAS. C.F. SvF Q. PEDIVS. Q.F. P. VENTIDIVS. P.F. ...EMILIVS. M. ANTONIVS. IMP. CAESAR III VIR. R.P. EX A.D. V. K. DEC. AD PR. K. IAN. SEXT.	Pansa et Hirtio

Dion Cassius.	Cassiodorus.	Various Authors.	Chronicon Paschale, or Fasti Siculi.
M. Claudius Marcellus Serv. Sulpicius Rufus	M. Marcellus Serv. Sulpicius	Sulpicio et Marcello, Coss. *Cic. ad Attic.* v. Ep. 21.	Olympiad 181 27 Rufus & Marcellus
Caius Claudius Marcellus Lucius Aimilius Paulus	L. Paulus M. Marcellus	L. Paullo; C. Marcello; Coss. *Jul. Obseq. de prod.* 125.	2 28 Marcellus II and Paulus
Cornelius Lentulus Caius Claudius Marcellus	L. Lentulus C. Marcellus.	M. Marcello, L. Lentulo Coss. *Cic. ad Att.* viii.	3 29 Lentulus and Marcellus
C. J. Cæsar II P. Servilius Isauricus	C. Jul. Cæsar II P. Servilius		30 Caius Julius Cæsar and Servilius
C. Julius Cæsar, Dict II. at the close of the year. Q. Fufius Calenus P Vatinius	Q. Fufius P. Vatinius		Olympiad 182 1* Calinus & Vatinus
C. Julius Cæsar III. M. Æmilius Lepidus	C. Jul. Cæsar III. M. Lepidus	C. Julius Cæsar III M. Æmilius Lepidus *Jul. Obsequens de Prod.* 126. *Eutrop.* vi. 23.	2 2 C. Julius Cæsar II alone
C. Julius Cæsar IV. without a colleague, afterwards Quintus Fabius Caius Trebonius; the last day of the year Caius Caninius	C. Jul. Cæsar IV. Fabius Maximus	C. Julius Cæsar IV *Eutrop.* vi. 24.	3 3 C. Julius Cæsar III alone
C. Julius Cæsar V. M. Antonius; aft. the death of Cæs. P. Dolabella	C. Jul. Cæsar V. M. Antonius	C. Cæsare; M. Antonio; Coss. *Jul. Obsequens de Prod.* 127. M. Antonio; P. Dolabella; Coss. *Jul. Obsequens de Prod.* 128.	4 4 C. Julius Cæsar IV alone
Aulus Hirtius C. Vibius Pansa; after their death, Octavianus Cæsar Quintus Pedius	C. Pansa A. Hirtius	Pansa, Hirtius. *Eutr.* vii. 1. Cajo Pansa; Hircio; Coss. *Jul. Obseq. de Prod.* 129. *Kal. Oct.* Cæsar; Q. Pedius; Coss. *Vell. Paterc.* ii. 65.	Olympiad 183 1 5 Pansa and Hirtius

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* The numbers here begin anew, in order to denote, as it would seem, the years of Julius Cæsar's supreme power; and the Greek compiler appears to have continued them after Cæsar's death, because the five years of the triumvirate began with the consulship of Lepidus and Plancus.

No. of Years.	Fasti Consulares seu Capitolini.	Various Inscriptions.	Chronicon of Idatius, or Fasti Idatiani.
22		...MVNATIVS L.F. M. AEMILIVS. [M.F. ...ANTONIVS P. SVLPICIVS CENS. [LVSTR. N.F.	Lepido et Plano
23		...ANTONIVS P. SERVILIVS P.F.	Antonino Pietate et Isaurico
24		CN. DOMITIVS M.F. C. ASINIVS. CN. F. ...vF L. CORNELIVS. LF. SvF. P. CANIDIVS. P.F.	Galbino II et Pollinione
25		*Cal. Amit. Foggini.* p. 113, CENSORIN. ET CALVIS. COS.	Rufo Censorino et Sabino
26			Pulchro et Flacco
27	M. AGRIPPA L.F.		Agrippa et Gallo
28			Publicola et Nerva Cocceio
29			Cornificio et Pompeio Magno
30		*Gruter* p. 299, cited in *Sigonius*, tom. i. p. 558 L. SEMPRONIVS. L. SCRIBONIVS K. JVL. P. ÆMILIVS C. MEMMIVS K. NOV. C. HERENNIVS	Antonino II et Libone
31		*Gruter*, cited in *Sigonius* tom. i. p. 399 IMP. CÆSAR II. L. VOLCATIVS K. IAN. L. ANTONIVS K. MAI. L. FLAVIUS K. IVL. M. ATTILIVS C. FONTEJVS K. SEP. L. VINVCIVS K. OCTOB. L. LÆNONIVS	Octaviano Augusto II et Paulo
32		*Sigonius* tom. i. col. 560 CN. DOMITIVS. C. SOSIVS K. JVL. L. CORNELIVS K. NOV. N. VALERIVS	
33		IMP. CÆSAR III. M. VALERIVS K. MAJ. M. TITIVS K. OCT. CN. POMPEJVS	Octaviano Augusto III et Corbilio

Dion Cassius.	Cassiodorus.	Various Authors.	Chronicon Paschale, or Fasti Siculi.
M. Aimilius Lepidus II Lucius Munatius Plancus	M. Lepidus L. Plancus	M. Æmilio Lepido; L. Munatio Planco; Coss. *Suet. Tib.* 5. *Obsequens* 130.	2 1* Lepidus & Plancus
L. Antonius Pictas P. Servilius Isauricus	P. Servilius II L. Antonius	L. Antonius Cos. *Eutrop.* vii. 3.	3 2 Antonius & Isauricus
Cn. Domitius Calvinus II C. Asinius Pollio	C. Domitius C. Asinius	184th Olympiad. Caius Domitius Calvinus II Caius Asinius Pollio *Joseph. Antiq.* xiv. c. 14.	4 3 Albinus and Pollio
Lucius Marcius C. Calvisius Sabinus	L. Censorinus C. Calvisius		Olympiad 184 4 Censorinus and Sabinus
Ap. Claudius Pulcher C. Norbanus Flaccus	App. Claudius C. Norbanus		2 5 Pulcher and Flaccus
M. Vipsanius Agrippa L. Caninius Gallus	M. Agrippa L. Caninius	185th Olympiad. Marcus Agrippa Caninius Gallus *Joseph. Antiq.* xiv. c. 16.	3 6 Agrippa & Gallus
L. Gellius Poplicola M. Coccejus Nerva	L. Gellius M. Cocceius		4 7 Publicola and Erva [Nerva] Coccius
L. Cornuficius Sex. Pompejus	Sex. Pompeius L. Cornificius		Olymp. 185 8 Cornificius and Pompeius
M. Antonius II L. Scribonius Libo	L. Scribonius L. Atracinus	Antonius abdicated on the day of his election, and for him was substituted L. Sempronius Atratinus, *Dion Cass.* xlix. 39.	2 9 Antoninus and Libo
Cæsar II, L. Volcatius L. F. Tullus	C. Cæsar and L. Volcatius	Octavius abdicated after a few hours, on the kal. of Jan. *Suet. Octav.* 26.	3 10 Octavianus Augustus and Cicero
Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus Caius Sossius	Cn. Domitius C. Sosius	C. Sosius et Cn. Domitius, *Suet. Octav.* 17. Cn. Domitio, C. Sosio, Coss. *Nepos. Atticus*, xxii.	4 11 Octav. Augustus II and Corvilius
C. Cæsar Octav. III M. Valerius Messala Corvinus	C. Cæsar II M. Messalla	Cæsare et Messalla Corvino consulibus *Vel. Paterc.* ii. 84.	Olymp. 186 12 Octav. Augustus III and Crassus

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* Beginning of indictions from Sep. 1, according to the Chronicon Paschale. See chap. iv. p. 99.

No. of Years.	Fasti Consulares seu Capitolini	Various Inscriptions.	Chronicon of Idatius, or Fasti Idatiani.
34		*Inscr.* cited in *Sigonius* tom. i. col. 563 IMP. CÆSAR $\overline{\text{IIII}}$. M. LICINIVS KAL. JVL. C. ANTISTIVS ID. SEPT. M. TVLLIVS K. NOV. L. SÆNIVS	Octaviano IV et Crasso
35		IMP. CÆSAR $\overline{\text{V}}$. SEX. APPVLEJVS	Octaviano V et Pulchro
36		IMP. CÆSAR $\overline{\text{VI}}$. M. AGRIPPA $\overline{\text{II}}$	Octaviano VI et Agrippa
37			Octaviano VII et Agrippa II
38			Octaviano VIII et Tauro II
39	CÆSAR D STVS VIIII M. IVNI . . . SILANVS		Octaviano IX et Silano
40	CÆSAR DIVI F. C. N. . . . VSTVS $\overline{\text{X}}$ C. N. . . . FLACCVS		Octaviano X et Flacco
41	CÆSAR DIVI F. C. N. AVGVSTVS $\overline{\text{XI}}$ A. TE . . . CO MVRENA EST IN E. L. F. E. [*Mortuus est in ejus loco factus est*] VS CN. F. CN. N. PISO	*Gruter*, p. 298. SvF. L. SESTIVS P. F.	Octaviano XI et Pisone
42	NTIVS. LF. LN. [L. Arruntius LF. LN.]	M. CLAVDIVS M. F. L. AR . . . L. MVNATIVS PAVL. ÆMILIVS	Æsernio et Aruntio Celso et Hibero
43		Q. ÆMILIVS LEPID . . . M. LO . . .	Lollio et Lepido
44		M. APPVLEIVS SEX. F. P. SI . . .	Apuleio et Nerva
45		C. SENTIVS SATVRN. Q. LV . . . SvF. M. VINVCIVS. P. F.	Saturnino et Lucretio Cinna
46		*Gruter*, p. 298. P. CORNELIVS P. F. CN. C . . .	Duobus Lentulis

Dion Cassius.	Cassiodorus.	Various Authors.	Chronicon Paschale, or Fasti Siculi.
Cæsar IV M. Licinius Crassus	C. Cæsar III M. Crassus	Cæsar VI, Imp. IV, consul cum Marco Licinio Crasso *Orosius*, lib. vi. *de Antonio victo*	2 13 Octav. Augustus IV and Crassus II
			3 14 Ænobarbus & Sosius
Cæsar V Sextus Apulejus	C. Cæsar IV Sex. Appuleius	Imp. Cæs. Augusto, Lucio Appulejo Coss. *Orosius* vi. *Imp. Augustus*	4 15 Octav. Augustus V and Apuleius
Cæsar VI M. Vipsanius Agrippa II	C. Cæsar V and M. Agrippa II	Imp. Augusto Cæsare VI Marco Agrippa II, Coss. *Orosius* vi. *Jani Portas*	Olymp. 187 1 Octav. Augustus VI and Agrippa
Cæsar VII Agrippa III	C. Cæsar VI M. Agrippa III	Julius Cæsar Divi F. Imp. Augustus VII, M. Vipsanius Agrippa, Coss. *Censorinus de Die Natal.*	2 Octav. Augustus VII and Agrippa II
Cæsar Augustus VIII T. Statilius Taurus	C. Aug. Cæs. VII T. Statilius		3 Octav. Augustus VIII and Taurus
Augustus IX M. Junius Silanus	C. Aug. Cæs. VIII M. Silanus		4 Octav. Augustus IX and Silanus
Augustus X C. Norbanus Flaccus	C. Aug. Cæsar IX C. Norbanus		Olymp. 188 5 Octav. Augustus X and Flaccus
Augustus XI Cn. Calpurnius Piso	C. Aug. Cæsar X Cn. Piso		6 Octav. Augustus XI and Piso
M. Claudius Marcellus Æserninus Lucius Aruntius	M. Marcellus L. Arruntius		7 Octav. Augustus XII and Aruntinus
Marcus Lollius Quintus Lepidus	M. Lollius Q. Lepidus	Collegam Lepidum quo duxit Lollius Anno. *Hor. Ep.* lib. i. ep. 20.	8 Celsus and Tiberius Olymp. 189 9 Lollius and Lepidus
M. Apuleius P. Silius Nerva	M. Appulejus P. Silius		10 Apuleius and Nerva
C. Sentius Saturninus Q. Lucretius Vespillo	C. Sentius and Q. Lucretius	C. Sentio, Q. Lucretio, Coss. *J. Frontinus de Aquæd.* Art. x.	3 11 Saturnius and Lucretius
Cn. Cornelius Lentulus P. Cornel. Lentulus Marcellinus	Cn. Lentulus P. Lentulus		12 Lentulus and Lentulus 13 Olymp. 190 Lentulus II and Cornelius

No. of Years.	Fasti Consulares seu Capitolini.	Various Inscriptions.	Chronicon of Idatius, or Fasti Idatiani.
47		C. FVRNIVS. C. F. C. IV . . .	Fornicio et Silvano
48		C. CL. DOMITIVS. CN. F. P. CO . . . SVF. L. TA . . .	Domitio Scipione et Ahenobarbo
49		M. DRUSVS L. F. L . . .	Libone et Pisone
50		M. LICINIVS. M. F.	Crasso et Lentulo
51		TI. CLAVDIVS. TI. F.	Nerone et Varo
52	RVF. ABDIC. IN E. L. F. E. C. F. C. N. REBIL. IN MAG. M.E.	M. VALERIVS. M. F. . . . . . SvF C. VALGIVS. C. F. C. CANINIVS	Messala et Quirino Robellio et Saturnino
53			Maximo et Tuberone
54			Africano et Maximo
55		*Ver. Flac. Cal. Foggini Rom.* 1779, p. 17. DRVSO ET CRISPINO C...	Druso et Crispino
56		*Mur. Nov. Thes.* tom. i. p. 297. 4. C. ASINIO GALLO COS. C. MARCO CENSOR	Censorino et Gallio
57			Nerone II et Pisone II
58		*Ibid.* same page, 6. D. LAELIO BALBO COS. C. ANTISTIO VET.	Balbo et Vetere
59		*Ibid.* p. 298. 1. IMP CAESARE XII COS. L. CORNELIO SVLLA	Octaviano XII et Sylla
60			Sabino et Rufino

Dion Cassius.	Cassiodorus.	Various Authors.	Chronicon Paschale, or Fasti Siculi.
C. Furnius C. Junius Silanus	C. Furnius C. Silanus	Cajo Furnio, Cajo Syllano, Coss. *Julius Obsequens*, 131.	14 Fornicius & Silanus
L. Domitius Aënobarbus P. Cornelius Scipio	L. Domitius P. Scipio		15 Domitius and Aënobarbus
M. Drusus Libo L. Calpurnius Piso	M. Drusus L. Piso		1 Libo and Piso
M. Licinius Crassus Cn. Cornelius Lentulus	Cn. Lentulus M. Crassus		Olymp. 191 2 Crassus& Lentulus
Tiberius Claudius Nero P. Quintilius Varus	Tiberius Nero P. Quinctilius		2 3 Nero and Clarus
M. Valerius Messala Barbatus P.SulpiciusQuirinius	M. Messalla P. Sulpicius		3 4 Messala & Cyrinius
Paulus Fabius Maximus Quintus Ælius Tubero	Paulus Fabius Quintus Ælius	Paullo Fabio, Quinto Ælio, Coss. *Jul. Obsequens* Q. Ælio Tuberone, Paullo Fabio Maximo, Coss. *Jul.Frontin de Aqued.Art.* 99.	4 5 Rubellius and Saturninus Olymp. 192 6 Maximus & Tubero
Julus Antonius Q. Fabius Africanus	Julius Antonius Afr. Fabius	Julo Antonio, Fabio Africano, Coss. *Sueton. Claud.* c. 2.	7 Africanus and Maximus II
Claudius Nero Drusus T.Quintius Crispinus	Drusus Nero L. Quinctius		8 Drusus & Crispinus
C. Marcius Censorinus C. Asinius Gallus	C. Asinius and C. Marcius	C. Marcio Censorino, C. Asinio Gallo, Coss. *Censorinus de die Nat.* *Plin. Nat. Hist.* xxxiii. 47.	9 Censorinus & Gallus
Tiberius Claudius II Cn. Calpurnius Piso	Tib. Nero Cn. Piso	Claudius Nero II Calpurnius Piso, Coss. *Dion Halic.* i. 3.	Olymp. 193 10 Nero II and Piso II
D. Lælius Balbus C. Antistius Veter	D. Lælius C. Antistius		11 Balbus and Veter
Augustus XII Lucius Sylla	C.Aug.Cæsar XI L. Sylla	Divo Augusto XII Lucio Sulla, Coss. *Plin. Nat. Hist.* vii.	12 Octavianus XIII and Sylla
C. Calvisius Sabinus II L. Passienus Rufus	C. Calvisius L. Passienus		13 Sabinus and Rufinus

No. of Years.	Fasti Consulares seu Capitolini.	Various Inscriptions.	Chronicon of Idatius, or Fasti Idatiani.
61			Lentulo et Messalino
62		*Mur. Nov. Thes.* tom. i. p. 298-3. IMP. CAESARE XIII. M...	Octaviano XIII et Silano
63		*Ibid.* COSSO CORNELIO L. PISONE C.	Lentulo et Pisone
64		*Ibid.* C. CAESARE. L. PAVLO. COS.	Cæsare et Lucio Paulo
65			Vindicio et Varo
66			Lamia et Servilio
67			[Ælio Cato et Saturnino]
68			Magno Pompejo et Valerio
69		*Ibid.* p. 299-1. L. ARRVNTIO. M. LEPIDO. COS.	Lepido et Aruntio Cæsare et Capitone
70			Cretico et Nerva
71	M. FVRIVS P. F. P. N. CAMILL SEX. NONIVS L.F.L.N. QVINCTILIAN		Camillo et Quintiliano
72	C. POPPÆVS Q. F. Q. N. SABINVS Q. SVLPICIVS Q. F. Q. N. CAMERINVS		Camero et Sabino
73	P. CORNELIVS P.F.P.N. DOLABELLA C. IVNIVS C. F. M. N. SILANVS FLAM. MART.	Inscr. quoted in *Sigonius*, tom. i. c. 594 P. CORNELIVS P. F. DOLABELLA C. IVNIVS C. F. SILANVS FLAMEN MART. COS.	Dolabella et Salino
74	. . . MILIVS Q. F. M. N. LEPIDVS . . . . EX K. IVL. L. CASSIVS L.F. N. LONGINVS		Lepido et Tauro

Dion Cassius.	Cassiodorus.	Various Authors	Chronicon Paschale, or Fasti Siculi.
L. Cornelius Lentulus M. Valerius Messala or Messalinus	C. Lentulus M. Messalla	M. Valerio Messala, Cn. Lentulo Coss. *Sueton. Galba* iv.	
Augustus XIII M. Plautius Silvanus	C. Aug. Cæs. XII M. Plautius		Olymp. 194 14 Octav. Augustus XIV and Silvanus
Cossus Cornelius Lentulus L. Calpurnius Piso	Cossus Lentulus L. Piso		2 15 Lentulus and Piso
C. Cæsar Augusti fil. L. Aimilius Paulus	C. A. Cæsar XIII L. Paulus		3 1 Publius Cæsar and Paulus
P. Vinicius or Minucius P. Alfenus or Alfinius Varus	P. Vinicius P. Alphenus	P. Vinicio *Vel. Pat.* ii. 103.	4 2 Indicius and Varius
L. Ælius L. F. Lamia M. Servilius	M. Servilius L. Lamia	M. Servilio, (L. Lamia) Coss. *Valer. Max.* i. c. 8.	Olymp. 195 3 Lamia and Servilius 4 Magnus & Valerius
Sex. Aimilius Catus C. Sentius Saturninus	Sex. Ælius C. Sentius	Ælio Cato, Sentio, Coss. *Velleius Pat.* ii. 103.	5 Lepidus and Plancus
L. Valerius Messala Valesus Cn. Corn. Cinna Magnus	Cn. Cinna L. Valerius		6 Tiberius Cæsar and Capito
M. Aimilius Lepidus L. Arruntius	M. Lepidus L. Arruntius		
A. Licinius Nerva Silianus Q. Cæcilius Metellus Creticus	Q. Cæcilius A. Licinius		Olymp. 196 7 Cretius and Nerva
M. Furius Camillus Sex. Nonius Quintilianus	M. Furius Sex. Nonius		2 8 Camillus and Quintilianus
Q. Sulpicius Camerinus C. Poppæus Sabinus	Qn. Sulpicius C. Poppæus	C. Poppæo, Q. Sulpicio, Coss. *Plin. Nat. Hist.* vii. $\frac{49}{48}$.	3 9 Camerinus and Sabinus
P. Cornelius Dolabella C. Junius Silanus	P. Dolabella C. Silanus		4 10 Dolabella & Silanus
M. Aimilius Lepidus T. Statilius Taurus	M. Lepidus T. Statilius		Olymp. 197 11 Lepidus and Taurus

No. of Years.	Fasti Consulares seu Capitolini.	Various Inscriptions.	Chronicon of Idatius, or Fasti Idatiani.
75	GERMANICVS TI. F. AVGVSTI N. C. FONTEIVS C. F. C. N. CAPITO EX K. IVLIS C. VISELLIVS C.F.C.N. VARRO	From an insc. cited in *Sigonius* tom. i. c. 596 GERMANICO CÆSA E COS. C. FONTEJO CAPITONE	Germanico Cæsare et Capitone
76	C. SILIVS P. F. P. N. L. MVNATIVS L.F.L.N. PLANCVS	*Mur. Nov. Thes.* tom. i. p. 300. C. SIL. L. MVN. COS.	Flacco et Silano
77		*Cal. Amiter. Foggini*, p. 113 SEX. APVL. SEX. POMP. COS.	Duobus Sextis Pompejo Magno et Apulejo
78		*Ver. Flac. Cal. Foggini, Rom.* 1779, p. 28. DRVSO ET NORBANO.	Bruto et Flacco
79			Tauro et Libone
80		*Mur. ut Sup.* p. 301-1. C. CAECILIO RVFO. COS. L. POMPONIO FLACCO.	Crasso et Rufo
81			Tiberiano Cæsar II et Druso Germanico II
82			Silano et Balbo
83			Messala et Grato
84			Tiberiano Cæsare III et Druso Germanico III
85			Agrippa et Galba
86		C. ASINIO. C. ANTISTIO. COS. Visconti Opera Varia. *Labus*, tom. i. p. 80.	Pollione et Vetere
87			Cethego et Varo
88			Agrippa II et Lentulo Galva

Dion Cassius.	Cassiodorus.	Various Authors.	Chronicon Paschale, or Fasti Siculi.
Germanicus Cæs. f. Cæsar C. Fontejus Capito	German. Cæsar C. Fontejus		2 12 Tiberius Cæsar II and Scipio
L. Munatius Plancus C. Silius Cæcina	L. Plancus C. Silius	L. Planco, C. Silio, Coss. *Suet. Octav.* 101.	3 13 Flaccus and Silanus
Sex. Pompejus Sex. Apulejus	Sex. Pompeius Sex. Appuleius	Duobus Sextis Pompeio, Appuleio, Coss. *Suet. Octav.* 100. *Tac. Ann.* i. 7.	4 14 Sextus and Sextus Olympiad 198 15 Pompejus Magnus and Apuleius
Drusus Cæsar Tib. fil. C. Norbanus Flaccus	Drusus Cæsar C. Norbanus	Druso Cæsare; C. Norbano Coss. *Tacit. Ann.* i. 55.	1 Brutus & Flaccus II
T. Statilius Sisenna Taurus L. Scribonius Libo	Sisenna Statilius L. Scribonius	Sisenna Statilio Tauro, L. Libone Consulibus *Tac. Ann.* ii. 1.	2 Taurus and Libo
C. Cæcilius Nepos or Rufus L. Pomponius Flaccus	L. Pomponius C. Cæcilius	C. Cæcilio; L. Pomponio Coss. *Tac. Ann.* ii. 41.	3 Crassus and Rufus
Tiberius Cæsar Aug. fil. III Germanicus Cæsar Tib. fil. II	Tiberius Cæsar German. Cæsar	Tiberius III; Germanicus II Coss. *Tac. Ann.* ii. 53.	Olympiad 199 4 Tiberius Cæsar III and Rufus II
M. Junius Silanus L. Norbanus Flaccus or Balbus	M. Silanus C. Norbanus	M. Silano; L. Norbano; Coss. *Tac. Ann.* ii. 59.	5 [Silanus & Balbus]
M. Valerius Messala M. Aurelius Cotta	M. Valerius M. Aurelius	M. Valerius; C. Aurelius Coss. *Tac. Ann.* iii. 2.	6 Messala and Gratus
Tiberius Cæsar Aug. fil. IV Drusus Julius Tib. fil. II	Tiberius Cæsar Drusus Cæsar	Tiberius IV; Drusus II; Coss. *Tac. Ann.* iii. 31.	7 Tiberius Cæsar IV and Drusus
Decimus Haterius Agrippa C. Sulpicius Galba	D. Haterius C. Sulpicius	C. Sulpicius; D. Haterius Coss. *Tac. Ann.* iii. 52.	Olympiad 200 8 Agrippa and Galba
C. Asinius Pollio C. Antistius Veter	C. Asinius C. Antistius	C. Asinio; C. Antistio; Coss. *Tac. Ann.* iv. 1.	2 9 Pullo and Veter
Sergius, or Sixtus, Cornelius Cethegus L. Visellius Varro	Ser. Cornelius L. Visellius	Cornelio Cethego; Visellio Varrone; Coss *Tac. Ann.* iv. 17.	3 10 Cethegus & Varus
M. Asinius Agrippa Cossus Cornelius Lentulus	M. Asinius Cos. Cornelius	Cornelio Cosso; Asinio Agrippa; Coss. *Tac. Ann.* iv. 34.	4 11 Agrippa II and Lentulus

No. of Years.	Fasti Consulares seu Capitolini.	Various Inscriptions.	Chronicon of Idatius, or Fasti Idatiani.
89			Getulio et Sabino
90		*Mur. Nov. Thes.* tom. i. p. 302. 1. M. CRASSO FRVGI L. CALPVRNIO PISONE COS.	Crasso et Pisone
91			Silano et Nerva
92		*Ibid.* tom. i. p. 301. C. FVFIO GEMINO L. RVBELLIO GEMINO COS.	Rufo et Rubellione
93			Vinicio et Longino Cassio
94			Tiberiano Cæsare IV solo
95			Aruntio et Ahenobarbo
96		*Ibid.* tom. i. p. 303. 1. L. SVLL. L. SVLP.	Galba Libolo et Sylla
97			Persico et Vitellio-Pulo
98			Gallo et Nonniano
99			Emiliano et Plautio
100		*Ibid.* p. 303. 2. CN. ACERRONIO ET PONTIO NIGRO COS. *Fabretti ap. Mur. ut sup.* CN. ACERRONIO PROCVLO C. PETRONIO PONTIO NIGRINO COSS.	Proculo et Nigrino

Dion Cassius.	Cassiodorus.	Various Authors.	Chronicon Paschale, or Fasti Siculi.
Cn. Lentulus Gætulicus C. Calvisius Sabinus	C. Calvisius Cn. Gætulicus	Lentulo Gætulico; C. Calvisio Coss. *Tac. Ann.* iv. 46.	Olympiad 201 12 Getulicus & Sabinus
M. Licinius Crassus L. Calpurnius Piso	L. Piso M. Crassus	M. Licinio; L. Calpurnio Coss. *Tac. Ann.* iv. 62.	2 13 Crassus and Piso
Ap. Junius Silanus P. Silius Nerva	Ap. Silanus P. Silius	Junio Silano; Silio Nerva Coss. *Tac. Ann.* iv. 68.	3 14 Silanus and Nerva
L. Rubellius Geminus C. Fufius Geminus	C. Rubellius C. Fufius	Rubellio et Fufio consulibus quorum utrique Geminus cognomentum erat... *Tac. Ann.* v. 1.	4 15 Geminus & Geminus Olympiad 202 1 Rufus & Rubellinus
M. Vinicius Quartinus L. Cassius Longinus	M. Vinicius L. Cassius		2 Vennicius and Longinus
Tiberius Augustus v L. Ælius Sejanus	Tib. Cæsar v		3 Tiberius Cæsar v alone
Cn. Domitius Aënobarbus Furius Camillus Scribonianus	Vinicius Longinus	Cn. Domitius; Camillus Scribonianus; Coss. *Tac. Ann.* vi. 1.	4 Persicus & Vitellius Olympiad 203 5 Aruntius and Aënobarbus
Serv. Sulpicius Galba L. Cornelius Sulla	Sulpicius Silla	Ser. Galba; L. Sulla; Coss. *Tac. Ann.* vi. 15.	6 Galba and Sulla
L. Vitellius Paulus Fabius Persicus	Persicus Vitellius	Paullo Fabio; L. Vitellio; Coss. *Tac. Ann.* vi. 28.	
C. Cestius Gallus M. Servilius Nonianus	Gallus Nonianus	C. Cestio; M. Servilio; Coss. *Tac. Ann.* vi. 31.	7 Gallus & Nonnianus
Sex. Papinius Q. Plautius	Galienus Plautianus	Q. Plautius, S. Papinius, Coss. *Tac. Ann.* vi. 40.	8 Selianus & Plautus
Cn. Acerronius Proculus C. Pontius Nigrinus	Proculus Nigrinus	Cn. Acerronio Proculo; C. Pontio Nigrino; Coss. *Suet. Tib.* 73. *Tac. Ann.* vi. 45.	Olympiad 204 9 Proculus and Nigrinus

SECT. II. CONNEXION OF EACH CONSULSHIP WITH ITS PROPER YEAR.

We have now, without the possibility of gainsaying, a hundred connected links in the chain of time, which we are to apply to the general measure of the Julian period, and the other dates we have connected with it. If then we can fasten any one of these links to a given year, it is evident that the whole will be connected.

But here there is a difficulty growing out of the question, whether the war of Julius Cæsar in Spain, which ended in the subjugation of the sons of Pompey, occurred during the year of confusion, or in the first year of Cæsar's reformed calendar? In other words: whether that war occurred in the years 4667 and 4668 of the Julian period, or in the year 4669? As it is universally agreed that Cæsar was murdered on the 15th of March in the year which followed that war, the decision of this question, on whichever side it may turn, makes a difference of one year in the subsequent chronology.

There are two methods of deciding this question,—the former by astronomical calculations, the latter by comparing and harmonizing the testimony of historians. Wherever these two are combined, the evidence amounts to moral certainty.

ASTRONOMICAL CALCULATIONS.

On the first of January of the first year of Julius Cæsar, there was, as we have seen, a conjunction of the sun and moon. This is evident from his calendar, which begins with the golden number one, according to the lunar cycle of Meton. Instead of beginning his year as that of Numa's calendar began, at the winter solstice, he waited for the first new moon after the solstice, that the revolutions of the sun and moon might commence together.

The new moon, then, having been on the 1st of January in the first year of the reformed calendar, we are to see whether by astronomical calculations we can decide the above-mentioned question respecting Cæsar's war in Spain.

Hirtius, or whoever was the author of the history of Cæsar's war in Spain, states that on the third before the nones of March, or, according to our computation, the 5th of March, occurred the battle of Soricia; that on the same day Pompey removed his camp against Hispalis, and was followed by Cæsar; but that before

Cæsar commenced his march, the moon had risen about the sixth hour.[1]

The sixth hour, according to the Roman computation of time, was about midnight; and that the moon could not have risen at that hour on the 5th of March of the first Julian year, will be made evident on the slightest calculation. It was new moon on the 1st of January; and two lunations (29d. 12h. 44′ × 2=59d. 1h. 28′) ended early on the 1st of March. Consequently, on the 5th of March, the moon was not five days old. It could not possibly, therefore, have risen about midnight. If, on the other hand, this event took place in the year of confusion, it will be seen, on consulting the third column in the foregoing table of that year,[2] that, according to the new arrangement of Cæsar, the 5th of March, in consequence of the intercalation, was the 85th day of that year; and therefore, (445—84) the 361st day, reckoning backward, from the 1st of January of the first Julian year. Twelve complete lunations, reckoning backward, from the new moon on the 1st of January, would amount to 29d. 12h. 44′ × 12=354d. 8h. 48′. That sum deducted from 361 days, leaves 6d. 15h. 12′ as the time wanting to complete a thirteenth lunation, which, being taken from 29d. 12h. 44′, leaves 22d. 21h. 32′ as the moon's age on the 5th of March in the year of confusion. Consequently, the moon must have risen that night about 59 minutes past 11 o'clock: "Luna hora circiter VI visa est."

TESTIMONY OF HISTORIANS, AND INSCRIPTIONS.

Let us now proceed to compare and harmonize the testimony of ancient authors. Under this head are to be included inscriptions as well as historians.

Petavius justly observes, that "to ascertain with certainty the precise epoch of the Julian year, it is necessary to have a distinct and accurate knowledge of the honours and offices of Julius Cæsar."[1] For this purpose, we must review the last years of his life, from the beginning of the civil war.

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[1] "Servi transfugerunt, qui nunciaverunt, a. d. III Nonarum Martii prœlium, ad Soriciam quod factum est, ex eo tempore metum esse magnum, et Attium Varum circum castella præesse. Eo die Pompejus castra movit, et contra Hispalim in oliveto constitit. Cæsar priusquam eodem est profectus, luna horâ circiter VI visa est."—De Bel. Hispan. c. xxvii. ed. Oudendorp, tom. ii. p. 968.

The language of the author is wanting in precision. I should infer from his expressions that the deserters who came to Cæsar's camp spoke of the battle and the removal of Pompey's camp as having taken place on a previous day; but whether the battle took place, or the slaves gave the information, on the 5th of March, is doubtful. In either case, however, the inference I have drawn holds good; for if the rising of the moon at midnight was a day or two later than the fifth of March, the impossibility is the same.

[2] See chap. iii. p. 78, Column C.

The ten years between Cæsar's first and second Consulship, from the restored Fasti Capitolini.

All agree that ten years intervened between Cæsar's first consulship, with M. Calpurnius Bibulus, and his second, with P. Servilius Isauricus. Thus far the arrangement of dates is easy.

C. Julius C.F.C.N. Cæsar. M. Calpurnius Bibulus.

1. L. Calpurnius L.F.L.N. Piso Cæsoninus; A. Gabinius A.F.
2. P. Cornelius P.F. Lentulus Spinther; Q. Cæcilius Q.F.Q.N. Metellus Nepos
3. Cn. Cornelius P.F. N. Lentulus Marcellinus; L. Marcius L.F.Q.N. Philippus
4. Cn. Pompejus Cn. F. Sex. N. Magnus II; M. Licinius P.F.M.N. Crassus II.
5. L. Domitius Cn. F. Cn. N. Ahenobarbus; Ap. Claudius Ap.F. C.N. Pulcher
6. Cn. Domitius M.F.M.N. Calvinus; M. Valerius Messalla
7. Cn. Pompejus Cn. F. Sex. N. Magnus III sine Conlega Primus; Q. Cæcilius Q.F.Q.N. Metellus Pius Scipio ex A. D. K. Sextil.
8. Ser. Sulpicius Q.F. Rufus; M. Claudius M.F.M.N. Marcellus
9. L. Aimilius M.F. Paullus; C. Claudius C.F.M.N. Marcellus
10. C. Claudius M.F.M.N. Marcellus; L. Cornelius P.F. Lentulus

Eodem anno

C. Julius C.F.C.N.; Cæsar. Dict. sine Mag. eq. Comit. Hab. Caussa.

C. Julius C.F.C.N. Cæsar. II; P. Servilius P.F. Cn. N. Vatia Isauricus.

According to Cæsar's own account, with which all other historians agree, the civil war began in the consulship of C. Claudius Marcellus and L. Cornelius Lentulus, the tenth of this series.

On the calends of January,[2] as those consuls entered upon their office, Cæsar's letters were delivered to them by Curio, and read in open senate. On the 6th of January (a.d. viii. Idus Januarias), after a stormy debate for several days, Cæsar was declared to be the enemy of his country.[3] As soon as this decree was passed, Curio and the two tribunes of the people fled from Rome, and repaired to Cæsar at Ravenna.

Cæsar crossed the Rubicon, occupied Ariminum, garrisoned Pisaurum, Fanum, and Ancona, and received or compelled the submission of all the other cities which were on his line of march. The greater part opened their gates to him.

[1] De Doct. Temp. lib. x. c. 59.

[2] This first of January, as we shall soon see, coincided with Nov. 23, A.J.P. 4663.

[3] Cæs. de Bel. Civ. lib. i. c. 5.

On the arrival of this news at Rome, both the consuls fled to Pompey at Capua. As Cæsar advanced into Apulia, Pompey retreated to Brundisium, and the consuls, with a large part of the army, sailed for Dyrachium, on the coast of Epirus.[1] Dion Cassius says that it was at the close of autumn (ἤδη γὰρ ἐκ μετοπώρου ἦν) when Pompey went to Brundisium.[2] Cæsar wished to encounter Pompey before he left Italy; but, on the return of the ships which had carried the consuls, Pompey also set sail, and arrived safely at Dyrachium.

Cæsar then went to Rome, took forcible possession of the public treasure, and, after various arrangements for his own security, set off for Spain. The siege of Marseilles, the submission of Pompey's army in Spain, and the mutiny of Cæsar's troops at Placentia, detained him till the time had approached for holding the Comitia. As both the consuls were absent, whose duty it was to preside at the elections, M. Æmilius Lepidus proposed to the people that Cæsar should be appointed dictator. This was his first dictatorship. He held it only eleven days, during which he himself and Publius Servilius Isauricus were designated consuls for the ensuing year.[3] Without waiting for the calends of January, to enter on his office, he left the city, and went to Brundisium.[4]

Second Year of the Civil War.

On the 4th of January[5] Cæsar set sail for Dyrachium, and the next day landed near the Ceraunian hills. The events of the war with Pompey followed, ending with the battle of Pharsalia, which occurred, according to Plutarch, in midsummer.[6] As soon as the defeat and death of Pompey were known at Rome, the senate and people loaded Cæsar with honours. He was appointed consul for five successive years, tribune of the people for life, and dictator for a whole year, contrary to the law, which forbade such an appointment for more than six months. Cæsar was then at Alexandria; and Dion says, that, although out of Italy, he immediately assumed the dictatorship, and, contrary to established usage, took Antony as his master of the horse, though he had not been prætor. Making allowance for the time between the battle of Pharsalia and Cæsar's receiving notice at Alexandria of his appointment as dictator, when he immediately assumed the office, we must fix the period of the appointment by the senate, at the close of August (Sextilis), or the beginning of September. Consequently, the second dictatorship would extend from about September in his second consulate, to September of the next year. Appian states[1] that Cæsar remained at Alexandria nine months, which brings it to May or June of the following year, before he undertook his expedition against Pharnaces. Dion, therefore, says correctly, that the calends of January passed without any appointment of consul or prætor.

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[1] Cæsar de Bel. Civ. lib. i. c. 25.

[2] Hist. Rom. lib. xli. c. 10.

[3] Cæs. Bel. Civ. lib. iii. c. 1 and 2; Dion Cassius, Hist. Rom. lib. xli. c. 36; Appian de Bel. Civ. lib. ii. c. 48.

[4] Cæs. de Bel. Civ. lib. iii. c. 2.

[5] Pridie nonas Januarias, De Bel. Civ. lib. iii. c. 6. The first of January began Nov. 13, A.J.P. 4664. The 4th of January was therefore Nov. 16.

[6] In Vit. Jul. Cæs.

Third year of the Civil War.

The first four or five months of this year, as we have seen, were passed by Cæsar at Alexandria. He then set out on his expedition against Pharnaces. The rapidity with which he conquered him, gave rise to his celebrated expression, "Veni, vidi, vici." The fifth day after his arrival in Pontus, and four hours after he came in sight of the enemy, he conquered.[2]

Receiving notice by express of a sedition in Rome, and that Antony, master of the horse, was stationed with a body of troops in the forum, he hastened to return. Plutarch tells us,[3] that he arrived at Rome as the year of his second dictatorship was expiring; that is, if we are correct, about the month of August (Sextilis), as the year was then computed. The sedition being suppressed, he caused to be appointed as consuls for the remainder of the year, Q. Fufius Calenus, and P. Vatinius. This was a manifest violation of the law. "He did these things," says Dion, "in that year in which, being dictator the second time, he possessed in reality supreme power."[4]

Having made these arrangements, Cæsar departed for Africa. He embarked in mid-winter, says Dion; about the winter solstice, says Plutarch; the 25th of December (a. d. vi. kal. Jan.) says Hirtius.[5] The Greek historians did not consider the confusion of the Roman calendar. The 25th of December, as the year was then reckoned, must in reality have been about the 17th or 18th of October.

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[1] De Bel. Civ. lib. ii. c. 90.

[2] Suet. Vit. Jul. Cæs. c. 35.

[3] In Vit. Jul. Cæs.

[4] Hist. Rom. lib. xlii. c. 55.

[5] Hirt. de Bel. Afr. c. 2.

Fourth year of the Civil War.

On the calends of January[1] Cæsar was encamped before Ruspina, in Africa.[2] The African war occupied about six months, and was terminated by the death of Cato and of Juba. Cæsar left Utica on the 13th of June (Idibus Jun.), and went to Sardinia, whence he sailed on the 28th of June (ante diem iii. kal. Quinct.), but did not arrive in Rome, being detained by contrary winds and storms, till twenty-eight days after, or the 27th of July.[3]

He was now detained in Italy, conferring rewards upon his soldiers,[4] and celebrating four triumphs, over Gaul, Ægypt, the king Pharnaces, and Africa. But, before his arrival in Rome, that is, before the 27th of July, the senate had decreed so many honours, that Dion, weary of enumerating them, says he should confine himself to those only which Cæsar accepted.[5] Among these, he names the dictatorship for ten years. This was, therefore, the third dictatorship, commencing in June or July. Among the various laws which Cæsar enacted at the commencement of this dictatorship, Dion Cassius expressly mentions the reformation of the calendar.[6]

While the time of Cæsar was thus occupied, the two sons of Pompey had gathered a formidable army in Spain. Repeated messages were sent to Italy by the cities which were opposed to Pompey, imploring aid.[7] This delay, so contrary to Cæsar's usual conduct, can be accounted for only in one way. His presence must have been necessary at home. Whatever may have been the cause of his detention, it seems that he remained in Rome till the close of the year. Both Plutarch and Appian agree with the Roman historians as to this point. "Being now consul the fourth time," says Appian, "he led his army (ἐστράτευεν) against the younger Pompey into Spain."[8] "These transactions being finished," says Plutarch, "and being designated consul the fourth time, (ἐστράτευσεν) he led his army into Spain, against the sons of Pompey." "Cæsar," says Eutropius, "having returned to Rome, made himself consul the fourth time, and immediately set out for Spain, where the sons of Pompey, Cnæus and Sextus, had again prepared a mighty war."[1] "C. Cæsar," says the author of the history of his war in Spain, "being dictator the *third* time, and designated the *fourth*;" that is, as Oudendorp justly understands it, designated consul the fourth time, when by rapid marches he had come into Spain, &c.[2] Dion says that Cæsar, being then dictator, was created consul towards the close of the year, the people being assembled for that purpose by Lepidus, who was then master of the horse, calling himself so even in his consulate, contrary to precedent.[3] It cannot be doubted, therefore, that Cæsar waited for the Comitia, which preceded the calends of January, and which occurred before the 13th of October, according to his reformed calendar.

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[1] October 23, A.J.P. 4666.

[2] Hirt. de Bel. Afr. c. vi. ad fin.

[3] Hirt. de Bel. Afr. ad fin. c. 98.

[4] De Bel. Hisp. c. 1.

[5] Hist. Rom. lib. xliii. c. 14.

[6] Hist. Rom. lib. xliii. c. 25, 26.

[7] De Bel. Hisp. c. 1 ad fin.

[8] Appian de Bel. Civ. lib. ii. c. 103.

Fifth year of the Civil War.

Appian states that he arrived in Spain the twenty-seventh day from his leaving Rome;[4] performing this very long journey with a powerful army. It was in the ulterior province, near the Bœtis and Corduba,—the modern Guadalquivir and Cordova. So great was his rapidity, says Dion, that he preceded the news of his coming.[5]

The time when he left Rome cannot be exactly determined; but he must have arrived in Bœtica towards the close of January, or according to the correct computation of time, early in November. The formidable force of the sons of Pompey, the fears of his own army, and the conviction that this was the crisis of his fortunes, caused him to proceed with great caution, and even to incur the reproach of timidity.[6] Attegua was taken on the eleventh before the calends of March, or the 19th of the intercalary month Merkedonius, the 71st day of the year of confusion, and about forty or forty-five days after Cæsar's arrival in Spain. The decisive battle of Munda was fought, according to Plutarch, on the day of the Liberalia, the sixteenth before the calends of April, or the seventeenth of March, the ninety-seventh day of the year of confusion. After the battle, Cæsar said to his friends that he had often fought for victory, but now the first time for his life.[7]

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[1] Brev. lib. vi. c. 24.

[2] "C. Cæsar dictator III, designatus IV, multis itineribus ante confectis, quum celeri festinatione ad bellum conficiendum in Hispaniam venisset," &c.—De Bel. Hisp. c. ii. ed. Oudend. tom. ii. p. 941, & note 3.

[3] Hist. Rom. lib. xliii. c. 33.

[4] De Bel. Civ. lib. ii. c. 103.

[5] H. Rom. lib. xliii. c. 32.

[6] Appian de Bel. Civ. lib. ii. c. 103, 104.

[7] Plut. in V. J. Cæs.

After this battle, Corduba and Hispalis soon fell into the hands of the victor; and on the twelfth of April,[1] the 123rd day of that year, corresponding with the twelfth of February of the proleptic Julian year, the head of the elder Pompey was brought to Hispalis. Dion states that the news of this victory arrived in Rome the evening before the Parilia; that is, on the 20th of April, or the 131st day of that year. A triumph was decreed to Cæsar for conquering Spain, and also to his generals Fabius and Pedius; religious rites were appointed for fifty days; and the Parilia were celebrated, not as the birth-day of the city, but on account of Cæsar's victory.[2]

Let us now consider these dates as they would have fallen in the several months of the first Julian year, and we shall see that it would have been morally impossible to have accomplished all in so short a space of time. That Cæsar was in Rome on the first day of that year, is evident from the fact, that on the last day of December one of the consuls, C. Fabius Maximus, died, and Cæsar substituted C. Caninius Rebilus as consul for the few hours which yet remained. Supposing, therefore, that he left Rome on the second of January, he would have arrived at the seat of war on the twenty-eighth of that month. Such an arduous and rapid march in mid-winter, as it must then have been, and not in October as in the year of confusion, would have required a few days' repose; so that we cannot date the commencement of his operations earlier than the first of February. Yet on the eleventh before the calends of March, or the nineteenth of February, Attegua was captured. From the account of Hirtius, the supposed author of the history of the Spanish war, there must have been at least eleven days spent in the siege. It began, therefore, not later than the seventh of February, leaving at most from seven to ten days for all the previous operations of the war. And when the caution, not to say timidity, of Cæsar's movements is taken into view, it cannot be supposed that he could have thrown supplies into Ulia, marched upon Corduba, and thus caused the siege of Ulia to be raised, crossed the Bœtis, and, after various manœuvres, have drawn out of his stronghold the army of the elder Pompey, in so very limited a space of time. In the year of confusion, on the other hand, there must have been from twenty-eight to thirty-three days spent in these operations.

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[1] Pridie Id. Aprilis, De Bel. Hisp. c. 39.

[2] Dion Cassius, H. R. lib. xliii. c. 42

But to resume the thread of the narrative. No bounds were now set to the honours heaped upon Cæsar. He was allowed to create all the officers of government—even those elected in comitia by the people,—to have sole power over the army, and entire control over the public treasury. He was saluted Pater Patriæ, created dictator for life, and consul for ten years.[1] His statue was carried in procession with those of the Gods. Another, inscribed "to the invincible God," was placed in the temple of Quirinus, and another at the capitol, with those of the kings and Brutus who expelled the Tarquins. This, as Dion states, was the chief circumstance by which Marcus Brutus was excited to conspire against him.[2]

According to Velleius Paterculus,[3] Cæsar returned to Rome in the month of October. But before he returned, says Dion, he accepted the consulship which had thus been conferred upon him by the senate for ten years. He did not, however, keep it till the end of the year, but on his return gave it to Quintus Fabius Maximus, who had been one of his generals in Spain, with Caius Trebonius for his colleague. Fabius died on the last day of his consulship, that is, on the 445th day of that year; and Cæsar, to gratify Caius Caninius, appointed him to fill the vacancy for the few remaining hours. He designated himself and Antony, his master of the horse, as consuls for the ensuing year, and appointed Lepidus to be master of the horse in place of Antony, allowing him to administer the government of Spain—of which he was præfect—by deputies.[4]

The last year of Cæsar's life.

On the first of January commenced his reformed calendar, and his fifth consulate. He was also dictator the fourth time, and that for life. He used his power with great moderation; passed an act of amnesty for all who had fought against him, recalled them from banishment, and restored them to their former rank; gave pensions to the widows, and a portion of their patrimony to the orphans. He employed himself in rebuilding or improving the cities of Italy and other parts of the empire. To gratify the wishes of the people, by avenging the defeat of Crassus and the loss of his army, he began to prepare for an expedition against the Parthians, which he intended to command in person. To provide, during his absence, for the peace and tranquillity of the city, he appointed the officers of government for three years. Among these, Octavius, then a youth, was named master of the horse; Dolabella was to be consul in Cæsar's stead; Antony was to retain his consulate; and Lepidus to have the command in Gallia Narbonensis and Hispania Citerior.[1]

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[1] Appian de Bel. Civ. lib. ii. c. 106; Plut. Vita J. Cæs.

[2] Dion Cass. Hist. Rom. lib. xliii. c. 45.

[3] Hist. Rom. lib. ii. 56.

[4] Appian de Bel. Civ. lib. ii. c. 107.

But a secret conspiracy was then forming against him, to which the servility of his flatterers, and his own want of caution and contempt of danger, added power. On the feast of the Lupercalia, the 15th of February, his fellow-consul offered him a crown; and on the 15th of March he was assassinated.

From this review of the honours of Cæsar during the last years of his life it appears:—

1. That his first appointment as dictator was towards the close of the first year of the civil war, in the consulship of Marcellus and Lentulus; that according to law it could not exceed six months; but that he voluntarily abdicated it after having held it eleven days, his election as consul the second time for the ensuing year, with P. Servilius for his colleague, having first taken place.

2. That during the second year of the war, while he was consul the second time, he was appointed by the senate, about the beginning of September, dictator for one year and consul for five years. His second dictatorship began in September; but there having been no comitia, and consequently no election of consul or prætor by the people, Cæsar appears to have disregarded his appointment to the office of consul by the senate.

3. That during the third year of the war, no consuls having been elected in comitia by the people, the year could not be designated as usual by the names of the magistrates who entered upon their annual office on the first of January, but by the second dictatorship of Cæsar, which by its own term would not expire till September. It does not appear whether he summoned the comitia, or whether by his supreme power he appointed Q. Fufius Calenus and Publius Vatinius as consuls for the remainder of the year. It is probable that the forms of law were observed; but that Cæsar in reality appointed them, all agree.

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[1] Dion Cass. H. R. lib. xliii. 50, 51.

4. That during the fourth year of the war, he was consul the third time, with M. Æmilius Lepidus for his colleague; and that in the interval between the thirteenth of June and the twenty-seventh of Quintilis or July, the senate appointed him dictator for ten years. This was his third dictatorship.—That after that appointment he celebrated four triumphs, and continued in Rome till the close of that year, waiting for the comitia, in which he was appointed consul for the ensuing year.

5. That in the fifth year of the war, which was the last year of confusion, he was consul the fourth time, but having been appointed dictator for ten years, and not having resigned that office, it was his third dictatorship; that his march into Spain and his war with the sons of Pompey occupied of that year 124 days, and the news of his victory at Munda, of March 17th or the 97th day, arrived in Rome on the 131st day; that the senate soon after created him dictator for life, and consul for ten years; that when he celebrated his triumph in Spain, he returned to the city in October, and abdicated his fourth consulship, appointing Q. Fabius Maximus and C. Trebonius, and on the death of Fabius, the last day of the year of confusion, he appointed for a few hours C. Caninius Rebilus; that by virtue of his fourth or perpetual dictatorship, he nominated himself and Marcus Antonius as consuls for the next year.

6. That in the last year of his life, which was the first of his reformed calendar, he was consul the fifth time, and dictator the fourth, and so continued till he was murdered on the fifteenth of March.

Testimony of the Fasti Capitolini.

The following extract contains all the years in question, from the first of the civil war till the year after Cæsar's death. The capital letters exhibit the inscription in its present mutilated state, and the smaller letters the parts supplied by modern learning and industry.

C. CLAVDIVS. M.F.M.N. MARCELLVS L. CORnelius p.f. lentulus
EODEM ANNO
C. IVLIVS. C.F. C.N CAESAR DICt sine mag. eq. comit. hab. caussa

C. IVLIVS. C.F.C.N. CAESAR $\overline{\text{II}}$ P. SERvilius p.f. cn. n. vatia isauricus

C. IVLIVS. C.F.C.N. CAESAR II DICT
M. ANTONIVS. M.F.M.N. MAG. equitum
EODEM ANNO
[q.] FVFIVS. Q.F.Q.N CALENUS P. VAtinius. p.f.

C. IVLIVS. C.F.C.N. CAESAR III M. Aimilius lepidus

C. IVLIVS. C.F.C.N. CAESAR III Dict.
M. AIMILIVS. M.F.Q.N. LEPIDVS MAg. equitum
EODEM ANNO
C. IVLIVS. C.F.C.N. CAESAR IIII SINE conlega
EODEM ANNO
Q. FABIVS. Q.F.Q.N. MAXIMUS. IN Mag.
MORTVVS. EST. IN EIVS Locum factus est
C. CANINIVS. C.F.C.N. REbilus.
Q. FABIVS. Q.F.Q.N. MAXIMVS COS EX HISPANIA AN. DCCVIII. III [IDVS. OCT.
Q. PEDIVS. M.F. PRO COS EX HISPANIA AN. DCCVIII. IDIB. [DEC.

C. IVLIVS. C.F.C.N. Cæsar IIII. dict.
M. AIMILIVS m.f.q.n. lepidus II mag. equit.
VT QVM m. aimilius lepiDVS PALVDATVs exisset iniret
CN. DOMITIVS. M.F.M.N. CALVInus
IN. INSEQVENTEM ANNum designatus
ERAT NON. INIIT.
C. IVLIVS. C.F.C.N. CAESAR V. m. antonius. m.f.m.n.
P. COrnelius p.f. dolabella
C. IVLIVS. C.F.C.N. CAESAR. VI. DICT.IIII. OVANS EX MONTE AL-[BANO AN DCCIX. VII K. FEBR.

DCCX. C. VIBIVS c.f.c.n. pansa a. hirtius a.f.
IN. MAG. occis. e. in e. loc. fact. est. in mag. occis e. loc. fact. est.
C. IVLIVS. C.F c.n. cæsar qui q. pedius m.f. in mag. mort. est.
in ejus locum factus est.
POSTEA IMPerator cæsar augustus appell.
EST. ABD. IN ejus locum fact. est.
c. carrinas c.f. p. ventidius p.f. qui idem prætor erat.
m. aimilius M.F.Q.N. lepidus }
m. antonius M.F.M.N. } iii viri r.p.c. ex a.d.v.k. dec. ad pr. k.jan.sex.
imp. cæsar C.F.C.N. }
L. MVNATIVS. L.F.L.N. PLANCVS. PRO. COS. EX. GALLIA. AN. [IIII. K. IAN.
M. AIMILIVS M.F.Q.N. LEPIDVS. II. III VIR. R.P. c. PRO. COS. EX. [HISPANIA. PRIDIE. K....

Imperfect as these fragments are, they are sufficient, with the lights afforded by other inscriptions, historians, and the incidental notices of contemporaneous writers, to establish the facts respecting the honours paid to Cæsar, and the true year of his death. For the accommodation of the reader, a line has been drawn to distinguish the several years. The triumphs of Quintus Fabius Maximus and Quintus Pedius, for their successes in Spain, are distinctly stated to have been on the third before the ides, or thirteenth of October, and on the ides, or thirteenth of December, in the year of the city 708. Consequently it was that year which from the first of January to the twenty-first of April was reckoned as the 707th year of Rome. By reckoning backward, therefore, it appears that the year when Claudius Marcellus was consul, or the first year of the civil war, was that which before the 21st of April was called the 703rd, and after the 21st of April, the 704th year of Rome. "In that same year" (eodem anno), it is said, Cæsar was dictator—namely, the first time—and he retained the office eleven days, for the sake of promoting his election as consul for the ensuing year. This, as all agree, was his second consulship with Publius Servilius for his colleague. It was, therefore, the 704th year of Rome till the 21st of April, and the 705th after it. Ten years had elapsed since his first consulship,—the time required by law to intervene, in the purest days of the republic, before a person who had once been consul was again eligible. From this year, in which Pompey was defeated and murdered, Cæsar became master of the republic, and all the established laws which did not suit his views or convenience were disregarded. The next year (A.U.C. 705-6) is therefore very properly marked, not by consuls, but by the name of Cæsar as dictator, and that of Marc-Antony as his master of the horse. The inscription is added, that "in the same year" (eodem anno) Fufius Calenus was consul, with P. Va[tinius] for his colleague; for though the abbreviation cos. be not added, the sense is plain, because the consuls for each year are always placed on one line, whereas the masters of the horse are named after the dictator in the line below. Thus, in the succeeding year (A.U.C. 706-7), Cæsar was consul the third time, having M. Æmilius Lepidus for his colleague. And hence Cassiodorus, in his list of consuls for these two years, names for the first Q. Fufius and P. Vatinius, and for the second C. Julius Cæsar and M. Æmilius Lepidus. The next year (A.U.C. 707-8), that is, the year of the war in Spain, is begun by naming Cæsar as dictator, and M. Æmilius Lepidus as his master of the horse; for which reason his name is placed in the line below. And then it is added, "in the same year" (eodem anno), Cæsar was consul the fourth time, without a colleague. By his dictatorial authority, "in the same year" (eodem anno) he substituted in his stead as consul Q. Fabius Maximus, who died on the last day of the year of confusion, and then Cæsar appointed for a few hours C. Caninius Rebilus.

The next year,—the first of the reformed calendar, and the last of Cæsar's life,—(A.U.C. 708-9), is begun by the names of Cæsar as dictator, and M. Æmilius Lepidus as master of the horse; but there is a peculiarity which can be explained only by the history of that year. For after the name of M. Æmilius follow the words, (ut quum M. Aimilius Lepidus paludatus) "that when M. Æmilius Lepidus should put on the military garment," that is, should publicly march out of Rome on a military expedition, another might take his place. The inscription is lost; but this *other*, as Dion Cassius testifies,[1] was C. Octavius, afterwards better known under the name of Augustus. And as the Parthian expedition, for which Cæsar was preparing, was likely to continue three years, he nominated for the following year Cn. Domitius Calvinus. He also nominated P. Cornelius Dolabella to be substituted for himself as consul after his departure for Parthia. For this reason, after the death of Cæsar, Dolabella assumed the fasces as of right, without waiting for any confirmation of his authority by the senate or the people. Hence also in the inscription, after the name of Domitius Calvinus, occur the words, "in insequentem annum [designatus] erat non iniit" (he was designated or appointed for the following year, but did not enter upon his office). No notice is taken of the death of Cæsar, but immediately after his name as consul for the fifth time, follows the name of P. Co . . . . *i.e.* P. Cornelius Dolabella.[2] Then follows the notice of Cæsar's ovation. The number vi. after his name, denotes that it was his sixth triumph; and it is expressly said that he was dictator the fourth time.* From all this testimony, it follows that Cæsar was slain in his fifth consulship, his fourth or perpetual dictatorship, and in that year which, before the feast of the Parilia, was designated as the 708th, and after the Parilia, as the 709th year of Rome.

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[1] Lib. xliii. last section.

[2] See Appian de Bel. Civ. lib. ii. s. 122, ed. Schweigh. tom. ii. p. 344.

* I say nothing about the year, because I have suspicions that the date is mutilated or altered. As it stands in Sigonius, it is

The combined evidence of astronomical calculation and historic testimony having so clearly established the fact, that Cæsar's war in Spain in his fourth consulship was during the last year of confusion, and not in the first year of his reformed calendar, it may be proper, before we proceed further, to anticipate an objection which may possibly arise, that the preceding years were also years of confusion and irregularity. To some extent, this must be admitted; but if any error arise from this source, it is of small moment, and of short continuance. In the third section of the chapter on the Roman year, in speaking of the year of confusion, it was shown that in the course of the last 144 years, compensation had been made for past errors, excepting the neglect of three intercalations amounting to 67 days. This error, therefore, could not have operated more than eight or nine years. It may have shortened some of the preceding consulships, but the difference is too trifling to be noticed in the present adjustment. We proceed, therefore, to connect the preceding and succeeding series of consuls with the years to which they properly belong.

The fourth consulship of Cæsar began on the thirteenth of October, in the year 4667 of the Julian period. Supposing no intercalations to have taken place in the preceding period of eight years, and consequently that each consular year consisted of only 355 days, the result would have been as follows:

The third consulship of Cæsar with Lepidus beginning nominally with the first of January, would have begun in reality October 23rd, 4666 of the Julian period.

The first of January in the year when Cæsar was dictator the second time, and as such appointed Q. Fufius Calenus and P. Vatinius consuls, fell on the second of November, A.J.P. 4665. That year being bissextile, the first of January of the year in which

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thus: DCCIX. But the year 709 began April 21, more than a month after Cæsar's death, and nearly three months after his ovation. If IX formed a part of the original inscription, it proves that the years of the city were reckoned in the Fasti Capitolini as if they began on the calends of January; if it was afterwards inserted, it is of no value as an authority. The day of the month was vii. k. Feb. or Jan. 26th.

Cæsar was consul the second time, with P. Servilius, fell on the thirteenth of November, A.J.P. 4664.

In the first year of the civil war, when Lentulus and Marcellus were consuls, the first of January fell on the twenty-third of November, A.J.P. 4663.

In the preceding year, when Marcellus and Paulus were consuls, the 1st of January was on the 3rd of December, A.J.P. 4662.

In the consulship of Marcellus and Sulpicius, the 1st of January was on the 13th of December, A.J.P. 4661, that being leap year.

The 1st of January of the preceding year, the third consulship of Pompey the Great and Q. Metellus, fell on the 23rd of December, A.J.P. 4660.

In the consular year of Domitius Calvinus and Messala, the 1st of January of the year of Numa, coincided with the 2nd of January of the year 4660 of the Julian period.

Here, then, are the eight irregular years, preceding the last year of confusion; and they bring us back to the true 1st of January, and show that the aberration was only for that limited number of years. The consulship of Cicero and Antonius, was the tenth before the consulship last named, and, consequently, it coincided with the year 4650 of the Julian period. In the summer of that year was the 179th olympiad. It was rendered memorable by the conspiracy of Catiline, detected and punished, the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey, and the birth of Augustus Cæsar. Both Dion Cassius[1] and Josephus,[2] affirm that Jerusalem was taken in the consulship of Cicero and Antonius, and the latter adds, that it was *κατὰ τὴν ἐννάτην καὶ ἑβδομηκοστὴν καὶ ἑκατοστὴν ὀλυμπιάδα*, at the epoch of, during, or upon the 179th olympiad. It was before the Parilia, the 689th, and after the Parilia, the 690th year of Rome; the nineteenth year before the reformed Julian calendar; and the sixty-fourth before the Dionysian, or common Christian æra.

But here it becomes necessary to speak of a difficulty which has been raised concerning this testimony.

Josephus, while he mentions in his Jewish Antiquities that Jerusalem was taken by Pompey in the 179th olympiad, and in the consulship of Antonius and Cicero, mentions, also, that it was on the fast day in the third month. A doubt has been raised as to the day and month here meant. The Jews began their ecclesiastical year, at or near the vernal equinox; their civil year, at or near the autumnal equinox. The ecclesiastical year began with the month Abib, or Nisan;[1] the civil, with the month Tisri, or Ethanim. The third month of the one, was Sivan; of the other, Casleu. In the consulship of Cicero, the equinoxes were nearly where they were at the time of Cæsar's reformation of the calendar; that is, on the 25th of March, and the 24th of September. Abp. Ussher supposes that Josephus meant the third civil month, or Casleu, the twenty-eighth day of which was a fast among the Jews, because Jehoiakim burned the roll on that day.[2] Petavius, on the other hand, affirms, that it was the third ecclesiastical month, or Sivan, on the twenty-third day of which was the fast for Jeroboam's sin, in forbidding the ten tribes to worship at Jerusalem. Other critics have thought that because Josephus,[3] in his history of the Jewish war, speaks of the temple being taken *τρίτῳ—μηνὶ τῆς πολιορκίας*, in the third month of the siege, he speaks also, in this passage, not of the third month of the year, but of the third month of the siege. Now I apprehend that, in this passage, Josephus speaks of the capture of *the city*, ἁλούσης τῆς πόλεως, and in his work on the Jewish War, of the *temple*, which are two different events. We do not know exactly the time when Pompey approached the city, but it appears that it was delivered up to him, and that he entered it in the third month, on the fast day, and then laid siege to the temple, which held out much longer.

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[1] Lib. xxxvii. sec. 10-15.

[2] Antiq. lib. xiv. c. 4, sec. 3.

As this question will hereafter be found to have an important bearing on the chronology of Herod's reign, it may be as well to examine it now. For this purpose, it seems expedient to connect the Jewish months with the Roman, not only in the year 4650 of the Julian period, but also in the preceding year. By the use of the chapters on the Roman year and the Julian period, the reader will be enabled to examine these calculations, and judge for himself of their accuracy.

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[1] Exod. xii. 2; xiii. 4; Deut. xvi. 1.

[2] Jerem. xxxvi. 22, 23.

[3] Jos. de Bel. Jud. lib. i. c. 7. s. 4.

Lunations of the year when Jerusalem was taken by Pompey, the day of the fast, in the third month, in the 179th Olympiad, Caius Antonius and Marcus Tullius Cicero, coss., corresponding with A.J.P. 4650. Astronomical signs, as reckoned backward, from the first year of the vulgar æra, according to Dionysius Exiguus, and Bede, are ☼ 2, ☽ 14, epact 23, Sunday Letter E; and the calculations are made according to the calendar of the Council of Nice.

Astronomical signs, as reckoned backward from the first year of Cæsar's reformed calendar, are ☼ 10, ☽ 1, epact 0; and the calculations are made by the Golden Numbers, as arranged in Cæsar's calendar.

Proleptic Vulgar Æra, and Cal. of Nice.
A.J.P. 4649, ☼ 1, ☽ 13.
Epact 12, Sunday Letters G. F. Bissextile.

Jan.	11	Shebeth	30	
Feb.	9	Adar	29	
Mar.	11	Nisan	30	[14 d. of pasch.
Apr.	9	Iyar	29	moon Mar. 24
May	9	Sivan	30	
June	7	Tammuz	29	
July	7	Ab.	30	
Aug.	5	Elul	29	
Sep.	4	Tisri	30	
Oct.	3	Marchesvan	29	
Nov.	2	Casleu	30	
Dec.	1	Tebeth	29	
„	31	Shebeth	1	
			355	
— Epact of this year			12	
			343	
+ Epact of next year			23	
			366	

Proleptic Reformed Æra of Julius Cæsar, and the Golden Numbers as arranged by him.
A.J.P. 4649, ☼ 9, ☽ 19, Ep. 18, Bissextile.

Jan.	13	Shebeth	30	
Feb.	11	Adar	29	
Mar.	13	Nisan	30	[14 d. of pasch.
Apr.	11	Iyar	29	moon Mar. 26
May	11	Sivan	30	
June	9	Tammuz	29	
July	9	Ab.	30	
Aug.	7	Elul	29	
Sep.	6	Tisri	30	
Oct.	5	Marchesvan	29	
Nov.	4	Casleu	30	
Dec.	3	Tebeth	29	
			354	
+ Epact of last year			12	
			366	

A.J.P. 4650, ☼ 2, ☽ 14, Ep. 23, Sun. Let. E.

Jan.	30	Adar	
Feb.	28	Veadar	
Mar.	30	Nisan	[14 d. of pasch. ☽
Apr.	28	Iyar	Apr. 12
May	28	Sivan	[23 or fast, June 19
June	26	Tammuz	[Olymp. 179, 1
July	26	Ab.	
Aug.	24	Elul	
Sep.	23	Tisri	
Oct.	22	Marchesvan	
Nov.	21	Casleu	[28 fast, Dec. 18
Dec.	20	Tebeth	

A.J.P. 4650, ☼ 10, ☽ 1, Ep. 0.

Jan.	1	Shebeth	
„	31	Adar	
Mar.	1	Veadar	
„	31	Nisan	[14 d. of pasch. ☽
Apr.	29	Iyar	Apr. 13
May	29	Sivan	[23 or fast, June 20
June	27	Tammuz	[Olymp. 179, 1
July	27	Ab.	
Aug.	25	Elul	
Sep.	24	Tisri	
Oct.	23	Marchesvan	
Nov.	22	Casleu	[28 fast, Dec. 19
Dec.	21	Tebeth	

It is evident that, according to the proleptic calendar of Julius Cæsar, there were, in the year 4650 of the Julian period, thirteen lunations, and, according to the calculations of the Council of Nice, which differ one day, thirteen lunations, A.J.P. 4649. Hence it was necessary to insert the intercalary month Veadar, or the second Adar, in A.J.P. 4650, in order to bring the paschal full moon after the vernal equinox. Sivan, the third month of the ecclesiastical year, began on the 28th or 29th of May, and the fast day, or 23rd, on the 19th or 20th of June, seven days before the 179th olympiad began. Casleu, the ninth of the ecclesiastical, but the third month of the civil year, began November 21st or 22nd; and the fast, on the 28th of that month, coincided with the 18th or 19th of December, which was only the thirteenth or fourteenth day before the consulship of Cicero and Antonius expired; or, if the next year of Numa began on the 27th of January of the solar year, at most thirty-nine days before Cicero and Antonius went out of office. Hence, I see no reason for the opinion of Archbishop Ussher, but much to favour that of Petavius.

1. In all ecclesiastical arrangements, the ecclesiastical order of the months would be observed. In the passage of Jeremiah, where the burning of the roll by Jehoiakim is mentioned, it is expressly said, that "the king sat in the winter house, in the *ninth month*."[1] This was the ecclesiastical order of the months.

2. Josephus says the city was taken *τῇ τῆς νηϛείας ἡμέρᾳ, on* THE *fast day*. The very force of the article, shows that it was a well-known, and very solemn fast day; and, surely, the defection of the ten tribes, from the worship of the true God to the worship of idols, was a far more solemn occasion for a national fast, than the mad action of Jehoiakim.

3. The circumstances of the narrative, show that the capture of the city was in the third ecclesiastical month. In the chapter preceding that in which the capture of the city is mentioned, it is stated, that, "early in the spring, Pompey brought his army out of winter-quarters, and marched rapidly upon Damascus." While there, he received deputations both from Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. This, as appears from the second chapter, was after the passover, which followed the murder of Onias. After some delay, occasioned by various artifices and negotiations, Pompey, being irritated, marched first to Jericho, and thence to Jerusalem. Aristobulus having been imprisoned by the Roman commander, the Jews of his faction entrenched themselves in the temple, destroyed the bridge which connected it with the city, and prepared to sustain the siege.

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[1] Jer. xxxvi. 22.

The opposite faction delivered up both the city and the royal palace to Pompey. And then it follows, that the city was taken in the third month; evidently the third ecclesiastical month, or Sivan.[1]

4. It may be considered as an objection, that the fast day in Sivan was seven days before the 179th olympiad began, and eighteen days before the games were celebrated. But when the language of Josephus is duly weighed, this circumstance corroborates the fact, and shows the accuracy of the historian.

His language on this occasion is peculiar. Usually in naming the olympiads, if it be not the year in which the games were celebrated, he names the year in the dative and the number of the olympiad in the genitive case;[2] or if it be the year of the games, he puts the number of the olympiad in the dative.[3] But here he uses the preposition κατὰ governing the accusative, which, accurately rendered, signifies *at*, or *upon*, or *during*, or *at the epoch of*, the 179th olympiad. He says also that the *city*, not the *temple*, was taken on the fast day. The temple held out for some time longer; and it required great preparation of machinery, and very persevering efforts of Pompey, to take it. It is probable, therefore, that he was actually engaged in the siege of the temple during the very days in which the olympic games were celebrated.

Archbishop Ussher, and the critics quoted by Hudson in his note on the passage, make no distinction between the capture of the city and that of the temple. The archbishop's words are, "The temple was taken on the fast day, C. Antonius and M. Tullius Cicero being consuls, in the first year of the 179th olympiad, on the solemn fast of the third month, which is to be taken as the third month of the civil year, called by the Hebrews, Cisleu."[4] He gives no reason for his opinion; but probably he considered it impossible for Pompey to take the temple so early as the third month of the ecclesiastical year. This difficulty would have been obviated by adhering strictly to the language of Josephus.

Dion Cassius says that Jerusalem was taken on Saturday, or the Jewish Sabbath; but he probably confounded the fast day with the Sabbath. If we take the Nicene cycle, which alone can be followed for the Sunday letters, in 4650, the 23rd of Sivan and the 28th of Casleu both fell on Thursday. With the Jews, the Sabbath was a festival, and would never be observed as a fast.

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[1] Jos. Antiq. lib. xiv. c. 2, § 2; comp. with c. 3. and c. 4.

[2] Ant. lib. xiv. c. 1. β.

[3] Ant. lib. xiii. c. 8. β.

[4] Usserii Annales, Ætas Mundi vi. ad A.M. 3941.

To sum up the whole: The city was delivered up by the faction of Hyrcanus, and Pompey marched into it with his army on Thursday, the 19th or 20th of June A.J.P. 4650. He immediately carried on the siege of the temple with greater vigour, being assisted by Hyrcanus and his party, and at length took it by storm, soon after the celebration of the games of the 179th olympiad, and in the third month from the time in which he commenced the siege of the city.

CHAPTER VII.

HISTORY OF OCTAVIANUS CÆSAR, AFTERWARDS NAMED AUGUSTUS, FROM THE DEATH OF JULIUS CÆSAR TO THE BATTLE OF ACTIUM.

Prefatory remarks.—The younger Cæsar with his uncle in Spain in his eighteenth year.—Appointed Master of the Horse, and sent into Macedonia.—Returned to Rome after his uncle's death.—The consuls, Hirtius and Pansa killed, and Cæsar appointed consul in his twentieth year.—Triumvirate from Nov. 27, A.J.P. 4670, to the end of December A.J.P. 4675. Its renewal for five years.—Total defeat of Sextus Pompeius, and abdication of Lepidus in July A.J.P. 4677.—Decree proposed in the senate against Cæsar by the partizans of Antony in A.J.P. 4681. This brought on the war, which ended with the victory at Actium, Sep. 2, A.J.P. 4682, by which Cæsar became sole master of the Roman empire in his thirty-second year.

In the last chapter, it has been shown, I hope to the satisfaction of the reader, that the year in which Augustus was born, the consulship of Cicero and Antonius, coincided with the year 4650 of the Julian period, the first year of the 179th olympiad, from the last of June, and the 690th year of Rome, from the twenty-first of April or the Parilia. It has also been shown, that between the consulship of Cicero and the fifth consulship of Julius Cæsar, in which he was murdered, there were eighteen pairs of consuls, and consequently eighteen years; thus bringing down the chronology to the end of the last year of confusion, or the end of the year 4668 of the Julian period, when the reformed calendar of Cæsar, and the accurate calculation of the solar year, began to operate. And having thus adjusted the list of consuls with the Julian period, the olympiads, the years of Rome according to Varro, the years of the reformed calendar of Julius Cæsar, and the Augustan years—as they are called by Censorinus,—we are prepared, and now only prepared, to examine with accuracy the ancient historians of the empire. For their dates are constantly reckoned by the olympiads, the consuls, or the years of Rome. With regard to the latter, we can never be certain, unless we know whether the historian adopts or not the computation of Varro. But with regard to the olympiads and the list of consuls, there cannot now be any mistake, unless the historian himself has committed an error. This may be the case sometimes, especially where the testimony is not contemporaneous. But in general the Greek historians are very accurate when they name the olympiads, and the Roman equally so when they name the consuls. Some of the Greek writers, Dion Cassius, for example, and Josephus, are remarkably accurate with regard to both. But of the first thirty-six books of Dion's history we have unhappily but small portions remaining. The work is perfect, however, with few interruptions, from the consulship of Cicero to the beginning of the consulship of Antistius Vetus and Lælius Balbus, or from A.J.P. 4650 to A.J.P. 4707, a period of fifty-seven pairs of consuls, or fifty-seven years. For the next ten years, the history has come down to us much mutilated; and the remainder, to the reign of Claudius, has been abridged by some unskilful hand. From that time, with the exception of a few fragments, the history is lost; and we are indebted for all we know of it to the more concise but better executed compendium of Xiphilinus.

With these prefatory remarks, we proceed to the history of the Roman empire; and our object will be to connect the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius with the dates now established. The discussion of dates is of necessity dry and tedious; and to relieve the reader, as well as the writer, more perhaps of the history of the times will be introduced than logical precision may require. But what is lost in that respect will be more than counterbalanced by the conviction arising from the general harmony of the narrative.

The first period will extend from the rise of Augustus to the battle of Actium, when he became sole master of the Roman empire; or from the eighteenth year of his age, A.J.P. 4668, to his thirty-second year, or A.J.P. 4682.

Suetonius states that Augustus, or, as he was then called, Octavius, was prevented from accompanying Julius Cæsar to Spain against the sons of Pompey, by severe illness; but that he followed him thither.[1] How soon after his uncle's departure he followed, is uncertain; but Dio expressly asserts that he was present during that period of the war which comprised the capture of Attegua and the decisive battle of Munda.[1] At this time, according to Velleius Paterculus, he was seventeen years old.[2]

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[1] Suet. lib. ii. c. 8.

In attempting to show that the war of Cæsar in Spain occurred during the year of confusion, it was stated that Cæsar must have arrived in Bœtica towards the close of January of that year; which, according to the correct computation of time, would have been early in November in the year of the Julian period 4667. Attegua was taken on the 11th before the calends of March, the seventy-first day of the year of confusion, and the nineteenth of the intercalary month Merkedonius, corresponding with the 22nd day of December A. J. P. 4667, as will appear by consulting the table of that year. The battle of Munda was fought, according to Plutarch, on the sixteenth before the calends of April, the ninety-seventh day of the year of confusion, or the 17th of January A.J.P. 4668. If then Augustus was born on the 23rd of September in the consulship of Cicero and Antonius, he must have completed his seventeenth year on the 23rd of September in the consulship of Julius Cæsar III and M. Æmilius Lepidus, in the year of the city, according to the Capitoline tables, 707, being after the Parilia, and in the year of the Julian period 4667.

Cæsar returned to Rome, according to Velleius Paterculus, in the month of October.[3] On consulting the table, it will be seen that October began on the 290th day of the year of confusion, and consequently 156 days before its termination. To these if we add the months of January, February and March, to the ides, in the first year of the reformed calendar, it will make the whole period from his return to his assassination about six or seven months and a half, or from about August A.J.P. 4668, to March 15th, A.J.P. 4669; and the ides of March being a little more than a month before the Parilia, it was during the 708th year of the city. Cæsar was now making preparations for the Parthian expedition; and among the appointments for three years made in view of his absence, the young Octavius was named master of the horse. On account of his youth, however, he was sent to Apollonia, on the

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[1] Dion H. R. lib. xliii. c. 41, comp. with cc. 38, 39, 40.

[2] Quem C. Cæsar, major ejus avunculus, educatum apud Philippum vitricum dilexit ut suum, natumque anuos xvii. Hispaniensis militiæ, adsecutum se, postea comitem habuit, &c. Vel. Pat. Hist. Rom. l. ii. c. 59.

[4] Quippe cum mense Octobri in urbem revertisset, &c. Vel. Pat. Hist. Rom. ii. 56.

Ionian sea, to pursue his studies, and practise, says Appian, the military art in company with a wing of the Macedonian horse.[1] He had been at Apollonia, according to the same author, about six months, when he heard of Cæsar's death. His friends in Rome differed in opinion as to the course he ought to take; some advising him to take refuge with the army in Macedonia, and, as soon as he should find that the conspiracy was not general, to avenge his uncle's death; and others, on the contrary, recommending his immediate return to Rome as a private citizen. He took the latter course, and landed at a little place called Lupia, not far from Brundusium, and out of the direct road. But finding the sympathies of the people to be in his favour, and the army at Brundusium ready to receive him as Cæsar's son, he took courage, assumed the name of Cæsar, and advanced towards Rome with a constantly increasing retinue.[2] The date of this progress is ascertained from Cicero's letters to Atticus.[3] Octavianus Cæsar, as he now called himself, came to Naples the 18th of April (14 cal. Maj) and the next day visited Cicero at his Cumæan villa. This fixes the date of his arrival at Rome not far from the 1st of May, when he was about eighteen years and seven months old. Consequently he was nineteen years old complete on the 23rd day of the following September, A.J.P. 4669.

On the 1st of January of the second year of Cæsar's reformed calendar, corresponding with the 1st of January of the year 4670 of the Julian period, the new consuls Hirtius and Pansa entered upon their office. Through Cicero's influence, the young Cæsar was appointed to co-operate with them in the war against Antony. A letter of Galba to Cicero fixes the date of the battle of Mutina, in which both consuls fell. It was fought on the seventeenth before the calends of May, or April 15th;[4] and it thus left Cæsar the sole commander, at the age of nineteen years, six months, and twenty-three days. His ambition was now to be appointed consul; and in opposition to the will of the senate, and in violation of all the forms of law, he accomplished his purpose by the power of his army, and the favour of the people. Velleius Paterculus says that he entered on his consulship on the 22nd day of September, just as had completed his twentieth year.[1] But Velleius is certainly mistaken as to the month, though not as to the year; for Macrobius has preserved a decree of the senate, which expressly states that he entered on his first consulship in the month Sextilis;[2] and the accurate Dio states that he became consul for the first time on the same day on which he died,—that is, on the nineteenth day of August.[3]

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[1] App. de Bel. Civil. lib. iii. c. 7.

[2] Ibid. ut sup. lib. iii. c. 9-12.

[3] Lib. xiv. ep. 10, comp. with Epistles 5th and 7th.

[4] Cic. ad Fam. lib. x. ep. 30.

In the meantime the junction took place between Antony and Lepidus, as we learn by a letter from Plancus to Cicero, on the 29th of May.[4] The news of this junction so exasperated the senate, that on the last day of June they unanimously declared Lepidus an enemy of his country.[5] Previous to this event, Cæsar, by the advice of the dying Pansa, had effected a reconciliation with Antony, but had conducted his designs so artfully, that the senate, ignorant of this fact, gave him the command of the army which was to march against Antony and Lepidus. Thus was the way prepared for the formation of the Triumvirate. That event took place on a little island in the river Reno, between Bologna and Modena. Appian, who gives a minute account of the transaction, states that Cæsar was seated between Antony and Lepidus on account of his official dignity, and one of the articles of their covenant required, that Cæsar should, for the remainder of the year, resign the consulship to Ventidius. The government of the triumvirs was to be established for five years, *to relieve the Republic from its civil dissensions!*[6] The inscription found on the Palatine, in the Colocci gardens, now known by the name of Mills, fixes the date of this event:

....EMILIVS M. ANTONIVS IMP. CAESAR IIIVIR. R.P.C.
EX A.D.V.K. DEC. AD PR. K. IAN. SEX.

That is, that by consent of the Roman people the triumvirs were to continue in office from the 27th of November (the fifth before the calends of December) to the day before the calends of the sixth year,—or, in other words, for five complete years from the last day of the following December.

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[1] Consulatum iniit Cæsar pridie quam viginti annos impleret x kal. Octobres cum collega Q. Pedio. Lib. ii. 65.

[2] Cum Imperator Cæsar Augustus mense Sextili et primum consulatum inierit, &c. Saturnal. lib. i. c. 12.

[3] Dion Cass. H. R. lib. lvi. 30.

[4] Lepidus—se cum Antonio conjunxit a.d. iiii. kal. Junias. Ep. ad Fam. lib. x. Ep. 23.

[5] Lepidus—pridie kal. Quintiles, sententiis omnibus, hostis a senatu judicatus est. M. T. Cic. C. Cassio. Epist. ad Fam. lib. xii. ep. 10.

[6] Appian de Bel. Civil. lib. iv. c. 2.

The Capitoline tables record two triumphs as belonging to the same year, which, according to their computation, was the year of Rome 710:

L. MVNATIVS. L.F.L.N. PLANCVS PRO COS. EX GALLIA AN DCCX. IIII K. IAN.
M. AIMILIVS M.F.Q.N. LEPIDVS II. III VIR. R.P.C. PRO COS. EX HISPANIA PRIDIE K. IAN.

Plancus and Lepidus were designated consuls for the ensuing year; and, for some trifling successes, both chose to triumph in the midst of proscription and slaughter, and attended by the jeers and stifled execrations of all Rome.[1] Appian has preserved the form of the edict by which Lepidus, with the consent of his colleagues in the triumvirate, decreed his own triumph. "May fortune be propitious! Be it proclaimed to all men and women, to sacrifice and banquet on the present day. Whosoever shall not be seen doing these things, shall be among the proscribed." The historian adds that Lepidus conducted the triumphal pomp to the temples, attended by all, with the form of gaiety, but the inward feeling of malevolence.[2]

Plancus triumphed on the 29th, and Lepidus on the 31st of December, in the year of Rome 710, the second year of Cæsar's reformed calendar, and the 4670th year of the Julian period. The next day commenced the first of the five years of the Triumvirate. It ended, therefore, by its own limitation, on the 31st of December of the seventh year of Cæsar's reformed calendar,—that is, A.U.C. 715, and A.J.P. 4675, at the close of the consulship of Appius Claudius Pulcher and Caius Norbanus Flaccus.

The next year, known in the Roman Fasti as the consulship of Marcus Agrippa and Lucius Gallus, and, according to the Capitoline tables, the 715th until the Parilia, and, after the Parilia, the 716th year of Rome, Antony and Cæsar, accompanied by Octavia, met at Tarentum, the modern Taranto. This meeting, as Appian states, took place early in the spring; and as the time of the triumvirate was expired, they decreed the continuance of their own power for another five years, without asking the consent of the people.[1] Dio's account, though less circumstantial, agrees with that of Appian: "They continued their government for another five years, the first having expired."[2] Hence in the remaining fragment of the Capitoline tables, the names of the triumvirs are inserted a second time, immediately before the names of the consuls for that year. Thus:

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[1] Vel. Paterc. lib. ii. c. 67.

[2] App. de Bel. Civil. lib. iv. c. 31.

M. AIMILIVS M.F.Q.N........
M. ANTONIVS M.F............
IMP. CÆSAR DIVI...........
M. AGRIPPA L.F.............

The great contest which ended in the total defeat of Sextus Pompeius, the destruction of his fleet, and the subjugation of Sicily to the power of Cæsar, began, according to Dio, early in the spring of the next year, when Lucius Gellius Poplicola and Marcus Cocceius Nerva were consuls.[3] Appian, with greater precision, and probably with more accuracy, states that Cæsar and Lepidus, with their respective squadrons, and Taurus with the ships furnished by Antony, set sail for Sicily, by previous concert, on the first day of July. The conduct of Lepidus, who chose a most inauspicious moment to betray his jealousy of his powerful colleague, caused his soldiers to desert him, and led to his abdication of the triumvirate. On the return of Cæsar to Rome, of the many honours offered by the Senate he accepted only an ovation, which is thus inscribed in the Capitoline tables:

IMP. CAESAR DIVI. F. C.N. $\overline{\text{II}}$. IIIVIR. R.P.C. II. OVANS. EX SICILIA. A.
[DCCXVII. IDIB. NOVEMB.

The ides of November are the thirteenth of that month, and it was after the Parilia, in the year of Rome 717. Appian says that Cæsar was then in the twenty-eighth year of his age, and that cities had enrolled him among their gods.[4] He had completed his twenty-seventh year on the 23rd of the preceding September.

Suetonius remarks that nine years intervened between the first consulship of Cæsar and the second, and one year between the second and third.[5] The first being in the year of Rome 710 and the year 4670 of the Julian period; the second, with Lucius Volcatius

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[1] Appian lib. v. c. 93-95, ed. Schweigh. tom. ii. pp. 832-837.

[2] Dion lib. xlviii. at the end. Ed. Reimar, tom. i. p. 568.

[3] Dio, lib. xlviii. end, comp. with xlix. 1.

[4] Καὶ ἦν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐτῶν ἐς τότε ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι· καὶ αὐτὸν αἱ πόλεις τοῖς σφετέροις θεοῖς συνίδρυον. App. de Bel. civ. lib. v. c. 132.

[5] Secundum consulatum post ix. annos tertium, anno interjecto, gessit. Suet. lib ii. c. 26.

Tullus, commenced Jan. 1, 4680, the year of Rome 719, and after the Parilia 720. The third commenced Jan. 1, 4682, of Rome 721 until the Parilia, and after the Parilia 722. The intervening consuls were Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus and Caius Sossius, both, as Dio tells us, partisans of Antony; and on the very first day of their entrance upon their office, Sossius, being a rash and inexperienced man, spoke in praise of Antony and disparagement of Cæsar, and proposed a decree against the latter, which would have been carried, but for the opposition of Nonius Balbus the tribune. This evidently shows how strong the party of Antony was in the senate. Cæsar, under some pretext, but in reality for the purpose of gaining time, had left the city. On his return he assembled the senate, surrounding it with guards, and his friends having daggers concealed under their robes. He seated himself on his curule chair between the consuls, and with great moderation began his defence, accusing much both Sossius and Antony. Not one in the senate dared to utter a word in reply. He therefore appointed another day when he would bring before them written proofs against Antony. The consuls, not daring to speak, and not enduring to be silent, fled on the same day, and were followed by not a few of the senate.[1] Thus began the contest which was terminated the following year by the victory of Actium. It was on the occasion of this victory, as we shall hereafter see, that by a decree of the senate the temple of Janus was shut the first time by Cæsar, in token of universal peace.

During the short reconciliation with Sextus Pompeius, which took place in the year 4674 of the Julian period (A.U.C. 713-714), Cæsar, and Antony in conjunction with him, had appointed consuls for eight successive years, commencing with Appius Claudius Pulcher and Caius Norbanus Flaccus, A.J.P. 4675. Of this series Domitius and Sossius, and Cæsar and Antony, formed the two last, as follows:

4675	Appius Claudius Pulcher and C. Norbanus Flaccus
4676	M. Vipsanius Agrippa and L. Caninius Gallus.
4677	L. Gellius Poplicola and M. Coccejus Nerva.
4678	L. Cornificius and Sextus Pompeius.
4679	L. Scribonius Libo and M. Antonius ii.
4680	Cæsar ii. and L. Volcatius Tullus.
4681	Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus and C. Sossius.
4682	Cæsar iii. and M. Antonius, for whom was substituted M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus.

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[1] Dion H. R. lib. l, c. 2.

Cæsar therefore entered upon his third consulship on the 1st of January in the year of the Julian period 4682; but Antony being now adjudged an enemy to his country, Valerius Messalla, a man whom both triumvirs had formerly proscribed, became consul in his stead. All authors agree that the battle of Actium was fought in the consulship of Cæsar and Messalla Corvinus;[1] and Dio, who states that the day of this eventful action was the 2nd of September, observes that he was so particular in mentioning the very day, because the whole sovereignty was then for the first time in Cæsar's hands, and the years of his monarchy were counted from it.[2]

Thus have we, by this harmonized view of the Greek and Latin historians of Rome, ascertained the exact date of the battle of Actium; from which time Augustus, when he had nearly completed his thirty-second year, was, by the unerring providence of God, sole emperor and arbiter of the destinies of the world! The date of this great event was September 2, A.J.P. 4682, A.U.C. 722, the first year of the 187th olympiad, and the 14th of the reformed calendar of Julius Cæsar.

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[1] Vel. Pat. lib. ii. c. 84.

[2] Dion H. R. lib. li. c. i.

CHAPTER VIII.

HISTORY CONTINUED, FROM THE BATTLE OF ACTIUM TO THE THIRD DECREE OF THE SENATE FOR SHUTTING THE TEMPLE OF JANUS.

Reason why this period is taken.—Proceedings of Cæsar till the commencement of his fifth consulship, Jan. 1, A.J.P. 4684.—First decree of the senate to shut the gates of the temple of Janus passed that day.—Title of emperor given him that year.—Occasion of his receiving the title of Augustus in his seventh consulship, Jan. 17, A.J.P. 4686.—The peace of the empire undisturbed until A.J.P. 4688.—Revolt in Gallia Cisalpina, and Spain. When it was quelled, Augustus shut the temple of Janus the second time.—The testimony of Orosius considered. Correct as to his facts, but not as to his dates.—The temple probably shut the second time early in the eleventh consulship of Augustus, A.J.P. 4690.—Inscription at Merida.—Augustus appointed proconsul and tribune of the people for life.—Secular games, A.J.P. 4696, and Horace's ode on the occasion, proofs of continued repose.—New commotions in A.J.P. 4697.—Death of Agrippa, and adoption of Tiberius, A.J.P. 4701.—Barbarous nations subjugated towards the close of A.J.P. 4702.—Third decree of the senate to shut the temple of Janus, passed probably in Jan. A.J.P. 4703. Prevented from taking effect by a new insurrection. Probable reasons for believing that it was to have been carried into effect on the 30th of March following. The decree, therefore, may have been suspended in February A.J.P. 4703, in the 21st year after the battle of Actium.

We are next to consider, and adjust to the modern computation of time, that portion of the reign of Augustus, which extended from the battle of Actium to the year in which it was decreed by the senate that the temple of Janus should be shut by him the third time. This period is taken, because we can ascertain, with some degree of precision, the dates of the first and second times in which Augustus shut the temple of Janus, and also the date of the decree for shutting it the third time; but a very great difficulty arises, as to the precise time when that decree was carried into effect. On the decision of that question, indeed, as we shall hereafter more distinctly see, depends one of the most essential points in our present inquiry.

After the battle of Actium, Cæsar went first into Macedonia, and, during the remainder of his third consulship, was occupied chiefly in settling the affairs of Greece, and securing his position, with regard to the Asiatic auxiliaries. From Greece he went into Asia, intending, as we learn from Suetonius, to take up his winter quarters in Samos; but, being disturbed by information that the soldiers he had sent back to Brundusium were in a state of mutiny, he suddenly and secretly departed for Italy. While in Asia, he had entered on his fourth consulship, with Marcus Licinius Crassus for his colleague, the 1st of January, A. 4683 of the Julian period.

We have already had occasion to observe, when considering the Egyptian computation of the years of Augustus, that Cæsar returned to Italy "in the middle of that winter," to use the language of Dio. It will be seen, by consulting the calendar, that mid-winter was the fourth before the ides, or the 10th of January.[1] The arrival of Cæsar at Brundusium may, therefore, be placed about the middle of that month. As he staid only thirty days, according to Dio, or twenty-seven, according to Suetonius,[2] he must have returned to Greece not far from the middle of February. Causing his vessels to be transported across the isthmus of Corinth, in order to gain time, he passed rapidly into Asia, and thence, through Syria, into Egypt. Alexandria was taken on the 27th of March.[3] After remaining some months in Egypt, he returned, through Syria, into Asia, and, according to his intention the preceding year, established his winter-quarters at Samos.

In the mean time, many decrees in honour of him were made at Rome. A triumph over Cleopatra was granted, and two triumphal arches ordered to be built, one at Brundusium, the other in the Roman forum. Both his birth-day, and the day on which the news of the victory was received at Rome, were to be religiously observed; and that in which Alexandria was taken, was marked in the calendar as fortunate. On the other hand, all the honours which had been paid to Antony were rescinded, the day of his birth denounced as polluted, and no one of his family allowed thereafter to take the prænomen of Marcus.

From an inscription published by Sigonius, it appears that three consuls were substituted, in the course of this year, for Licinius

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[1] Chap. iii. Roman year, p. 87.

[2] Octavianus, c. 17.

[3] See Calendar p. 83.

Crassus, or for the emperor himself, viz.: the 1st of July, the 13th of September, and the 1st of November.

IMP. CÆSAR $\overline{\text{IIII}}$. M. LICINIUS
K. JUL. C. ANTISTIUS
ID. SEPT. M. TULLIUS
K. NOV. L. SÆNIUS.

Marcus Tullius, who became consul on the ides of September, was the son of the great orator Cicero, whom Antony caused to be proscribed and murdered; and Dio says it was remarked, as an instance of Divine retribution, that the news of the death of Antony was received at Rome in that part of the year in which the son of Cicero was consul.[1] It is evident, therefore, that the news of Antony's death arrived at Rome between the middle of September and the last of October, in the year 4683 of the Julian period.

Eight consulships, from the fourth to the eleventh, were held by Cæsar in successive years. He entered on the fifth (A.J.P. 4684), in the island of Samos.[2] His colleague was Sextus Appuleius, to whom Orosius alone gives the prænomen Lucius. On the 1st day of January, while he was at Samos, the senate passed many decrees in his honour; but of all these decrees, says Dio, *that by which the gates of the temple of Janus were ordered to be shut* gave him the most pleasure, as implying that, by his victories, all wars for them were at an end.[3] This was the third time only of those gates being shut since the existence of the Roman people; "a huge argument," as Velleius Paterculus observes, "of their warlike character."[4]

In the same year (A.J.P. 4684, A.U.C. 723-4) he received the name of emperor (Imperator, Αὐτοκράτωρ), not in the sense in which it was anciently given, after victories achieved, for in that sense he received it, before and after, twenty-one times, but in that other sense, in which it had been decreed to Julius Cæsar, as denoting supreme power.[5]

In his seventh consulship (A.J.P. 4686, A.U.C. 725-6), he proposed to the senate to lay down his imperial dignity, and restore the republic. From various motives, which are well detailed by Dio, the senate unanimously entreated him to retain his authority; and their request was confirmed by the people. On this occasion, he made his adroit division of the provinces, by which a portion of authority was seemingly given to the senate, but by which, in reality, all power was kept within his own hands.[1]

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[1] Dion Cass. H. R. lib. li. 1-19. pp. 442-457. Ed. Reimar, tom. i. p. 631-650.

[2] Sueton. Octavianus, c. 26.

[3] Dion. H. R. lib. li. c. 20, p. 457.

[4] Immane bellicæ civitatis argumentum, quod semel sub regibus, iterum hoc T. Manlio consule, tertio Augusto principe (certæ pacis argumentum), Janus Geminus clausus dedit. Vel. Paterc. H. R. lib. ii. c. 38. See also Livy, i. c. 19.

[5] Dion, H. R. lib. lii. c. 41, p. 493-4.

According to the accurate Censorinus, on the 17th of January, when Cæsar was consul the seventh, and Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa the third time, he received the title of Augustus, proposed by L. Munacius Plancus, and decreed by the senate and Roman people.[2]

It is evident, from Dio's account, that this name was given at the time of his offering to resign the imperial dignity. He says that Cæsar himself greatly desired to be called Romulus; but, perceiving that he was, on that account, suspected of a design to restore the monarchy, he aspired to it no longer. The Romans hated the name of monarchy so much, that they would not suffer their emperors to be called either dictators or kings. But, in reality, the whole power of the senate and people was transferred to Augustus, and, from that time forth, a perfect monarchy was established.[3]

The peace of the Roman empire appears to have remained undisturbed until the year 4688 of the Julian period, the ninth consulship of Augustus with Marcus Silanus (A.U.C. 727-8), when the revolt took place of the Salassi, the Astures, and the Cantabri. The Salassi inhabited the deep valley covered by the Alpis Pennina and the Alpis Graia, or the Great and Little St. Bernard; the Cantabri and the Astures occupied the modern Biscay and Asturias. Terentius Varro was sent against the Salassi, and Augustus himself marched into Spain. More than 36,000 of the Salassi were publicly sold as slaves, and their lands given to a new colony, called Augusta Prætorianorum, the modern Aosta.[4] The Cantabri and Astures made a more vigorous resistance, and were conquered with great difficulty. Augustus himself fell sick from care and fatigue, and the war was brought to successful issue by Caius

[1] Dion. H. R. lib. liii. c. 11-15, p. 503-6.

[2] Ex ante diem decimum sextum kal. Februarii, sententia L. Munacii Planci, a senatu cæterisque civibus Augustus appellatus est, sese septimum, et M. Vipsanio Agrippa tertium consulibus. Cens. de Die Natali, c. 22.

[3] Dion. ut sup. liii. c. 16-17.

[4] Strabo, lib. iv. p. 206.

Antistius. The veterans were rewarded by the foundation of a new colony, called Emerita Augusta, which still preserves its name, with little alteration, in that of Merida. About the same time, Marcus Vinicius obtained a victory in Germany, for which the senate decreed him the honours of a triumph; and Augustus again shut the gates of the temple of Janus, which had, on account of these wars, been reopened.[1]

As Orosius has made some mistakes in his account of the first and second time in which Augustus closed the temple of Janus, as well as in that of his closing it the third time, which will be considered in its proper place, and, as these mistakes have injured the credit of his testimony more than they ought, it may be as well to point them out here. He is, in general, correct as to his *facts*, but not as to his *dates*. For example, in speaking of the events after the battle of Actium, he says that, "in the year of Rome 726, when Cæsar Augustus and Lucius Appuleius were consuls, Cæsar, returning victorious from the east, entered the city in threefold triumph, on the 6th of January; and then first he shut the gates of the temple of Janus, all the civil wars being quelled and finished. On that same day he was first saluted by the name of Augustus."[2] And again: "In the year 726 from the building of the city, the emperor Augustus Cæsar being consul the sixth, and Marcus Agrippa the second time, Cæsar, perceiving that little had been done in Spain for the last two hundred years, if he should permit the Cantabri and Astures, two powerful nations of Spain, to use their own laws, opened the gates of the temple of Janus, and marched in person with his army into Spain." . . . . . "From the conquest of the Cantabri, Cæsar obtained this honour, that then also he ordered the gates of war to be barred. Thus the temple of Janus was now shut for the second time by Cæsar, and the fourth since the foundation of Rome."[3]

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[1] Dion. H. R. lib. liii. c. 25-26, p. 513-515, Vel. Paterc. lib. ii. 104.

[2] Anno ab urbe DCCXXVI. ipso imperante Cæsare Augusto et Lucio Appuleio consulibus, Cæsar victor ab oriente rediens octavo idus Januarii urbem triplici triumpho ingressus est: ac tum primum ipse Jani portas, sopitis omnibus finitisque bellis civilibus clausit. Hoc die primum Augustus consalutatus est.

[3] Anno ab urbe condita DCCXXVI, imperatore Augusto Cæsare sexies, et bis Marco Agrippa consulibus, Cæsar, parum in Hispania per ducentum annos actum intelligens, si Cantabros atque Astures duas fortissimas gentes Hispaniæ suis uti legibus sineret, aperuit Jani portas, atque in Hispanias ipse cum exercitu profectus est.....Cantabricæ victoriæ hunc honorem detulit Cæsar: ut tunc quoque belli portas claustro cohiberi juberet. Ita nunc, secundo per Cæsarem, quarto post urbem conditam, clausus est Janus. Orosius, Hist. lib. vi.

Though the facts here stated are, in the main, true, they are, as to dates, jumbled confusedly together. The senate passed the first decree to shut the temple of Janus, on the 1st of January, in the fifth year of Cæsar's consulship with Sextus (not Lucius) Appuleius. But Cæsar was then at Samos, and it was impossible for him to have entered Rome in threefold triumph on the 6th of January! He was saluted Augustus on the 17th of January, two years after; and he marched into Spain two years later still.

But to resume the narrative. Although Dio speaks of the temple of Janus being shut the second time, while relating the occurrences of the ninth consulship of Augustus, it is probable that it did not take place till his eleventh consulship, or A.J.P. 4690; for the emperor was detained by his illness, so that he had not yet arrived in Rome when his tenth consulship commenced (A.U.C. 728-9, A.J.P. 4689), on the calends of January, though notice had been given of his approach. The Cantabri and Astures again revolted, as soon as he left Spain, and were again subdued, though not without great difficulty, by the cruel measures of Lucius Æmilius.[1] That the temple of Janus was shut in the eleventh consulship of Augustus, appears from an inscription, discovered at Merida, which bears the date of that year:

IMP. CÆS. DIVI
F. AVGVSTVS. PONT...X. MAX.
COS. XI.
TRIBVNIC. POT. X. IMP. VIIII.
ORBE . MARI ET . TERRA
PACATO . TEMPLO IANI CLVSO.[2]

How long it continued shut we are not informed; but in the very next year, in the consulship of M. Claudius Marcellus Æserninus and Lucius Arruntius, the Cantabri and Astures again revolted, and the former were either taken prisoners and sold, or perished rather than submit.[1]

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[1] Dio, ut sup. c. 28-9, p. 516.

[2] I am indebted for this inscription to a note in the Delphine edition of Horace. Carm. lib. iv. o. 15. But if it be there correctly given, and I understand it, the dates do not accord. Augustus was created Pontifex Maximus on the death of Lepidus, A.U.C. 739-40, A.J.P. 4700. He was consul the eleventh time, A.U.C. 729-30, A.J.P. 4690. His tribunicial authority began to be reckoned, according te the Capitoline Tables, the next year, A.J.P. 4691, and consequently the tenth year of that power would be A.J.P. 4700. The title of emperor was given A.U.C. 723-24, and the ninth year of that name would be A.U.C. 731-32, A.J.P. 4692. Possibly Imp. ix. may be dated from the battle of Actium, A.J.P. 4682. In the ode to which the note is appended, Horace connects the restoration of the standards taken at the defeat of Crassus by the Parthians with the shutting of the temple of Janus:

"Et signa nostro restituit Jovi
  Derepta Parthorum superbis
    Postibus, et vacuum duellis
  Janum Quirini clausit."——

But Phraates restored these standards to Augustus, A.U.C. 732-33, A.J.P. 4693.

The severe illness by which Augustus was attacked in Spain, appears to have greatly injured his constitution;[2] for, in his eleventh consulship (A.U.C. 729-30, A.J.P. 4690), he was again reduced so low, that no hopes were entertained of his recovery. He had made his will, and had named in it no successor, though Marcellus was then living. His recovery was attributed to the care and skill of Antonius Musa; and, as soon as he was restored to health, he abdicated the consulship, substituting for himself Lucius Sestius, who had been the steady friend of Brutus. These evidences of moderated ambition, and subdued resentment, gave such general satisfaction, that the senate appointed him perpetual proconsul of the Roman empire, empowered him to assemble their order whenever he pleased, and made him tribune of the people for life, with all the immunities and privileges of that dignity. As this office was originally created to shelter the people from the power of the patricians, it was peculiarly acceptable to Augustus; and, although neither he nor any other emperor actually bore the name of tribune, yet they were careful to insert in the public records, among their other titles, the possession of tribunicial authority.[3]

In the consulship of C. Sentius Saturninus and Q. Lucretius Vespillo (A.U.C. 733-4, A.J.P. 4694), on account of the disturbances attending the consular election, the senate appointed Augustus consul for life, and decreed that he should always, and everywhere, be attended by twelve lictors, and should sit on a curule chair, between all the future consuls.[4]

We are still without any testimony as to the re-opening of the temple of Janus; but, during that same year, such of the Cantabri as had been taken and sold, murdered their masters, and recovered their former possessions. The military skill they had acquired, during their servitude under Roman masters, and their despair of pardon if captured, rendered them a dangerous enemy. Agrippa was therefore sent against them, by whom they were, with great loss, both of life and reputation, to the army, finally subdued, and almost exterminated. Many of the Roman soldiers were disgraced, and the whole Augustan legion, as a mark of ignominy, were forbidden to retain that name.[1]

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[1] Dion. H. R. lib. liv. c. 5, p. 523-4.

[2] Suet. lib. ii. c. 81.

[3] Dion. H. R. lib. liii. c. 32, p. 519.

[4] Dion. H. R. lib. liv. c. 10, p. 528

Possibly, the revolt of a few slaves, in a distant province, may not have been considered of sufficient importance to disturb the general tranquillity. Dio states, that Agrippa did not write letters to the senate concerning his successes, nor did he accept the triumph with which Augustus wished to honour him. That the next year, when the two Lentuli were consuls (A.U.C. 734-5, A.J.P. 4695), was a year of peace, may be inferred from the continual presence of Augustus and Agrippa at Rome; the latter employed in embellishing the city, and promoting the comfort of its inhabitants; the former, engaged in reforming abuses, and establishing wholesome laws.

The following year, when Caius Furnius and Caius Silanus were consuls (A.U.C. 735-6, A.J.P. 4696), the secular games were celebrated for the fifth time.[2] Why celebrated then, we can only conjecture. Augustus loved shows of this kind; and the confusion of the civil wars, ever since the time of Julius Cæsar, had probably caused them to be neglected. The "Carmen Sæculare" of Horace, was written for the occasion; and the language of the poet leads us to infer that the empire was in repose:

"Jam Fides, et Pax, et Honos, Pudorque
Priscus, et neglecta redire Virtus
Audet; apparetque beata pleno
Copia cornu."—Carm. Sæc. v. 121-4.

"Faith, Honour, Peace, celestial maid,
And Modesty in ancient guise array'd,
And Virtue (with unhallow'd scorn
Too long neglected) now appear,
While Plenty fills her bounteous horn,
And pours her blessings o'er the various year."—FRANCIS.

The second period, therefore, in the reign of Augustus during which the temple of Janus was shut, extended probably from his tenth or eleventh consulship to that of Furnius and Silanus,—from the 729th or 730th to the 736th year of Rome, or from the year of the Julian period 4689 or 4690 to 4696 inclusive, a period of seven or eight years.

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[1] Dion. ut sup. c. 11.

[2] Dion. H. R. lib. liv. c. 18, p. 533, c.

In the next year, when Domitius Ahenobarbus and Cornelius Scipio were consuls (A.U.C. 736-7, A.J.P. 4697), new commotions arose, which continued with more or less violence for ten years. Agrippa was sent into Syria; and Augustus, confiding the government of the city, with all Italy, to Statilius Taurus, departed hastily into Gaul. Dion assigns other motives for his going, but says that he went ostensibly on account of the wars which at that time were set in motion.[1] The Vennones above the Lago di Como, and the Cammuni near the sources of the Ollius or Oglio, took up arms. The inhabitants of Noricum and Pannonia made an incursion into Istria. Tumults were excited in Dalmatia and Iberia. The Dentheletæ and the Scordisci ravaged Macedonia. The Sauromatæ advanced beyond the Danube. The Sicambri, Usipetæ Teuchteri, and other German tribes, crossed the Rhine, and were so formidable that Augustus went in person to the war. Tiberius and Drusus were actively engaged in repelling the inhabitants of Rhœtia and the other Alpine tribes.[2]

The commotions in Gaul, Germany, and Spain, being allayed, Augustus left Drusus in Germany and returned to Rome, in the consulship of Tiberius and Quintilius Varus (A.U.C. 739-40, A.J.P. 4700). Dion says, that on the news of his approach, the senate erected an altar in the very senate-house, to show by their supplications, that while Augustus was within the Pomœrium they were without fear. The historian adds, that he would not accept of this idolatry to his own person; and he entered the city by night, to avoid being received by a public procession of the citizens.[3]

This year, occurred the death of Lepidus the former triumvir. He had been Pontifex Maximus, a dignity which was held for life; and that office was now conferred by the senate upon Augustus.[4] The date of this appointment is given in the ancient calendar of Verrius Flaccus, discovered in 1770 at Palestrina, the ancient Præneste. In the table for March, is the following inscription:

IMP. C. A PR. NP P. IMP. CAESAR. AVGVST. PONT.

which means that Augustus was created Pontifex on the day before the nones, or the sixth of that month. As this was forty-seven days before the Parilia, it was towards the close of the 739th year of Rome.*

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[1] Dion. liv. 19.

[2] Dion. H.R. lib. liv. c. 22, p. 536, C.D.E.

[3] Dion ut sup. c. 25.

[4] Dion. H.R. ut sup. c. 27; Suet. l. ii. c. 31.

In the following year, M. Valerius Messalla and P. Sulpicius Quirinus being consuls (A.U.C. 740-1, A.J.P. 4701), Agrippa died. He had for five years shared with Augustus the tribunicial authority, and was now appointed the second time for the same period. He was then sent into Pannonia, "with greater powers," says Dio, "than any other commander had ever possessed out of Italy." On his return, he died in Campania, so suddenly, that Augustus, who hastened from the city on the news of his illness, did not find him living. The Pannonians, who had been frightened into submission by his presence, revolted again as soon as they heard of his death; and Augustus, compelled by this event to adopt Tiberius, sent him against them. Drusus also was engaged in continual wars with the Cherusci, the Suevi, and the Sicambri. Other incursions took place of the barbarous nations in the Thracian Chersonesus and Macedonia, against whom Lucius Piso, who commanded in Pamphylia, carried on the war, and after some reverses of fortune, succeeded in subduing them, and received the honours of a triumph. These events principally took place when Quintus Ælius Tubero and Paulus Fabius Maximus were consuls (A.U.C. 741-2, A.J.P. 4702). The senate, deceived by the apparent calm, now "decreed that the temple of Janus, which had been opened, should be shut, as if these wars had ceased." "Nevertheless," says Dio, "it was not shut; for the Dacians having passed the Ister (or Danube) on the ice, had ravaged Pannonia, and the Dalmatians, on account of the exactions on their property, had revolted."[1]

From this account, two inferences may fairly be drawn; first, that the news of the Dacians having crossed the Ister must have arrived after the senate had passed the decree, and before the day appointed for the solemnity, or it would have been carried into effect; and, secondly, that as the Dacians crossed in the winter season, it must have been that winter in which the consulship of Tubero and Paulus Fabius ended, and the succeeding consulship of Julus Antonius and Quintus Fabius began; that is, in December of the year 4702 of the Julian period, or January or February of the year 4703. The emperor was in Rome, and in good health; and however solemn may have been the ceremonies which attended the closing of the temple of Janus, there could have been no cause for much delay after the passing of the decree. Let us, then, consider in what month the ceremony of shutting the temple of Janus would be most likely to take place.

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* Ovid alludes to this appointment of Augustus in the third Book of his Fasti v. 415, and assigns to it the same date:

Sextus ubi Oceano clivosum scandit olympum
Phœbus, et alatis æthera carpit equis;
Quisquis ades, canæque colis penetralia Vestæ;
Cratera Iliacis turaque pone focis.
Cæsaris innumeris, quem maluit ille mereri,
Accessit titulis Pontificalis honos.

[1] Dion. H.R. lib. liv. c. 28-36, p. 541, c. to p. 546 D.

From all that we know of the sacred rites of the Romans, it would seem most probable that some day sacred to Janus would be chosen. On consulting the calendar, we find five days in the year in which he was honoured:

F Kal. Januar. Sacred to *Janus*, Juno, Jupiter, and Esculapius.
C vi. Idus. Jan. or Jan. 8th. Sacrifice to Janus.
C iii. Kal. Apr. or March 30. Sacred to *Janus*, Concordia, Salus, Pax.
N.P. xii. Kal. Jun. or May 21. Agonalia or Agoniana of Janus.
N.P. xvi. Kal. Sept. or Aug. 17. Portumnalia to Janus.

Macrobius says that Janus was invoked in their sacred rites under the names of Janus Geminus, Janus Pater, Janus Junonius, Janus Consivius, Janus Quirinus, Janus Patulcius and Clusivius. The reasons of these titles, he gives as follows:

1. Janus Geminus, because he represented the sun, who, when he rises, opens, and when he sets, shuts, the gates of heaven.

2. Janus Pater, as being god of gods—quasi Deorum Deum.

3. Janus Junonius, as holding the entrance not of January only, but of all the months, because all the calends were under the dominion (in ditione) of Juno.

4. Janus Consivius (a conserendo, id est, a propagine generis humani quæ Jano auctore conseritur), because to him is ascribed the seed-sowing of the human race.

5. Janus Quirinus, as having power over wars, from the spear which the Sabines call Curis.

6. Janus Patulcius and Clusivius, because in war his gates are open, and in peace are shut.[1]

Of these six titles, the second, third, and fourth, have no connexion with the subject; nor do we find the sixth title mentioned, though applicable to it. But the two remaining titles of Janus Geminus and Janus Quirinus seem to be used interchangeably. Dio and Velleius Paterculus speak of shutting the temple of Janus Geminus; Suetonius, and Augustus himself, of shutting the temple of Janus Quirinus.

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[1] Macrob. Saturnal. lib. i. c. 9.

The question now recurs as to the day. It is not likely that it was the first of January, for several reasons. That day was dedicated to Juno, Jupiter, and Esculapius, as well as to Janus; and the only reason why his name is connected with theirs, seems to be that the month was named from him, that as he represented the sun, it was the beginning of another revolution, and hence that his double face was symbolical of past and future time. But there is another reason, which applies particularly to the present case. The ice could hardly have been strong enough for the Dacians to cross the Ister early in December, as they must have done, that the news of their incursion might reach Rome before the first of January. It is more likely, then, that the ceremony of closing the temple was to have taken place on the thirtieth of March. That day was dedicated to Janus, in connexion with the personified divinities, Concord, Peace, and the Safety of Rome (Salus publica); and all these ideas are more in accordance with the design and nature of the ceremony than any other. If, then, the decree of the senate was passed in the month of January, and the day of the solemnity was fixed for the thirtieth of March, there would be time for the news respecting the Dacians and Dalmatians to arrive in Rome during the preparations for the ceremony; and the decree would be suspended merely, with a view of quelling these insurrections as early as possible. We may, therefore, place the arrival of this news, and the suspension of the decree, in the month of February, at the beginning of the consulship of Julus Antonius and Quintus Fabius; in the year 4703 of the Julian Period, the eighth month of the first year of the 192nd olympiad, the 742nd year of Rome, being before the Parilia, the 35th year of Cæsar's reformed calendar, and in the sixth month of the 21st year after the battle of Actium.

CHAPTER IX.

INQUIRY WHEN THE TEMPLE OF JANUS WAS SHUT THE THIRD TIME BY AUGUSTUS.

Testimony to the fact that it was so shut.—Suetonius.—The Ancyra Inscription.—Orosius.—Birth of Christ placed by him in the same year.—Dionysius Exiguus probably governed by his dates.—These dates examined.—Execution of the senate's decree prevented in the winter of A.J.P. 4702-3.—Transactions of the subsequent years examined.—Augustus went to Gaul, Tiberius into Pannonia and Dalmatia, Drusus into Germany.—The insurrections quelled, they returned to Rome A.J.P. 4703.—The next year Drusus died.—His body conveyed to Rome in the depth of winter.—The campaign in Germany renewed early in A.J.P. 4705.—Tiberius crossed the Rhine; expatriation of the Germans.—Tiberius received the supreme command of the army in place of Drusus, was designated consul for the next year, and triumphed.—The month Sextilis called Augustus, and the Julian calendar received its last correction in the twentieth year of Augustus.—Tribunicial authority granted to Tiberius, A.J.P. 4707.—The tribunicial authority of Augustus considered.—Tiberius retires to Rhodes.—The history of Dio defective for more than three years, and exactly at the period in which the temple of Janus must have been shut the third time.—Inscription preserved by Pliny of this year, the seventeenth of the tribunicial power of Augustus, from which it is inferred that the temple of Janus was then shut the third time.—Proofs of profound peace from that year.—Augustus consul the twelfth and thirteenth times, to do honour to his grandsons Caius and Lucius.—History of Caius considered.—His consulship, A.J.P. 4713.—Interesting letter of Augustus, preserved by Aulus Gellius.—Return of Tiberius to Rome, in July A.J.P. 4714.—Death of Lucius, Aug. 21 following.—Death of Caius, Feb. 21, A.J.P. 4716.—Tribunicial authority conferred the second time upon Tiberius.—Chronology now exactly determined.—Augustus forbids the people to salute him by the title of Dominus, or Lord.—Agrippa Posthumus receives the toga virilis, A.J.P. 4717.—Extent and position of the Roman army.—A.J.P. 4718, an eventful year. Revolts of Germans, Dalmatians, and Pannonians. From this time forth continual wars till the death of Augustus.—Temple of Janus closed nearly twelve years, from A.J.P. 4707 to A.J.P. 4718.—Our Saviour born during this period.

THE question when the temple of Janus was shut the third time by Augustus, is now to be considered; a question which it is the more important to answer, because our Saviour was born during that period.

Dio, as we have seen, expressly states, that the temple of Janus was shut twice by Augustus; and that, by a decree of the senate, it was *ordered* to be shut the third time. He says, however, that it was *not shut at that time;* and that part of his work is unfortunately lost in which he would have had occasion to mention the fact of its being shut afterwards. But Suetonius asserts that "the temple of Janus Quirinus, which from the building of the city had before the time of Augustus been shut only twice, he, in a much shorter space of time, *shut thrice,* peace having been obtained both by sea and land."[1]

The celebrated Ancyra inscription, copied from the brazen tablets at Rome, and composed by Augustus himself, or in his name, accords perfectly with the historian, as far as it goes, but is, unhappily, mutilated.*

Orosius, the friend and pupil of St. Augustine and St. Jerome, is the only historian who has mentioned any particulars respecting this third closing of the temple of Janus. I have before had occasion to observe that this author, though he generally states facts, is inaccurate as to his dates. He says: "In the year from the foundation of Rome 752, all nations from east to west, from north to south, and through the whole circle of the ocean, being quietly settled in unbroken peace, Cæsar Augustus himself shut, for the third time, the gates of the temple of Janus. That these, in this most quiet period, remained continually barred for nearly twelve years, was indicated even by their very rust; nor were they ever opened until, in the extreme old age of Augustus, they were beaten down by the sedition of the Athenians, and the commotion of the Dacians. The gates of the temple of Janus, therefore, being shut, he was desirous in peace to nourish and enlarge that empire which he had obtained by war. He therefore enacted many laws, by means of which the human race might, with voluntary reverence, become submissive to his discipline. As man, he declined the appellation of *Lord;* for when he was present at the public games, and an actor having uttered the words, O just and good Lord, all the spectators applauded, as if they were spoken of him, he immediately repressed, by his gestures and his countenance, the indecorous adulation. On the following day, he censured it by a severe edict, and would never afterwards suffer himself to be called Lord, either in jest or earnest, by his children or grand-children. Therefore, in that time, that is, in that year in which Cæsar, by the command of God, established a most permanent and real peace, Christ was born."[1]

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[1] Janum Quirinum semel atque iterum a conditâ urbe, memoriam ante suam clausum, in multo breviore temporis spatio, terra marique pace parta, *ter clusit.*—Suet. lib. ii. c. 22.

* The capital letters indicate those which remain; the smaller letters the conjectural restorations made by learned moderns:

peR . TOTVM . Imperium . POPVLI . ROMANI . parta est terra marique pAX . cum a condita urbe [*or* post Romam conditam] Ianum quiRinum BIS . OMNINO . CLAVSVM . ante me fuisSE . PRODATVR . memoriAE . TER . ME . PRINCIPE . CLAVDENDVM . ESSE. decrevit Senatus.

Orosius, if I mistake not, is the only ancient writer, before Dionysius Exiguus, who places the birth of our Saviour so late as the year of Rome 752. I am inclined to think, therefore, that Dionysius was governed by his authority; and, if so, the whole modern computation of time, from the æra of our Saviour's birth, is derived from the passage now under examination. It is the more important, therefore, that we should examine his dates by the light which more accurate writers throw on the events occurring in this part of the reign of Augustus.

The revolt of the Dalmatians, and the incursion of the Dacians, which prevented the execution of the senate's decree to close the temple of Janus, took place, as we have seen, in the winter of A.J.P. 4702-3. We have now to examine the transactions of the several subsequent years.

On receiving this news, Augustus went into Gaul, and stopped at Lyons, there to watch the progress of events. Tiberius, who had accompanied him, went into Pannonia and Dalmatia; and Drusus engaged the Chatti, the Sicambri, and other German tribes. These insurrections being quelled, Tiberius and Drusus returned with Augustus to Rome, and there received triumphal honours. "These things were done," says Dio, "when Julus (Julus Antonius) and Fabius Maximus were consuls;" that is, A.U.C. 742-3, A.J.P. 4703.[1]

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[1] Anno ab urbe conditâ DCCLII, Cæsar Augustus ab oriente in occidentem, a septentrione in meridiem per totum Oceani circulum cunctis gentibus una pace compositis, Jani portas tertio ipse clausit. quas ævo per XII fere annos quietissimo semper obseratas ocio ipsa etiam rubigo signavit: nec prius unquam nisi extremâ senectute Augusti pulsatæ Atheniensium seditione et Dacorum commotione patuerant. Clausis igitur Jani portis, rempublicam quam bello quæsiverat, pace enutrire atque amplificare studens, leges plurimas statuit, per quas humanum genus libera reverentia disciplinæ morem gereret. Domini appellationem ut homo declinavit. Nam cum, eodem spectante ludos, pronunciatum esset a quodam mimo *O Dominum æquum et bonum*, universique, quasi de ipso dictum esse, exultantes approbavissent, statim quidem manu vultuque indecoras adulationes repressit, et in sequenti die gravissimo corripuit edicto, Dominumque se post hoc appellari ne liberis quidem aut nepotibus suis vel serio vel joco passus est. Igitur eo tempore, id est, eo anno quo firmissimam verissimamque pacem ordinatione Dei Cæsar composuit, natus est Christus.—Orosius, Hist. lib. vi. cap. ult.

The next year, Drusus and Crispinus being consuls (A.U.C. 743-4, A.J.P. 4704), Drusus himself died in Germany, at the age of thirty.[2] He had penetrated as far as the Albis, or Elbe, laying waste the whole country. Here a woman, says Dio, of more than mortal stature, met him, and said, "Whither, then, O insatiable Drusus, art thou hastening? The Fates do not permit thee to see all these things. Begone! for the end of thy deeds, and of thy life, is at hand." Whatever may be thought of an event which the historian has represented as a prodigy, it shows clearly the awe created by this wild enthusiasm in the mind of a superstitious general, and the impression which the stern cruelty of Roman warfare had produced on the terrified, though brave inhabitants. Drusus immediately retreated, and had not reached the Rhine when his leg was fractured, by the falling of his horse upon it. He lingered thirty days, and then died.[3] Augustus, who was two hundred miles distant, was soon informed of his illness, and sent Tiberius to him in haste.* The body was conveyed in funeral procession to Rome; as far as the winter quarters of the army, on the shoulders of the centurions and military tribunes, and thence from city to city, by their most distinguished inhabitants, till it arrived in the metropolis. The exact time of the year when this procession took place, appears also from Tacitus; for he states, that Augustus went, *in the depth of winter*, to Ticinum, to meet the body of Drusus.[4] The most solemn and magnificent funeral rites were celebrated in the forum, and the senate passed a decree giving the name of Germanicus to Drusus and his sons.[5] "Augustus did not enter the city, on account of the death of Drusus," being prevented by religious motives; "but the next year," says Dio, "in which Asinius Gallus and Caius Marcius were consuls" (A.U.C. 744-5, A.J.P. 4705), "he made his entrance, and, contrary to usage, offered the laurel in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. But he did not celebrate any festival on that account, estimating his loss, in the destruction of Drusus, as far greater than the profit derived from his victories."[1] It was common for the victorious general to lay his laurel wreath on the lap of Jupiter Capitolinus; but, on account of the death of Drusus, Augustus would not enter the city in triumph till the year of the consulship of Drusus had expired; and, even then, he varied from the general custom, in token of his grief.

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[1] Dion, H.R. lib. liv. 36, p. 546, D.E.

[2] Vel. Paterc. lib. ii. 97.

[3] Liv. Epitome, lib. cxl.

* We know the exact distance from a curious passage in Pliny's natural history, which states that Tiberius performed the journey in a day and a night. Speaking of several wonderful instances of speed, he says: "Cujus rei admiratio ita demum solida perveniet, si quis cogitet nocte ac die longissimum iter vehiculis tribus Tiberium Neronem emensum, festinantem ad Drusum fratrem ægrotum in Germania: in eo fuerunt CC. millia passuum."—Nat. Hist. lib. vii. c. 20. What would Pliny have thought of our railroads and locomotives!

[4] Tac. Ann. lib. iii. c. 5.

[5] Dion, H. R. lib. lv. c. 1, 2, p. 548, A. to 549, C.

How early in this year the campaign in Germany was renewed, we cannot ascertain with precision; but, from the expressions of Dio, we may infer that no time was lost. He tells us, that the new consuls, and the other magistrates of that year, had been accused of obtaining their offices by bribery; and, though Augustus stifled inquiry, he made it a rule for the future, that all candidates should deposit a pledge before the election, to be forfeited on conviction of unlawful practices. After this and other regulations, he again accepted the imperial power for ten years, and then marched against the Celts, or Germans, with his army. The regulations of which Dio speaks, could not have taken up much time. Augustus himself did not advance beyond the Roman territory; but Tiberius crossed the Rhine. Terrified by their force, all the barbarians, except the Sygambri, sent their ambassadors to treat for peace. Augustus refused to grant it, unless the Sygambri would unite with them; and afterwards, even when the Sygambri did send their ambassadors, these were so far from being able to effect any thing, that all of them, and many others of their most illustrious men, perished; for Augustus having seized and distributed them in certain cities, they could not endure the expatriation, and laid violent hands upon themselves.[2]

What this expatriation was, we learn from Suetonius: "The Germans beyond the river Albis he [Augustus] removed; of whom the Ubii and the Sygambri, who had surrendered themselves, he caused to migrate into Gaul, and established them in the territories along the Rhine." And again: "In the German war, he [Tiberius] compelled forty thousand of those who had surrendered themselves, to remove into Gaul, and placed them in territories assigned to them along the bank of the Rhine."[1]

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[1] Dion, H. R. lib. lv. c. 5, p. 551, c.

[2] Dion, H. R. lib. lv. c. 5, 6, p. 551.

Dio adds, "that all these tribes, though they thenceforth remained for some time quiet, finally repaid the Romans for this heavy debt of suffering with large interest." What a wonderful instance is this of Divine retribution, which, sooner or later, overtakes guilty nations even in this world!

"Tiberius received from Augustus the supreme command of the army in the place of Drusus, was designated consul the second time, and graced with triumphal honours. In these Augustus himself would take no share; but he permitted the perpetual celebration of equestrian games on his birth-day, enlarged the bounds of the pomœrium, and changed the name of the month, which had been called Sextilis, into that of Augustus. Others desired to give that name to September, because he was born in it; but he himself preferred Sextilis, because in that month he had first been made consul, and been victorious in many great battles."[2]

From these premises, we infer that the campaign in Germany extended probably from the month of March to that of August, inclusive, because the triumphal honours of Tiberius evidently preceded the birth-day of Augustus, or the 23rd of September.

It appears also, from Dion's account, that in this year, the consulship of Censorinus and Gallus (A.J.P. 4705), the name of August was substituted for that of Sextilis in the Roman calendar. This year, therefore, was the twentieth of those called by the grammarian Censorinus the years of Augustus,[3] as that accurate author has stated, and as we have already seen, in the fifth chapter of this work. It was a bissextile year; and it was the duty of Augustus, as Pontifex Maximus, to regulate the intercalation. It was now found that an error had taken place by excess of intercalation; and therefore, from this year forward, Augustus ordered the bissextile day to be omitted for the next twelve years. It was the thirty-seventh year of the reformed calendar of Julius Cæsar.

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[1] Germanosque ultra Albim fluvium submovit: ex quibus Ubios et Sygambros dedentes se traduxit in Galliam, atque in proximis Rheno agris collocavit.—Sueton. lib. ii. c. 21. Germanico, quadraginta millia dediticiorum trajecit in Galliam, juxtaque ripam Rheni sedibus adsignatis collocavit.—Ibid. lib. iii. c. 9. The very words here used (traduxit and trajecit) show that force was employed in the removal of these brave people.

[2] Dion, H. R. lib. lv. c. 6, p. 551, B, C, D.

[3] De Die Natali, c. xxi. comp. with c. xxii.

The next year, Tiberius and Cneius Piso being consuls, (A.U.C. 745-6, A.J.P. 4706), soon after the calends of January, commotions having again arisen in Germany, Tiberius set out for the seat of war; but nothing worthy of mention was done there during this year.[1]

The following year, when Caius Antistius Vetus and Lælius Balbus were consuls (A.U.C. 746-7, A.J.P. 4707), Augustus granted the tribunicial authority to Tiberius for five years, and sent him into Armenia, which had revolted.[2]

We have seen that the perpetual tribunicial authority was given to Augustus after he had abdicated his eleventh consulship,—an event which took place in the 730th year of Rome after the Parilia, and probably in the summer of the 4690th year of the Julian period. Authors seem not to be entirely agreed whether that year is to be included or not, in the computation of his tribunicial power. Tacitus, speaking of the eulogies on Augustus, pronounced after his death, mentions, among other things, his tribunicial authority continued for seven-and thirty years.[3] But the Fasti Capitolini reckon the year of his death as the thirty-sixth; for the last of the remaining fragments has the following:

AVGVSTVS PONT. MAX. TR. POT. $\overline{\text{XXXV}}$
TI CAESAR AVGVSTI F. DIVI N. TR. POT. $\overline{\text{XIIII}}$
C. SILIVS. P.F.P.N. L. MVNATIVS. L.F.L.N. PLANCVS

But the consulship of Caius Silius and Lucius Munatius Plancus, immediately preceded that of the two Sexti, in which Augustus died; and, consequently, the last year of his life would be the thirty-sixth of his tribunicial power. Let the reader count the consulships backward from that of the two Sexti, and he will see that, to make thirty-seven years, he must include the eleventh consulship of Augustus. The Fasti Capitolini compute from the 1st of January of the following year. The discrepancy, therefore, is easily reconciled. The thirty-fifth year of the tribunicial authority of Augustus, and the fourteenth year of that of Tiberius, coincide. Suetonius says, that Augustus chose his colleagues in that office by single lustra, or periods of five years.[4] He had twice before chosen Agrippa in that manner; and now Tiberius was appointed by him, in the seventeenth year of his own tribunicial authority. But, instead of being satisfied with this high honour, which, for a limited time, made him the equal of Augustus, "the second light and head of the republic," as his mean flatterer Velleius expresses himself,[1] he disobeyed the order of the emperor to go into Armenia, and retired to the island of Rhodes. All the historians are utterly at a loss how to account for this strange conduct, and offer nothing but conjectures. Suetonius states, that Augustus complained in open senate of being deserted by him. He was deaf to all the entreaties of his mother, and, for four days, abstained from food, till he obtained permission to depart.

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[1] *τοσαῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ ἔτει τούτῳ επράχθη· ἐν γὰρ δὴ τῇ Γερμανίᾳ ὀυδὲν ἄξιον μνήμης συνέβη.*—Dion. lv. c. 8, p. 554, B.

[2] Dion, ut sup. p. 554, D.

[3] Continuata per septem et triginta annos tribunicia potestas.—Annal. lib. i. c. 9.

[4] Tribunitiam potestatem perpetuam recepit: in qua semel atque iterum per sin-

When the term of his tribunicial power was ended, he solicited permission to return, assigning as the reason of his retirement, that he had wished to avoid all suspicion of rivalry with Caius and Lucius, the sons of Agrippa and Julia and grandsons of Augustus. His application was refused, and he remained in Rhodes, against his own will and as a private citizen, more than seven years.[2]

The commotion in Armenia, of which Dio speaks in the passage above cited, not being mentioned by the other historians, must have been quickly subdued. Unfortunately the history of Dio is defective from the consulship of Antistius Vetus and Lælius Balbus, to that of Augustus and Plautius Silvanus, a period of more than three years. And this is the more to be lamented, because it is precisely the period in which the temple of Janus must have been for the third time shut by Augustus.

Pliny has preserved the inscription of a monument erected in honour of Augustus, by the senate and people of Rome, in the Alpine regions, recording the fact, that under the command and auspices of Augustus, all the Alpine nations, from the upper to the lower sea,—that is, from the Gulf of Venice to that of Genoa,—were brought under subjection to the Roman empire in the seventeenth year of his tribunicial authority. Of these nations or tribes, Pliny enumerates forty-four; and then adds, that he had not men-

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gula lustra collegam sibi coöptavit.—Suet. lib. ii. c. 27.

[1] Et vere alterum Reipublicæ lumen et caput.—Vel. Paterc. lib. ii. c. 99.

[2] Suet. lib. iii. c. 10-14; compared with Vel. Pat. lib. ii. c. 99.

tioned the Cottian cities, twelve in number, which had not been hostile.[1]

This monument was erected in the year which we are now considering,—the consulship of Lælius Balbus and Antistius Vetus, and the 4707th year of the Julian period. In itself it furnishes the most indubitable testimony of that peace which consists in victory. No historian gives any account of other wars carried on at this period; and though Livy had ended his history before this time, and we are deprived of the faithful chronicle of Dio, yet the silence of Suetonius and Velleius Paterculus warrants the assertion that during the three succeeding consulships (A.U.C. 747-8, 748-9, 749-50), or from A.J.P. 4708 to A.J.P. 4710, the whole Roman empire was in a state of profound tranquillity.

The following year (A.U.C. 750-51, A.J.P. 4711), Augustus himself resumed the fasces, being consul the thirteenth time, with Marcus Plautius Silvanus for his colleague. His twelfth consulship, with Lucius Cornelius Sulla for his colleague, was in the year 4708 of the Julian period. "Seventeen years," as Suetonius says, "had elapsed between the eleventh and twelfth, and two years between the twelfth and thirteenth."[2] His object in both cases was to do honour to his two grandsons Caius and Lucius, by presenting to them in person the toga virilis, on the completion of their fifteenth year. On these two occasions, as we learn from the Ancyran marble, they were designated consuls by the senate and people of Rome, to enter upon that office at the expiration of five years, with permission to be present at the public councils from the day in which they were brought into the forum.[3] While these honours were conferred upon the sons of Julia, she herself, for her infamous conduct, was exiled to the island of Pandateria, on the coast of Campania, now known by the name of Santa Maria.[1]

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[1] "Imperatori Cæsari Divi F. Aug. Pontifici Maximo Imp. XIIII. Tribuniciæ Potestatis XVII. S.P.Q.R. quod ejus ductu auspiciisque gentes Alpinæ omnes, quæ a mari supero ad inferum pertinebant, sub imperium pop. Rom. sunt redactæ. Gentes Alpinæ devictæ: Triumpilini, Camuni, Venostes, Vennonetes, Isarci, Breuni, Genaunes, Focunates. Vindelicorum gentes quatuor, Consuanetes, Rucinates, Licates, Catenates, Ambisontes, Rugusci, Suanetes, Calucones, Brixentes, Lepontii, Viberi, Nantuates, Seduni, Veragri. Salassi, Acitavones, Medulli, Uceni, Caturiges, Brigiani, Sogiontii, Brodiontii, Nemaloni, Edenates, Esubiani, Veamini, Gallitæ, Triulatti, Ectini, Vergunni, Equituri, Nementuri, Oratelli, Nerusi, Velauni, Suetri."—Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. iii. c. xxiv. 20, ed. Brotier, tom. i. p. 302.

[2] Duodecimum magno, id est, septemdecim annorum intervallo, et rursus tertiumdecimum biennio post, ultro petiit; ut Cajum et Lucium filios amplissimo præditus magistratu, suo quemque tirocinio deduceret in forum.—Suetonius, lib. ii. c. xxvi.

[3] Inter filIos MEOS. QVOS. SINIstra sors MIHI. ERIPVIT. EORVM. CAIVM. ET. LVCIVM. CÆSARES......HONORIS. MEI. CAVSA. SENATVS. POPVLVSQVE. ROMANVS. ANNVM, QVINTVM. ET. DECIMVM. AGENTIS. CONSVLES. DESIGNAVIT. VT. EVM. MAGISTRATVM. INIRENT. POST. QVINQVENNIVM. ET. EX. EO.

Agreeably to this enactment, Caius became consul, with Lucius Æmilius Paulus for his colleague, in the year of Rome 752-3, and in that of the Julian period 4713. Whether he was sent into Armenia in that or the following year, it is difficult to determine. Unhappily there is another chasm in the history of Dio, and the Latin authors are not equally precise in mentioning the consulships during which the several transactions occurred.

A passage in the first book of Ovid de Arte Amatoria, evidently written while preparations were making for this expedition, compliments Caius upon his being appointed to command in the east at the same age in which his grandfather, Augustus, had first commanded; that is, in his twentieth year.*

Caius was born (A.U.C. 732-3, A.J.P. 4693) when Marcus Appuleius and Publius Silius Nerva were consuls; and from the connexion in which Dio speaks of this event, it appears to have occurred before the birth-day of Augustus, and after the dedication of the temple of Mars the Avenger, which took place, according to Ovid, on the twelfth of May.[2] A decree was passed by the senate appointing a perpetual sacrifice on the day of his nativity; and of this surely Ovid would have taken some notice if it had occurred as early as June, with which month the Fasti of that poet end. It may reasonably be inferred, therefore, that it took place after the first of July, and before the twenty-third of September.[3]

If, then, Caius was born in the summer of the year 4693 of the

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DIE. QVO. DEDVCTI. SVNT. IN. FORVM. VT. INTERESSENT. CONSILIS. PVBLICIS.—Mon. Ancyr. ad Calc. ed. Sueton. Wolf. tom. i. Lipsiæ, 1802.

[1] Dion, H. R. lib. lv. c. 10, p. 555.

* It is necessary to read the whole passage from line 177, "Ecce parat Cæsar," &c. to line 225, "Hos facito Armenios," &c. in order to see that it was written during the preparations for this expedition, and that it can apply only to Caius, on whom, with his brother Lucius, the title of "princeps Juventutis" had been conferred by the senate. The lines to which especial reference is here made are the following:

Auspiciis *annisque* patris, puer arma movebis :
Et vinces *annis* auspiciisque patris.
Tale rudimentum tanto sub nomine debes
Nunc *Juvenum princeps*, deinde future senum.

It must be observed, however, that some copies read "Auspiciis *animisque* patris" in the first of these lines, and "*animis* auspiciisque patris" in the second. If this reading be followed, the foundation of the inference is destroyed. But the best critics prefer *annis*. See the note on the passage in Burmann's edit. of Ovid, tom. i. p. 555, Amstel. 1727, 4to.

[2] Fasti, lib. v. l. 575-598.

[3] Dion, H. R. lib. liv. 8, p. 526.

Julian period, he completed his nineteenth year at midsummer in the year 4712, and consequently was about nineteen years and six months old when he entered on his consulship, the first of January A.J.P. 4713. It is probable, therefore, that he was sent to Armenia in that year. That he was absent from Rome, is clearly evinced by the fragment of a letter preserved by Aulus Gellius, written by Augustus to Caius, at the beginning of his sixty-fourth year: "On days like the present, my eyes look around for my Caius. Wherever thou hast been on this day, I hope thou hast celebrated joyfully and in good health my sixty-fourth birthday; for I have escaped, as you see, the common climacteric of all old men—my sixty-third year," &c. It was the grand climacteric of Augustus, supposed to be a critical period of human life. The expression, "Wherever thou hast been on this day," shows that Caius was far distant; and that it was in the year 4713 of the Julian period may be easily proved. The letter is dated on the eighth before the calends of October, or September 24th. Most probably it should be the ninth before the calends, as that was the emperor's birth-day, and a careless transcriber might easily write viii for viiii.*

Augustus was born September 23 .... A.J.P.	4650
Add sixty-three solid years	63
And it brings us to the date of the letter, Sept. 23	4713

No war took place; for Phraates, the king of the Parthians, as soon as he knew of the arrival of Caius in Syria, consented to evacuate Armenia, as a condition of peace.[1]

On his way to the east, Caius stopped at Chios, according to Dio, or at Samos, according to Suetonius, and Tiberius went from Rhodes to visit him. He was received with the most mortifying coldness; and Caius, to whose pleasure the whole matter was referred by Augustus, permitted him to return to Rome, only on the express condition that he should take no share in the government.[1]

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* The reader will not be displeased to see the original letter. It is impossible, in a translation, to do justice to the expressions of endearment in this most interesting monument of parental tenderness: "VIII calend. Octobr. Have mi Cai, meus ocellus jucundissimus: quem semper medius fidius desidero quum a me abes; sed præcipue diebus talibus, qualis est hodiernus, oculi mei requirunt meum Cajum: quem, ubicumque hoc die fuisti, spero lætum et bene valentem celebrasse quartum et sexagesimum natalem meum. nam, ut vides, *κλιμακτῆρα* communem seniorum omnium tertium et sexagesimum annum evasimus. deos autem oro, ut, quantum mihi superest temporis, id salvis vobis traducere liceat in statu reipublicæ felicissimo *ἀνδραγαθούντων ὑμῶν καὶ διαδεχομένων* stationem meam."—A. Gell. Noc. Att. lib. xv. c. vii. He had soon the bitterness of knowing that this last prayer was denied him.

[1] Dion, H. R. lib. lv. c. 11, p. 555, E.

Velleius Paterculus accompanied Caius Cæsar in his eastern expedition, and was an eye-witness of the transactions which he records. He states that Caius had his first interview with the king of the Parthians on an island in the Euphrates; that afterwards, having entered Armenia, affairs went on prosperously during the first part of his progress; but that finally, in a conference in which he had rashly ventured himself, he was severely wounded by a person named Adduus, near Artagera. Disabled by this wound in mind and body, he chose to remain in the east; and after long hesitation, he reluctantly set out for Italy, but died of disease at Limyra a city of Lycia. His younger brother Lucius had died about a year before at Marseilles, as he was on his way into Spain.[2]

Zonaras, from a portion of Dio's history now lost, or from some other source, states some particulars which further illustrate this narrative: "One Addo, commanding at Artagira, enticed Caius to approach the walls, as if to tell him a secret, and wounded him; on which the city was attacked, and he was taken prisoner. But Caius fell sick from the wound, being otherwise of a feeble constitution. As his mind became weakened, and his health declined, he asked permission to lead a private life. Augustus being greatly afflicted at this, urged him to return into Italy, and there live as he pleased. He therefore sailed for Lycia in a merchant vessel, and there died. Lucius his brother had previously become extinct, dying suddenly of disease. On account of their deaths, both Livia and Tiberius, who had not long before returned from Rhodes to Rome, were suspected."[3]

Tiberius returned to Rome in the consulship of Vinicius and Alfinius Varus, A.U.C. 753-4, A.J.P. 4714.[4] He had remained seven years at Rhodes, and returned in the eighth year after his departure; and Velleius expressly states that it was before the death of both the Cæsars.[5]

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[1] Suet. lib. iii. c. 13.

[2] Diu deinde reluctatus, invitusque revertens in Italiam, in urbe Lyciæ (Limyra nominant) morbo obiit; cum ante annum ferme L. Cæsar, frater ejus, Hispaniæ petens, Massiliæ decessisset.—Vel. Paterc. H. R. lib. ii. c. 102.

[3] Zonaræ Annales, lib. x. c. 36, ed. Par. 1686, tom. i. p. 539, D.

[4] Vel. Pat. lib. ii. c. 103.

[5] Ante utriusque horum obitum, patre tuo P. Vinicio consule, Tiberius Nero reversus Rhodo. — Septem Annos Rhodi moratum.—Lib. ii. 99 and 103. Rediit

Suetonius says that Augustus lost both Caius and Lucius in the space of eighteen months; Caius having died in Lycia, and Lucius at Marseilles.[1]

These particulars enable us to fix the dates of the several events mentioned with tolerable precision. Tiberius could not have arrived in Rhodes before the month of June A.J.P. 4707. His seven years expired at that time, A.J.P. 4714; and if he returned to Rome in July of that year, it would be, as Suetonius states, in the eighth year after his departure. The condition of Caius being well known, Lucius only remained in the way of his ambition; and shortly after his return, Lucius died suddenly on his way to Spain, not without strong suspicions of foul practices on the part of Livia and Tiberius. We may place his death, therefore, as occurring towards the close of August A.U.C. 754, and that of Caius eighteen months after, in the month of February A.U.C. 755-6, A.J.P. 4716, when Sextus Ælius Catus and C. Sentius Saturninus were consuls.*

On the 27th of June in the same year, Augustus conferred the tribunicial authority again upon Tiberius, and adopted him and Marcus Agrippa his only surviving grandson.[2]

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octavum post secessum anno."—Sueton. lib. iii. c. 14.

[1] Cajum et Lucium in duodeviginti mensium spatio amisit ambos; Cajo in Lycia, Lucio Massiliæ defunctis.—Sueton. lib. ii. c. 65.

* Not having, nor being able to find in any of our libraries, the learned work of Cardinal Noris, I had written thus far before I saw the ancient inscriptions called by him Cenotaphia Pisana. I have since found them in the second volume of an Italian work entitled "Pisa illustrata nelle Arti del disegno da Alessandro da Morrona," Livorno, 1812, p. 330-36. The author states that he has corrected some mistakes of Noris, and has faithfully copied them from the marble. The first inscription is a decree of the Pisan colony to honour the memory of their patron, Lucius Cæsar, by erecting an altar and sacrificing publicly and yearly to his manes on the twelfth before the calends of September, or August 21. The decree is dated on the thirteenth before the calends of October, or September 19. The inference is, that Lucius died the 21st of August, and the news of his death was received at Pisa September 19th.

The second inscription, occasioned by the death of Caius Cæsar, expressly states that he died on the ninth before the calends of March, or February 21; and that the news of his death arrived on the fourth before the nones, or, as we reckon, on the 2nd of April. It is very satisfactory to find that my inductive reasoning from the Roman historians was so accurate.

[2] Perseveravit ut et tribunitiæ potestatis consortionem Neroni constitueret, multum quidem eo cum domi tum in Senatu recusante, et eum Ælio Cato, Sentio consulibus v kal. Jul. post urbem conditam annis DCCLVII abhinc annis XXVII, adoptaret — Adoptatus eadem die etiam M. Agrippa, quem post mortem Agrippæ Julia enixa erat.—Vell. Paterc. H. R. lib. ii. c. 103, 104, See also Suet. lib. ii. c. 65. There is only one manuscript extant of Velleius Paterculus, and that reads here, "post urbem conditam annis DCCLIIII." This being evidently erroneous, modern critics have amended the text according to their own opinions as to the year in which Rome was built. The younger Aldus and Burmann read DCCLVI. The Leipsic edition of 1800, here copied, reads DCCLVII. Ruhnken follows the ed. Princ. and the

The chronology may now be very exactly determined. The preamble in the second decree of the Pisan senate states that Caius passed his consulship prosperously, carrying on war beyond the farthest bounds of the Roman people.[1] Pliny states incidentally that he went into Arabia, as far as the Sinus Arabicus or Red Sea.[2] Orosius mentions, that having been sent by Augustus to set in order the provinces of Egypt and Syria, he passed through Palestine, and on his way showed his contempt for the true God, by refusing to worship in the temple at Jerusalem.[3] For this, Suetonius says that Augustus commended him;[4] but Orosius adds, that for this contempt Augustus was punished, by the severe famine with which Rome was subsequently visited.[5] This famine Dio mentions under the consulship of Æmilius Lepidus and Lucius Arruntius, the fifth year after the consulship of Caius. From Syria, Caius proceeded to the Euphrates, where he had his interview with the king of the Parthians, and thence into Armenia, where he was wounded.

Caius, therefore, went early in his consulship to the east, and while at Samos or Chios, gave permission to Tiberius to return to Rome; but before Tiberius went he received his wound.

Tiberius returned to Rome probably in the month of July A.J.P. 4714; Lucius set out on his way to Spain, but died at Marseilles, August 21, A.J.P. 4714; Caius died just eighteen months after his brother, February 21, 4716. The news of his death arrived at Pisa the second of April, and probably, therefore, a few days earlier in Rome. Augustus being thus deprived of his grandchildren, and obliged to take Tiberius again into favour, conferred upon him the tribunicial authority again, and adopted him as his son, but adopted also his only remaining grandson, the posthumous son of Agrippa, on the 27th of the following June.

Dion adds, that Augustus gave him the tribunicial authority for ten years; but suspecting that he would on that account be too highly elated, and fearing lest he should attempt innovations, he compelled him, though he had a son of his own, to adopt Germanicus, the son of his brother Drusus.[6]

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manuscript. As the adoption was after the Parilia, it was in the year of the city DCCLVI.

[1] POST . CONSVLATVM . QVEM . VLTRA. FINES . EXTREMAS . POPVLI . ROMANI . BELLUM . GERENS . FELICITER . PEREGERAT.

[2] Hist. Nat. lib. ii. c. 67, and lib. vi. c. 27.

[3] Oros, lib. vii. c. 2.

[4] Octavianus, c. 93.

[5] Oros. ut sup.

[6] Dion. H. R. lib. lv. c. 13. p. 557.

Suetonius states that the tribunicial authority was given to him for five years.[1] This is the most probable statement; but as it was afterwards continued for five years more, the difference is not important. The Fasti Capitolini begin to enumerate this second period on the first of January of the following year, and not from the day of the appointment.

In this year, Dion records the fact, that Augustus being saluted by the people with the title of Lord (δεσπότης) not only forbade any one to address him by that appellation, but forbade it under a severe penalty.[2] Suetonius mentions the same fact in the form of an anecdote, without specifying the time in which it occurred; and Orosius, who has copied Suetonius nearly word for word, applies the transaction, as we have seen, to the year in which our Saviour was born; thereby intimating that Augustus acted under a divine impulse, in refusing a title which the sacred writers apply exclusively to our Lord Jesus Christ. We have had occasion before to observe, that Orosius is correct as to facts, but is inaccurate in his dates. He has here transferred to the year of the city 752, in which he supposed that Christ was born, a fact which Dion records in the year 756.

A. U. C. 756-57, A. J. P. 4717.
Cn. Cornelius Cinna Magnus, L. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, Cos.
August: Trib. Pot. xxvii. Tiber: vi.

In this year, Agrippa, surnamed Posthumus, the son of Agrippa and Julia, and now the only surviving grandson of Augustus, received the toga virilis, but with none of the honours which had been paid to his brothers.[3]

The Roman empire was still at peace, but there were evident signs of approaching commotions. The army amounted to twenty-three or twenty-five legions, without counting the auxiliaries, both infantry and cavalry, and the marines, of which Dio could form no estimate. These were dispersed over Spain, Gaul, Germany, Pannonia, Dacia, Britain, Asia Minor, Syria, Arabia, Egypt, and Numidia.[4] Such an immense force kept down opposition; and nothing but the most cruel extortion, and the most galling injuries and provocations, could rouse even the bravest to opposition. It was the courage of hopeless bravery maddened by despair. Bato, the leader of the Pannonians, being afterwards asked by Tiberius why they had revolted from the Roman dominion, replied, "because you send wolves to guard your flocks, instead of dogs or shepherds."[1]

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[1] Data rursus potestas tribunicia in quinquennium.—Suet. lib. iii. c. 16.

[2] H. R. lib. lv. c. 12.

[3] Dion. lib. lv. c. 22.

[4] Dion. H. R. lib. lv. c. 23, 24. p. 563 to 565, c.

A. U. C. 757-58, A. J. P. 4718.
M. Aemilius Lepidus, L. Arruntius, Cos.
Augusti Trib. Potest. xxviii. Tiberii. T. Pot. vii.

This was an eventful year. Difficulties with regard to the pay of the army had begun the preceding year, and great efforts were required to replenish the exhausted treasury. In addition to this evil, a very great famine prevailed at Rome, so that, by a decree of the senate, all the gladiators, supernumerary slaves, and all foreigners, excepting physicians and teachers of youth, were obliged to leave the city. Frequent conflagrations took place, which occasioned the establishment of a city watch; and the people, oppressed by want, taxes, and the loss occasioned by incendiaries, were ripe for revolt. These troubles continued till the scarcity had ceased, and the gladiatorial shows were re-established.[2]

In this year Dio places the banishment of Archelaus. "Herod of Palestine, on account of some accusation by his brethren, was sent into exile beyond the Alps, and his territory confiscated."[3] Josephus, a better authority on this particular fact, places it a year later.

About this time (*κᾲν τοῖς ἀυτοῖς τούτοις χρόνοις*, in these very times), many wars took place. Robbers overran many regions, and not a few cities were in a state of insurrection; but, as it would be useless to mention all, Dio confined himself only to the most important. The Isaurians, from prædatory incursions, came at length to all the horrors of war, until they were finally subdued. The Gætulians made so powerful an insurrection, that the subjugation of them obtained for Cornelius Cossus Lentulus the honours of a triumph, and the surname of Gætulicus. Tiberius and other commanders made expeditions against the Germans, advancing first to the Visergis, or Weser, and afterwards to the Albis, or Elbe.[4]

Velleius Paterculus, who was himself in that campaign, states that Tiberius, after his adoption, was engaged for three years in breaking down their strength.[1]

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[1] Dion. H. R. lib. lv. c. 33. p. 570 E, and again, lib. lvi. c. 16. p. 582.

[2] Dion. H. R. lib. lv. c. 25-27, p. 565 D, 567 B.

[3] Dion. ut sup.

[4] Dion. ut sup. c. 28.

The Dalmatians and Pannonians were again in arms. Velleius says, that the whole number which revolted were more than eight hundred thousand, and that their army consisted of nearly two hundred thousand infantry, and nine thousand horse.[2] A part of this immense multitude, under their brave and skilful leaders, had determined to pour down upon Italy; and the mind of Augustus was so terrified, that he declared in the senate the enemy might appear in the sight of Rome in ten days.[3] They were not reduced to sue for peace till the consulship of Furius Camillus and Sextus Nonius Quintilianus (A.U.C. 759-60, A.J.P. 4720); nor was the war then terminated; for it broke out again with greater violence, and with very doubtful issue, two years after, in the consulship of Dolabella and Silanus. Scarcely were they subdued, when Quintilius Varus and more than three legions were slain in Germany. On hearing of this misfortune, Augustus put on mourning, and never recovered his spirits till the day of his death.[4]

It is evident, therefore, that from the year which we are now considering, the consulship of Lepidus and Arruntius, there was no period during the remaining life of Augustus, in which the gates of the temple of Janus could have been shut. Here, then, we fix the termination of that series of years, during which, as a sign of universal peace, the temple of Janus was closed; and, counting backward from this year to the consulship of Balbus and Vetus, the seventeenth year of the tribunicial power of Augustus, the year when monuments of victory were erected by the Roman people, we find precisely a period of nearly twelve years, according to the language of Orosius, in which the empire was in a state of tranquillity.* As far, therefore, as concerns the fact, his computation is correct, but not so as to his dates. He commences this period of nearly twelve years, in the year from the foundation of Rome 752. Consequently, its termination would be in the year 763, or three years before the death of Augustus. But it has now been shown, by the most indubitable testimony, that six of these years were passed in perpetual wars. His dates must, of necessity, be abandoned; and, during the whole life of Augustus, no other period of peace for nearly twelve years can be found, excepting from the fifty-seventh to the sixty-eighth year of his age, or from the 4707th to the 4718th years inclusive, of the Julian period.

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[1] Lib. ii. c. 122.

[2] Gentium nationumque, quæ rebellaverant, omnis numerus amplius DCCC millibus explebat. CC fere peditum colligebantur, armis habilia; equitum novem.

[3] Audita in senatu vox Principis, decimo die, ni caveretur, posse hostem in urbis Romæ venire conspectum.—Vel. Paterc. H. R. lib. ii. c. 110, 111.

[4] Dion. H. R. lvi. 18-22.—Vel. Paterc. lib. ii. c. 117.

* Orosius is not the only writer who has recorded the fact that our Saviour was born in a time of universal peace, and that it continued for twelve years. The following passage occurs in one of the sermons on our Lord's nativity, ascribed to St. Ambrose, but considered by his Benedictine editors as apocryphal: "Tanta quippe fuit Pax, Filio Dei apparente in Carne, *per duodecim annos*, ut omnes, secundum Esaiæ vaticinium, contunderent gladios suos in aratra et lanceas suas in falces."—Sermones Sancto Ambrosio hactenus adscripti, serm. iii. tom. ii. Opera S. Ambr. ed. Bened. appendix, col. 394.

What Orosius means, when he speaks of the gates of the temple of Janus being broken down by the sedition of the Athenians and the commotion of the Dacians, it is not easy to determine. There is no evidence on record of any sedition at this time among the Athenians, and the fierce Dacians could hardly be said to have been subdued by the Romans; at least, never until the time of Trajan. There must either be an error in the text of Orosius, in the edition which I possess, which is one of the earliest (A.D. 1483), or the author must have strangely confounded the people whom he names with the Pannonians and Dalmatians.*

It is universally admitted that our Saviour was born during the period in which the temple of Janus remained closed for the third time by Augustus. The decree to close it, was passed by the senate in the consulship of Tubero and Fabius Maximus, but was hindered by continual commotions till the fifth year afterwards, in the consulship of Balbus and Vetus. The temple was then shut, and continued shut for nearly twelve years, until the consulship of Lepidus and Arruntius. During this period oúr Saviour was born. According to our calculation, the earliest date of this period was in the year of the city 746-7; and this is all that, in the present stage of our inquiry, it is important to determine.

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* The author, during his stay in London, has examined at the British Museum the accurate edition of Orosius by Havercamp (4to. Lugd. Bat. 1738), and finds that it agrees with the edition he has quoted, excepting in a few slight verbal variations, which do not affect the sense.

CHAPTER X.

ON THE ASSOCIATION OF TIBERIUS WITH AUGUSTUS, AS COLLEAGUE OF THE EMPIRE.

Asserted by Velleius Paterculus, Suetonius, Tacitus, and perhaps Dio.—Obscurity as to the year.—To be ascertained by tracing history from some established point of time. —Dio's testimony lost.—Tiberius adopted, June 27, A.J.P. 4716.—His history traced from that date to A.J.P. 4720.—Suspected by Augustus.—Germanicus sent to reinforce him.—Augustus hastens to Ariminum, to be near the seat of war.—Operations of the army in A.J.P. 4721, ending with the slaughter of Varus and his legions about the autumnal equinox.—Tiberius hastens to Rome.—Triumph postponed, on account of the general mourning.—Operations in Germany in A.J.P. 4722.—Deferred triumph celebrated, Jan. 16, A.J.P. 4723.—Temple of Castor and Pollux dedicated, Jan. 27.—Not long after, Tiberius associated.—Probably in February.—The abbreviator of Dio at variance with Suetonius.—The latter preferred.—Tiberius and Germanicus went to Germany in A.J.P. 4723, and returned to Rome after the birthday of Augustus, the same year.—Consulship of Germanicus, A.J.P. 4724.—Commendation of the Senate to Tiberius probably a different event from the association of Tiberius in the empire.—The associate reign of Tiberius, from Feb. A.J.P. 4723, to Aug. 19, A.J.P. 4726, or about three years and six-and-a-half months.

THERE remains but one point more in the life of Augustus which it is important to our purpose to ascertain; and that is, in what year he associated Tiberius with himself in the government of the empire?

As to the fact, we have the concurrent testimony of Velleius Paterculus, Suetonius, Tacitus, and possibly Dio.

"At the request of his father Augustus," says Velleius, "the senate and people of Rome decreed that Tiberius should have an equal right with him in all the provinces and armies."[1]

"Tiberius dedicated the temple of Concord," says Suetonius, "and also the temple of Castor and Pollux.....And, not long after, a law being proposed by the consuls that he should administer the government of the provinces in common with Augustus, and, at the same time, carry on the census, and celebrate the lustral purification, he departed into Illyricum."[1]

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[1] Et senatus populusque Romanus, postulante patre ejus, ut æquum ei jus in omnibus provinciis, exercitibusque esset, quam erat ipsi, decreto complexus esset.—Vell. Paterc. Hist. Rom. lib. ii. c. 121.

Tacitus, enumerating the honours conferred upon Tiberius, says that he was made colleague of the empire.[2]

Dio merely says that Augustus, being now old, commended the senate to Tiberius.[3]

But, though the fact be certain, there is some obscurity as to the year when this took place; whether during the consulship of Æmilius Lepidus and Statilius Taurus, or in that of Germanicus Cæsar and Fonteius Capito.

To ascertain this, or, at least, to place before the reader the actual amount of testimony on the subject, we must, as we have before done, trace the history from some known and established point of time. We are unhappily deprived, in great measure, of the light which has formerly guided us; for, as the learned editor of Dio remarks, the six books of his history, "from the 55th to the 60th, inclusive, are evidently an earlier abridgment than that of Xiphilinus." They want the clearness and precision of the original author; and the narrative is oftentimes meagre and incoherent.

Tiberius was adopted June 27th, in the consulship of Ælius, or Æmilius Catus and Sentius Saturninus, A.U.C. 755-6, A.J.P. 4716.[4] Velleius Paterculus, himself an eye-witness, says that he was soon after sent into Germany, and remained there till the month of December.[5] Early in the following spring, in the consulship of L. Valerius Messala and Cn. Corn. Cinna (A.U.C. 756-7, A.J.P. 4717), he left Rome, and returned to Germany, penetrated to the Albis, or Elbe, subdued the Langobardi, who dwelt between that river and the Viadrus, or Oder, and finally returning to his former winter-quarters, on the Lupia, or Lippe, which runs into the Rhine, hastened back to Rome.[6]

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[1] Dedicavit et Concordiæ ædem item Pollucis et Castoris.——Ac non multo post, lege per consules lata, ut provincias cum Augusto communiter administraret, simulque censum ageret condito lustro, in Illyricum profectus est.—Sueton. lib. iii. c. 20-21.

[2] Nero solus e privignis erat: illuc cuncta vergere: filius, collega imperii, consors tribuniciæ potestatis adsumitur, omnesque per exercitus ostentatur.—Annal. lib. i. c. 3.

[3] Dion. H. R. lib. lvi. c. 26, p. 587 B.

[4] Vel. Pat. lib. ii. c. 103.

[5] Anni ejus æstiva, usque in mensem Decembrem perducta, immanis emolumentum fecere victoriæ.—Lib. ii. c. 105.

[6] Vel. Pat. lib. ii. c. 105-107.

The next year, in the consulship of M. Æmilius Lepidus and L. Arruntius (A.U.C. 757-8, A.J.P. 4718), Tiberius determined to attack Maraboduus, the leader of the Marcomanni, who, from his position, the number and discipline of his forces, and his personal character, had become formidable. Maraboduus inhabited the country north of the Danube (the modern Bohemia), being divided by that river from Noricum and Pannonia. Tiberius had made preparations during the winter to cross the Danube, and had ordered Sentius Saturninus to advance with his forces from Illyricum, to act as a body of reserve in the intended expedition; but the whole movement was checked by the sudden revolt of the Pannonians and Dalmatians, of which we have already spoken. This revolt, then, took place in the spring of the year 757-758 of the city, and 4718 of the Julian period, and occasioned, according to Suetonius, the most serious foreign war which had arisen since the Punic. It was carried on by Tiberius, with fifteen legions, and an equal number of auxiliaries, for three years.[1]

To the consulship, therefore, in which it began, must be added the two following:

A.J.P. 4719, A.U.C. 758-59, A. Licinius Nerva Silianus, Q. Cæcilius Metellus Creticus.
„ 4720, „ 759-60, M. Furius Camillus, Sex. Nonius Quintilianus.

This is corroborated by Dio, who says that Tiberius reduced the Pannonians and Dalmatians to sue for peace, in the consulship of Marcus Furius and Sextus Nonius.[2]

In the consulship of Nerva Silianus and Metellus Creticus, Augustus, suspecting that Tiberius was lengthening out the war from selfish motives, sent Germanicus with a reinforcement. Dio adds, that he sent Germanicus rather than Agrippa, on account of the low and vulgar propensities of the latter. Agrippa was now the only remaining grandson of Augustus. Being born after the death of his father, he was called Agrippa Posthumus. His father died, as we have seen, A.J.P. 4701; and he was adopted, with

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[1] Sed nunciata Illyrici defectione, transiit ad curam novi belli: quod gravissimum omnium externorum bellum post Punica, per xv. legiones paremque auxiliorum copiam, triennio gessit: in magnis omnium rerum difficultatibus, summaque frugum inopia. Et quamquam sæpius revocaretur tamen perseveravit; metuens, ne vicinus et prævalens hostis instaret ultro cedentibus. Ac perseverantiæ grande pretium tulit: toto Illyrico, quod inter Italiam, regnumque Noricum, et Thraciam, et Macedoniam, interque Danubium flumen et sinum maris Adriatici patet, perdomito et in ditionem redacto.—Suet. lib. iii. c. 16.

[2] Dion. H. R. lib. lv. c. 33, p. 570 C.

Tiberius, after the death of his brother Caius, June 27, A.J.P. 4716. The next year (4717), he received the toga virilis; but, in the consulship of which we now speak (A.J.P. 4719), he was degraded from his dignity, and banished, first to Surrentum, and afterwards to a small island near Corsica, then called Planasia, or Planaria, and now known by the name of Pianosa. The historians all agree as to his rough and clownish character, and that he was more remarkable for bodily than for mental vigour. Dio mentions that, in his fits of anger, he spoke disrespectfully of Livia, and even of Augustus;[1] and Tacitus imputes his banishment to the influence of Livia over the mind of Augustus, as Agrippa had been guilty of no crime. These events, by depriving Augustus of every other support, prepared the way for the elevation of Tiberius, notwithstanding the utter want of confidence in him which Augustus constantly manifested.

That the war in Pannonia and Dalmatia continued until the next consulship (A.J.P. 4720), is affirmed by Dio, or rather by his abbreviator. His words are: "When Marcus Furius and Sextus Nonius were consuls, the Dalmatians and Pannonians sued for peace, in the first place on account of famine, and next of disease, which followed it, occasioned by unwholesome food."

Dio proceeds, in the next section, to state, that Augustus then permitted the senate to pass many acts without his presence, and he no longer made his appearance in the comitia. He nominated, however, the candidates for the different offices, annexing certain letters to the names of those whom he desired. He applied himself also with great vigour to the affairs of the war, and hastened to Ariminum, that he might be nearer, for consultation, to the seat of war in Pannonia and Dalmatia. With these statements, he ends his 55th book.

At the beginning of the 56th book, Dio proceeds to state, that Tiberius returned to Rome after that winter in which Quintus Sulpicius and Caius Sabinus were consuls.[2] Augustus met him in the suburbs, and conducted him to an enclosure in the Campus Martius, called the Septa. Suetonius adds, that Tiberius entered the city clothed in the Prætexta, and crowned with laurel; and, being seated with Augustus, between the two consuls, he saluted the people. Quintus Sulpicius Camerinus and Caius Poppæus Sabinus were consuls the next year after Marcus Furius Camillus and Sextus Nonius Quintilianus; and it appears from the Capitoline tables, that they continued in office only six months. On the calends of July, M. Papius Mutilus and Q. Poppæus Secundus were substituted for them. There was, therefore, but one winter in which they were consuls, comprehending only the months of January and February, A.U.C. 760-1, A.J.P. 4721. Consequently, the earliest date which can be assigned for the return of Tiberius to Rome, is the month of March in that year.

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[1] Lib. lv 32, p. 570.

[2] Dion H. R. lib. lvi. c. 1, p. 572.

Having introduced the speech of Augustus to the married and unmarried senators and knights, Dio speaks of the law enacted for the encouragement of marriage, called the Papia-Poppæa, because it was proposed by Marcus Papius Mutilus and Quintus Poppæus Secundus, in that part of the year in which they were consuls; and then he adds: "While these things were transacted in Rome, the Romans under Germanicus, coming to Rhætinum, a city of Dalmatia, received there a severe check." This must have happened, therefore, in the interval between the return of Tiberius and the enactment of the Poppæan law, or between the months of March and July inclusive. The historian adds, that "Seretium, which Tiberius had formerly besieged, but failed to take, was then subdued, after which some other places were easily added." But, as the rest resisted, the war being thus lengthened out, and a scarcity of provisions having been caused thereby in Italy, Augustus again sent Tiberius into Dalmatia. Finding the soldiers impatient of delay, and anxious to bring the war to a close at any hazard, and being fearful of a mutiny if they were kept together, Tiberius divided them into three parts. The command of one division he gave to Silvanus, and of another to Marcus (or Manius) Lepidus, while he himself, with Germanicus, at the head of the third, marched against Bato.[1]

Velleius states that, "in the beginning of the summer, Lepidus having drawn his army from their *winter quarters*," in order to join Tiberius, had fought his way through whole nations who had not as yet been engaged in war, and were therefore the more savage and ferocious.[2] These *winter quarters* appear to have been at

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[1] Dion. H. R. lib. lvi. c. 10, 11, 12, p.578 D. to 579 E.

[2] Vel. Pat. lib. ii. c. 114.

Siscia, the modern Visuck or Sisseck, at the confluence of the Colapis and Savus, the Kulp and the Save.[1] And hence Lepidus led his army into Dalmatia. From the difficulties which he had to encounter, his progress must have been slow. Velleius, the only author who has mentioned this march, speaks of the difficulty of places, the force of the enemy, the slaughter made by the Romans of those who resisted them, the country laid waste, its houses burned, and its inhabitants massacred. Even after the arrival of Lepidus, and the subsequent arrangement of the command, Tiberius found himself in a very critical position. The Perustæ and the Desitiates in the mountainous region which divided Pannonia from Dalmatia, by the ferocity of their character, their wonderful knowledge of the art of war, and more especially the almost impregnable narrow passes of their mountains, not only tested his skill as a commander, but his personal strength and prowess in fighting, sword to sword and hand to hand.[2] Suetonius says that, "although he was often recalled, yet he persevered; fearful lest a neighbouring and successful enemy might greatly harass a retreating army. His perseverance," he adds, "was signally rewarded; the whole of Illyricum lying between Italy and Noricum, Thrace and Macedonia, and extending from the Danube to the Adriatic, being entirely subdued."[3]

With these statements, the narrative of Dio perfectly accords; and he gives a frightful picture of the devastation and carnage inflicted on the inhabitants, but which cost the Romans many men and much treasure.[4]

At length Arduba having been stormed by Germanicus, and all the neighbouring strongholds having voluntarily surrendered, Bato himself offered to submit, if assured for himself and his associates of protection and impunity. This being promised, he presented himself at night before Tiberius; and being again asked, as before, why he and his countrymen had rebelled and so lengthened out the war, again returned the same answer, that the Romans were in fault, because they had sent to guard their flock, not dogs nor shepherds, but wolves. Thus the war of Dalmatia and Pannonia was brought to a second termination.

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[1] Vel. Pat. H.R. lib. ii. c. 113.

[2] Ib. c. 115.

[3] Et quamquam sæpius revocaretur, tamen perseveravit; metuens, ne vicinus et prævalens hostis instaret ultro cedentibus. Ac perseverantiæ grande pretium tulit: toto Illyrico, quod inter Italiam regnumque Noricum, et Thraciam, et Macedoniam, interque Danubium flumen, et sinum Maris Adriatici patet, perdomito et in ditionem redacto.—Suet. lib. iii. c. 16.

[4] Dion. H. R. lib. lvi. c. 12-16, p. 579 E. 581 B.

Germanicus carried the news of this conquest to Rome, and the senate decreed the title of Imperator again to Augustus and Tiberius;[1] but within five days after the war was ended, arrived letters from Germany announcing the slaughter of Varus and his legions.[2]

The date of the defeat and destruction of Varus and his army is nowhere expressly mentioned; but Velleius Paterculus, describing the inert and fatal security of that commander, intimates that he attempted to be as rapacious in Germany as he had been in Syria, and conceived that men whom swords could not subdue were to be tamed by legislation. "With this intent, having advanced into the heart of Germany, as if he had been among men enjoying the sweets of peace and of good government, he dragged out the summer in acting according to the forms of law."[3] From the expression of the historian, that he dragged out the summer, it must be inferred, I think, that his disaster took place early in autumn; and as Tiberius was in the mountainous country now called the Tyrol, and, therefore, on the confines of ancient Germany, the news must soon have reached him. We may, therefore, place the event itself in September, and the arrival of the news in October, in the year known as the consulship of Camerinus and Sabinus, A.J.P. 4721.

Dio mentions that a severe storm of wind and rain overtook the Romans in their march, rendering the ground slippery, especially round the trunks of trees, breaking down the topmost branches, and thus impeding and harassing their movements.[4] This may have been the equinoctial storm, which in the country of the Cherusci and near the Visurgis or Weser, where Varus was, would be early and violent.

On receiving this intelligence, Tiberius hastened to Rome, where he found Augustus in the utmost sorrow and consternation.[5] The news, however, raised the services of Tiberius to higher estimation among the people, because it was seen that if Illyricum had not been previously subdued, the victorious Germans would have formed a junction with the Pannonians. A triumph was decreed by the senate to Tiberius, with many other honours. Some thought that he ought to receive the cognomen of Pannonicus, others of Invictus, the unconquered, and others wished even to give him the name of Pius, on account of his devotion to his father. But Augustus disapproved or was jealous of these flatteries; and Tiberius himself postponed the triumph, as inconsistent with the general mourning.[1]

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[1] Dion. H. R. lib. lvi. 17, p. 582 B.

[2] Vel. Pat. lib. ii. c. 117, comp. with Suet. lib. iii. c. 17, & Dion. H. R. lib. lvi. c. 18, p. 582 C.

[3] Lib ii. c. 117.

[4] Lib. lvi. 20, p. 584.

[5] His auditis revolat ad patrem Cæsar. —Vel. Pat. lib. ii. c. 120, comp. with Dion. H. R. lib. lvi. c. 23, p. 585 B.

The grief of Augustus did not prevent his acting with his accustomed energy. Collecting as many soldiers as he could from the veterans and the freedmen, he sent them immediately, and with the greatest haste, into Germany, under the command of Tiberius.[2]

It is probable, from the language of Dio, that Tiberius left Rome in the same year; and I know not else how to reconcile his progress with the fact subsequently mentioned by Suetonius, that he returned from Germany "post biennium," after the second year. Of this we shall soon have occasion to speak more particularly. As fears were entertained of the tranquillity of Gaul, Tiberius secured that on his way, arranged the troops to the best advantage, fortified the strongholds, and subjected the army to the strictest discipline.[3] In this manner he crossed the Rhine. Here he laid waste the country, burning houses, and slaughtering the inhabitants; and then returned, says Velleius, without loss and with great glory into winter quarters.[4] This return to winter quarters must have taken place towards the end of the year of which we have been speaking, known in the Roman fasti as the consulship of Q. Sulpicius Camerinus and Poppæus Sabinus.

Early in the next year, that is, in the year when Dolabella and Silanus were consuls, or in the year 4722 of the Julian period, A.U.C. 761-2, Tiberius advanced again from his winter quarters into Germany.[5] "The same courage and the same fortune," says Velleius, "attended him now, as at the beginning."[6] By his naval and military expeditions, "classicis, peditumque expeditionibus," the strength of the enemy was broken down, and by restraint, rather than punishment, he subdued the rising dissensions of the Viennenses, and settled the weighty concerns of Gaul. Perceiving, as Suetonius says, that the slaughter of Varus and his legions had arisen from the rashness and negligence of the general, he proceeded with more than ordinary caution; and when about to cross the Rhine, would allow no more luggage to be forwarded than was absolutely necessary. Having crossed that river, he shared with his army all the fatigues, and hardships of the expedition, took his meals sitting upon the bare ground, and often passed his nights without any tent to cover him. A singular instance of superstition is here recorded by the historian; that although Tiberius trusted little to fortune or chance, yet whenever, during his hours of watchfulness in the night, his light was suddenly, and without perceptible cause, extinguished, he considered it as a good omen, and engaged in battle. At one time, however, he narrowly escaped assassination.[1]

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[1] Suet. lib. iii. c. 17.

[2] Dion. H. R. lib. lvi. c. 23.

[3] Vel. Pat. ii. c. 120.

[4] Vel. Pat. ii. c. 120, comp. Suet. iii. 18.

[5] The words of Suetonius are, proximo anno repetita Germania.

[6] Lib. ii. c. 121.

The narrative of Suetonius adds one fact which is very important to our purpose. Tiberius returned to the city from Germany after two years, and then celebrated the triumph which had been deferred.[2]

Velleius mentions it as an effect of his moderation, that he celebrated only three triumphs instead of seven.[3] How early in the autumn or winter of the consulship of Camerinus and Sabinus he went into Germany, we cannot ascertain; but the two years mentioned by Suetonius necessarily include a portion of that and the whole of the following consulship of Dolabella and Silanus, and perhaps the commencement of that which followed, namely, the consulship of M. Æmilius Lepidus and T. Statilius Taurus. The date of the triumph which had been so long postponed appears, from the Prænestine calendar, discovered in 1770, to have been on the 16th of January, or the 17th before the kalends of February; that is, if our computation be correct, at the beginning of the consulship of M. Æmilius Lepidus and T. Statilius Taurus, or January 16, A.J.P. 4723.

H . XVII C . TI . CAESAR EX PAnnoniis triumphAVIT.

The 16th of January, as we learn from Ovid, was the festival of the goddess Concordia; and the 27th of January, the 6th before the calends of February, that of Castor and Pollux.[4] We see the reason, therefore, why Suetonius, after speaking of the triumph, immediately adds, that Tiberius dedicated the temple of Concord, and also that of Castor and Pollux. In the Prænestine calendar, the dedication of the latter temple is thus recorded:

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[1] Suet. lib. iii. c. 18-19.

[2] A Germania in urbem post biennium regressus, triumphum quem distulerat egit.—Suet. lib. iii. c. 20.

[3] Lib. ii. c. 122.

[4] P. Ovid. Fastor. lib. i. v. 640-705.

C . VI . C . AEDes Castoris et PoLLVCIS . DEDICAta est.

The dedication of the temple of Concord is not recorded, because in the consulship of Dolabella and Silanus (A.J.P. 4722, A.U.C. 761-2) another temple, called the temple of Concordia Augusta, had been dedicated on the same day by Augustus.

H . XVII . C . CONCORDIAE AVgustae aedes dedicatA EST . P. DOLABELLA C . SILANO COS.

It appears, then, that Tiberius triumphed on the 16th of January, A.J.P. 4723, and on the same day, dedicated the temple of Concord, because it was the festival of that goddess. He also dedicated, in the name of himself and his brother Drusus, on the 27th of January, the temple of Castor and Pollux, which he had erected with the spoils of his victories.[1]

"And *not long after*," says Suetonius, "a law being proposed by the consuls that he should administer the government of the provinces in common with Augustus, and at the same time carry on the census, and celebrate the lustral purification, he departed into Illyricum."[2]

Not long after the dedication of the temples of Concord and of Castor and Pollux,—that is, *not long after* the 16th and 27th of January,—the law was enacted by which Tiberius was associated with Augustus in the government of the provinces. We may fairly assume, then, that this took place in February; and thus we arrive at the point of difficulty, in adjusting the language of the historians. We have seen that Suetonius expressly says it was after the second year from the slaughter of Varus and his legions that Tiberius triumphed and dedicated the two temples. This language is at variance with that which occurs in the remaining text of Dio: "In the following year," says Dio—that is, in the year following the departure of Tiberius with the army raised by Augustus, after the disaster of Varus and his three legions,—"Tiberius dedicated the temple of Concord, and inscribed upon it his own name and that of his deceased brother Drusus." But it was so far from being the following year, that it was not until the month of January in the second year. The language of the Latin historian is too precise to be disregarded. Velleius says nothing of the dedication of the temples, but connects with the return of Tiberius from Germany and Gaul, the decree of the senate, giving him equal authority with Augustus in the provinces and in the armies. He speaks, however, of his triumphs, and his singular moderation in being content with three when he deserved seven. After this event, until the death of Augustus, both Velleius and Suetonius speak only in general terms of the manner in which Tiberius and Germanicus were employed; but Dio, as far as we have his testimony, proceeds to state their occupation during the remainder of that year. "In the consulship of Marcus Æmilius with Statilius Taurus, Tiberius, and Germanicus as proconsul, marched into Germany, and overran some parts of it, but were victorious in no engagement, and subdued no nation, because no one encountered them. Fearing, however, lest they should meet with some disaster, they did not advance far beyond the Rhine, but after they had remained there till autumn, and had celebrated the birthday of Augustus (September 23rd) and some equestrian sports had been exhibited on that occasion by the centurions, they returned." After mentioning various regulations by Augustus, Dio proceeds as follows: "Germanicus after this received the consulate, not having been prætor, and retained the office for the whole year, but did nothing worthy of being recorded." And then he adds: "Augustus being now old, commended Germanicus to the senate, and the senate to Tiberius. He himself, however, did not read the document (for he was not able to speak loud), but Germanicus, as he had been accustomed."[1]

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[1] Dedicavit et Concordiæ ædem, item Pollucis et Castoris, suo fratrisque nomine, de manubiis.—Suet. lib. iii. c. 20.

[2] Ib. c. 21.

This commendation of the senate to Tiberius has been supposed to mean the association of Tiberius with himself in the empire; it being afterwards common, in settling the succession, for the emperors to commend their sons to the senate; and commending the senate to Tiberius, seems, for the same reason, to mean the bestowment of imperial authority. If such be the meaning, then it is plain that Dio places the association of Tiberius with Augustus, in the consulship of Germanicus, and not in that of Lepidus and Taurus. We must keep in mind, however, that we have not here the perfect text of Dio. The narrative bears internal marks of being a disjointed abridgment; and in placing the consecration of the temple of Concord a year before the association of Tiberius with Augustus, it would contradict the express testimony of Suetonius, who tells us the decree of the senate was passed but a short time after the dedication of the two temples.

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[1] Dion. H. R. lib. lvi. c. 25, 26, p. 586 c,—587 B.

I am inclined to think, therefore, that the commendation of the senate to Tiberius was an event subsequent to that of associating him in the government of the empire. The first gave him equal authority with Augustus in the provinces and armies, but not in Rome; the second extended that authority, in consequence of the increasing infirmities of Augustus, so as to include the authority of presiding in the senate in his stead.

After weighing all these difficulties well, the most satisfactory conclusion appears to be this: that the triumph, the dedication of the two temples, and the decree of the senate, took place in the successive months of January and February, in the year when M. Æmilius Lepidus and T. Statilius Taurus were consuls, or in the year of the Julian period 4723. As it was before the Parilia, it was in the 762nd year of Rome, and in the first year of the 197th olympiad; in the 55th year of the reformed calendar of Julius Cæsar, and the tenth year of the Dionysian æra of Jesus Christ. The first year of this associate empire ended in February A.U.C. 763, A.J.P. 4724, when Germanicus Cæsar and C. Fonteius Capito were consuls; and in that year Augustus enlarged the authority of Tiberius by commending to him the senate. The second year ended in February A.U.C. 764, A.J.P. 4725, when Caius Silius and Munatius Plancus were consuls. The third year ended in February A.U.C. 765, A.J.P. 4726, when Sextus Pompeius and Sextus Appuleius were consuls. During their consulship Augustus died, on the 19th of August; which being after the Parilia, was in the 766th year of Rome, and being after July, was in the first year of the 198th olympiad. Tiberius was therefore associated with Augustus about three years, six months and a half, before he became the sole emperor.

CHAPTER XI.

FROM THE ASSOCIATION OF TIBERIUS IN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PROVINCES, UNTIL HIS DEATH.

Tiberius associated in the 73rd year of Augustus.—The reign of Augustus by Decennial periods.—Concise view of events till his death.—Total eclipse of the sun in that year, mentioned by Dio and Eusebius, but denied by Petavius. The subject examined.—Proofs of a central eclipse in A.J.P. 4726, but none in A.J.P. 4727.—Lunar eclipse mentioned by Tacitus and Dio as occurring during the mutiny in Pannonia. —Question considered whether it was the eclipse of October 7, A.J.P. 4726, or September 27, A.J.P. 4727.—Decided in favour of the former. 1. By testimony. 2. Astronomical calculations. 3. Necessary length of time after the death of Augustus.—The years in which Julius and Augustus Cæsar died, two of the most important for the settlement of chronology.—The narrative continued.—Death of Agrippa Posthumus.—Germanicus suspected.—Poisoned, Nov. A.J.P. 4731.—His ashes brought to Rome early in A.J.P. 4732.—Tiberius goes to Campania A.J.P. 4733.—Returns in consequence of Livia's illness, A J.P. 4734.—Death of Junia, the widow of Cassius, in the 64th year after the battle of Philippi.—Drusus murdered, A.J.P. 4735.—Decennial games, A.J.P. 4736.—The next year constant proscriptions.—In A.J.P. 4738, Tiberius left Rome never to return.—In 4739, retired to Capreæ, where he spent the remainder of his life.—A.J.P. 4741, the consulship of the two Gemini—Livia died, aged 86 years.—Her character.—From this time the career of Tiberius unbridled. —All the family of Germanicus destroyed excepting Caligula.—In 4743 Sejanus consul, and publicly executed Oct. 18.—Tiberius died in March, A.J.P. 4749.—His character, as given by Dio.

If the foregoing calculations be correct, Tiberius was associated with Augustus in the government of the provinces, that is, in the government of the whole empire, excepting the city of Rome and its dependencies, in the month of February, in the year 4723 of the Julian period, the 55th year of the reformed calendar of Julius Cæsar, in the sixth month of the 41st year after the battle of Actium, and in the seventy-third year of the age of Augustus.

From this time, Augustus began to cast off the burthens of empire. His speech to the senate, in which he commended Germanicus to them, and them to Tiberius, was read, not by himself, but by Germanicus; and, assigning the war in Germany as an excuse, he requested them not to come to the palace to salute him, and not to be offended if he did not entertain them.[1]

"Lucius Munatius and Caius Silius being designated consuls, Augustus," says Dio, "unwillingly took the fifth decennial government of the commonwealth, and again gave Tiberius the tribunicial power. To Drusus, the son of Tiberius, he gave the consulship for the third year, and permitted him to become a candidate for it before he had been prætor."[2]

It must be distinctly observed, that Dio does not here say, as usual, when Munatius and Silius were consuls, but when they were *designated* consuls. They did not become consuls till the 1st of January, A.J.P. 4725, A.U.C. 764-5; but they were *designated* consuls, by the vote of the people in the centuries, about the calends of the preceding August,* A.J.P. 4724, A.U.C. 763-4. It was, therefore, during the last six months of the year following that in which Tiberius was associated with Augustus in the empire, and a year earlier than it was usual for him to renew his decennial authority. This will be made evident, if we compare the several accounts which Dio gives of these decennial periods.

His first statement is as follows: "Cæsar, being desirous to lead the Romans off from the suspicion that he meditated anything monarchical, undertook the government of those provinces which were assigned to him, for ten years; for he promised to reduce them within that time, adding, in the boasting manner of a young man, that if he could pacify them sooner, he would sooner give them up to the senate."[3] This arrangement took place when Cæsar was consul the seventh, and Agrippa the third time, A.U.C. 725-6, A.J.P. 4686. Shortly after, speaking of this arrangement, by which the provinces were divided between Cæsar and the senate, Dio makes the following reflections: "These things, therefore, were, so to speak, thus arranged at that time; but, in reality, Cæsar himself was always, and of all things, the absolute master, having the treasury and the army entirely at his disposal. When, therefore, this period of ten years was ended, another five years was voted to him, and then another five; and, after this, ten, and again another ten the fifth time: so that he was monarch his whole life, by a succession of decennial periods. On which account, succeeding emperors, though inaugurated once for their whole life, and not for a limited time, celebrated, notwithstanding, a festival every ten years, as if they then renewed their government. And such," adds the historian, "is the practice even now."[1]

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[1] D. Cass. H. R. lib. lvi. c. 26, p. 587 B.C.

[2] D. Cass. H. R. lib. lvi. c. 28, p. 588 B.C.

* "Magistratuum Comitia habebantur circa Kalendas Sextileis."—Nieupoort de ritibus Romanorum, p. 84. It is evident from the titles of many of Cicero's Epistles, that the consuls thus created for the following year were called Designati till they entered upon their office; but I have not been able to find any ancient authority for the fact so confidently asserted by modern writers, that the elections took place in July or August.

[3] Dion Hist. R. lib. liii. 13, p. 504 B.C.

The reader will recollect, that the first five years of the triumvirate expired, by its own limitation, on the 31st of December, in the seventh year of the reformed calendar of Julius Cæsar, or on the last day of the year 4675 of the Julian period. It must also be recollected, that, in the following spring, Antony and Cæsar renewed the triumvirate for five years longer, without asking the consent of the senate and people. But this usurpation, Cæsar, when he had obtained unrivalled authority, was very willing to bury in oblivion. He, therefore, artfully reckoned ten years, from the 31st of December A.J.P. 4675, to the 31st of December A.J.P. 4685, when his sixth consulship ended; and, at the commencement of his seventh consulship, asked the senate and people to confer upon him supreme authority for another space of ten years, commencing the 1st of January A.J.P. 4686, and ending the 31st of December A.J.P. 4695, in which year the two Lentuli were consuls.

Hence Dio, speaking afterwards of that year, says: "During the consulship of Publius and Cneius Lentulus, Augustus—first prolonged his own authority five years, since the decennial period was now expiring, and then gave Agrippa the tribunicial authority for the same space of time, having made him, in other respects, nearly of equal power with himself. For so much, he said, would then be sufficient for them both. Not long afterwards, however, he doubled the period of his imperial government, so that it became again ten years."[2] This second decennial period would expire, therefore, on the 31st of December A.J.P. 4705, when Caius Marcius Censorinus and Caius Asinius Gallus were consuls, that is,

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[1] H. R. lib. liii. 16, p. 506 E. & 507.

[2] Dion. H. R. lib. liv. 12, p. 529 B.C.

A.U.C. 744-5, at the close of the fifteenth year, according to the Capitoline tables, or the first half of the sixteenth year, dating from the decree of the senate, giving him his tribunicial authority. Accordingly, we again find the narrative of Dio stating as follows: "The next year, in which Asinius Gallus and Caius Marcius were consuls, although he had resigned the government, as he said, because the second ten years were expired, he unwillingly, forsooth, took it again upon himself."[1]

This third decennial period would expire on the 31st of December A.J.P. 4715, when Lucius Ælius Lamia and Marcus Servilius were consuls, A.U.C. 754-5, at the close of the twenty-fifth year of his tribunicial authority. During that year, therefore, the historian says: "His third decennial period being fulfilled, he by compulsion, forsooth, undertook the government for the fourth time."[2]

This fourth decennial period would terminate December 31st, A.J.P. 4725, A.U.C. 764-5, in the consulship of Caius Silius and Lucius Munatius Plancus, at the close of the thirty-fifth or beginning of the thirty-sixth year of his tribunicial authority, and, consequently, less than a year before his death. This, according to his usual practice, would have been the time to renew the decennial government; whereas he, in fact, renewed it the year before, when Caius Silius and Lucius Munatius were *designated* consuls, but had not yet entered upon their office. No reason is assigned for this change; but it may naturally be accounted for, by the fact of his having the preceding year associated Tiberius in the empire, his weariness of the cares of government, and the rapidly increasing infirmities, which admonished him to provide for the peaceful transmission of his authority.

A proposition was made at the same time by Augustus, and obsequiously assented to by the senate and people, which marks the wonderful hold he had either on their fears or their affections: "On account of his great age, by reason of which he very rarely met with the senate, he asked for twenty privy-counsellors, to be chosen annually; for, before, he had associated with himself fifteen every six months.* Accordingly, a vote was passed that whatsoever might seem good to him, consulting with Tiberius and with them (*i.e.* the twenty), together with the consuls for the time being, those designated consuls, those adopted by him as his grandchildren, and any others whom he might at any time add to them, should have the force of law, as if enacted by the whole senate."[1] This high-handed measure gave the finishing blow to Roman liberty; and one knows not whether most to wonder at the unblushing arrogance of the emperor, or at the rapid debasement, and utter servility, to which the nation had sunk in the course of a hundred years!

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[1] Dion. H. R. lib. lv. 5-6, p. 551, C.E.

[2] Dion. H. R. lib. lv. 12, p. 556, C.

* Suetonius says that these counsellors for six months were chosen from the senate by lot, to prepare beforehand the business to be discussed in full senate.

"At the celebration of his birth-day this year (September 23rd), a deranged person seated himself in the chair of Julius Cæsar, took his crown, and put it on his own head. This to Augustus seemed a portent of his own death, and such it truly was; for, in the following summer, in which Sextus Appuleius and Sextus Pompeius were consuls, Augustus went into Campania, and died at Nola. There was a total eclipse of the sun (ὅ τε γὰρ ἥλιος πᾶς ἐξέλιπε) and a great part of the heavens seemed to be on fire, and blood-red comets (ἀστέρες κομῆται καὶ αἱματώδεις) were seen."[2]

Livia was somewhat suspected of having hastened his death, because he had sailed to the island [sc. of Planasia, now called Pianosa], and had had a secret interview with Agrippa. Fearing that Augustus would raise his grandson to the monarchy, she conveyed poison to him in a fig. He died on the 19th of August, the day in which he first became consul, having lived seventy-five years, ten months, and twenty-six days; for he was born on the 23rd day of September, and he had reigned alone, from the time in which he conquered at Actium, forty-four years, wanting thirteen days.[3]

Tacitus speaks of the suspicion resting on Livia; and Pliny and Plutarch both allude to it.[4] Suetonius accords perfectly with Dio, as to the day and year of his birth and death, and the duration of his monarchy from the battle of Actium. And with the whole of these historians, our present computation harmonizes entirely. Of this we proceed to give a brief recapitulation.

(Octavianus, c. 35). But this was only a standing committee. The subsequent measure superseded the action of the senate entirely.

[1] Dion. Cass. H. R. lib. lvi. c. 28, p. 588.

[2] Dion. H. R. lib. lvi. c. 29, p. 589.

[3] Dion. H. R. lib. lvi. c. 30, p. 589-90.

[4] Tacit. Annal. lib i. c. 5. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. vii. c. xlvi. 45. Plut. περὶ ἀδολεσχίας. Ed. Steph. tom. ii. p. 503.

Augustus was born in the consulship of Cicero and Antonius, in the year of the Julian period 4650, on the 23rd of September.

From Sept. 23, A.J.P. 4650, to Sept. 23, 4725, are	75 solid years.		
From Sept. 23, A.J.P. 4725, to July 23, 4726, are		10 solid months.	
From July 23, A.J.P. 4726, to August 19, 4726, are			
in July (not including the 23rd), days 8			
in August (not including the 19th), days 18—			26 solid days.
According to Dio's computation............	years 75.	ms. 10.	days 26

Again: The battle of Actium took place, as we have before seen (p. 197), in the third consulship of Cæsar with Valerius Messalla Corvinus, on the 2nd day of September, in the year of the Julian period 4682.

From September 2, 4682, to September 2, 4725, are	43 solid years.		
From September 2, 4725, to August 2, 4726, are		11 solid months.	
From August 2 to August 19, both included, are			18 solid days.
	43	11	18
To which add 13 days, according to Dio's comp.			13
Making a total of 44 years................	44	0	0

After the will of Augustus had been opened and read, Drusus read also in the senate four manuscripts; the first of which contained the directions for his funeral; the second, an enumeration of his actions, which he ordered to be inscribed on brazen columns placed before his mausoleum; the third, a summary of the army, the revenues, public expenses, contents of the treasury, and other things pertaining to the government; the fourth, his injunctions and counsels to Tiberius and the republic.[1]

The assertion of Dio,[2] that there was a total eclipse of the sun in the year when Augustus died, has been called in question by Petavius, and, on his authority, by other modern chronologers of note. It becomes necessary, therefore, to examine the grounds on which the rejection of such positive testimony has been founded.

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[1] Dion. H. R. lvi. c. 33, p. 591, B. Suetonius mentions only the first three (lib. ii. c. 101). The second is that of which there are fragments remaining, and of which occasional notice has been taken in the present work. They were discovered by a learned divine and antiquarian of the Church of England, the Rev. Edmund Chishull, and were published by him under the title of "Monumentum Latinum Ancyranum," annexed to his great work Antiquitates Asiaticæ, fol. 1728. The monument itself is entitled, "Rerum gestarum Divi Augusti, quibus orbem terrarum imperio populi Rom. subjecit, et impensarum, quas in rempublicam populumque Romanum fecit, Incisarum in duabus aheneis pilis quæ sunt Romæ positæ, exemplar subjectum." The work of Chishull I have seen in the British Museum; and the inscription itself, with the commentary of Isaac Casaubon, is annexed to the second volume of the works of Suetonius, edited by Fred. Aug. Wolff. Lipsiæ. 4 tom. 8vo. 1802. tom. ii. 369-400.

[2] Lib. lvi. c. 29.

The following is a literal translation of the words of Petavius: "Eusebius states in his chronicon, at the 56th year of Augustus, the year of Abraham 2029, and the first of the 198th olympiad, that there happened an eclipse of the sun, when Augustus died. Dio likewise relates, in his fifty-sixth book, among the prodigies that preceded the death of Augustus, a total eclipse of the sun. But Eusebius has placed the death of Augustus one year too early; for, according to the method,* by adding 2696 years to the number given by Eusebius, it will make the year of Abraham 2029 begin in the year 4725 of the Julian period; and hence it will make Augustus to have died in the year 4726, whereas he died in the year 4727. Mercator computes, that in the year when Augustus died—the consulship of the two Sexti, the sun was eclipsed in the year of Nabonassar 760, the sun being in 6° 15′ of Taurus. This was the year of Christ 13. But in that year there was no eclipse of the sun,[1] neither at Rome, nor in any of the provinces of Gaul or Spain. For the true new moon took place at Rome near the twentieth hour, that is, 19h. 49m. after midnight, on the 28th of April, being one hour after sunset. According to the Parisian tables, and the true motion of the sun, it had then arrived at 5° 44′ of Taurus. Wherefore, since no eclipse of the sun was seen, neither in that year in which Augustus died [*i.e.*, according to Petavius, 4727], nor in the year preceding, either Dio is false, or some unusual paleness and obscurity of the sun, furnished the spectators with the idea of an eclipse, such as happened, as we have before shown, at the death of Julius Cæsar."[2]

This is a bold and sweeping way of evading testimony, especially of such writers as Dio and Eusebius; and it must not be suffered to pass without careful scrutiny.

Petavius acknowledges what he could not deny, that Eusebius places the death of Augustus in the year of Abraham 2029, which by his own showing, corresponds with the year 4726 of the Julian period, and the year 13 of the Dionysian æra; whereas he himself places it in the year 4727 of the Julian period, corresponding with the year 14 of the Dionysian æra. We trust we have shown to the satisfaction of the reader that Augustus died on the 19th of August, A.J.P. 4726; and consequently that Petavius was wrong and Eusebius right.

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* This alludes to a perpetual method provided by Petavius (Doct. Temp. lib. ix. c. 1) of turning the Eusebian years of Abraham into years of the Julian period. He there shows that the first year of Abraham, according to Eusebius, fell in the autumn of the year 2697 of the Julian period. Hence by adding 2696 years to any given Eusebian year of Abraham, you have the year of the Julian period in which it began.

[1] Neque Romæ, neque in Galliis, aut Hispaniis.

[2] Petav de Doct. Temp lib. xi. c. 6, tom. ii. p 166.

Petavius acknowledges that Eusebius speaks of an eclipse of the sun in the same year in which Augustus died. The words are, as translated from the Armenian version, "Defectio solis facta, et Augustus mortuus est"—an eclipse of the sun takes place, and Augustus dies. St. Jerome, in his translation of Eusebius, and Syncellus, say the same thing. Petavius further acknowledges that this eclipse was calculated by Gerard Mercator, an astronomer of no mean reputation, and found to have taken place in the year of Nabonassar 760, when the sun was in 6° 15′ of Taurus.

The æra of Nabonassar began February 26th, A.J.P. 3967; and 759 Egyptian years are equal to 758 Julian years and 176 days. The first of Thoth, or the beginning of the 760th year of Nabonassar, was, therefore, the 20th of August in the year 4725 of the Julian period; and as, according to Mercator's calculation, the sun was in Taurus, the eclipse took place in the spring of the year 4726 of the Julian period, and the year 13 of the Dionysian æra. This Petavius admits; but adds immediately, that in the year 13 there was no eclipse of the sun *visible at Rome, or in the Gallic and Spanish provinces.* What if there was not? Does Dio say anything of Rome, or Gaul, or Spain? Not a word. He merely says that the sun was totally eclipsed. Wherever seen, by any of the Roman soldiery, in any part of the world, such an event would be spoken of, and the superstitious would construe it into a prodigy.

What, then, was the fact? Petavius admits that the moon changed at Rome on the 28th of April in the year 13 of the Dionysian æra, 19 hours and 49 minutes after midnight, that is, at 49 minutes past seven o'clock in the evening of that day. In the great work of the learned Benedictines entitled "The art of verifying dates," there is a calculation of all the eclipses, both lunar and solar, visible in Europe, Asia, and that part of Africa known to the Romans, in every year from the first of the Dionysian æra to the year 2000, calculated by M. Pingré, and approved by a committee of the French Royal Academy of Sciences. On turning to this table it will be seen, that in the year 13 there were three eclipses, two partial of the moon, and one of the sun. That of the sun is thus described: ∗ 28 April at 7½ evening. Small part of Europe, to the west and north-west. *Central*, in latitude 52. Annular.

It appears, then, that on the 28th of April, the day on which Petavius mentions the change of moon, and nearly at the same hour (the difference being probably that of the meridians of Paris and Rome), there was an *annular* eclipse of the sun, seen only in a small part of Europe to the west and north-west, and in the 52nd degree of north latitude *central*. It was sufficiently near to a total eclipse to be so designated by the historians.

A method of proving the truth of what has now been said is given in Gregory's Astronomy, chap. xix., which, in conjunction with the tables of eclipses here referred to, will show, we presume, to the satisfaction of the reader, that the historian is wrongly accused by the modern chronologer. It is as follows:

"Since the nodes move backwards 19⅓° every year, they would shift through all the points of the ecliptic in 18 years and 225 days; and this would be the regular period of the return of the eclipses, if any complete number of lunations were performed in it without a fraction; but this is not the case. However, in 223 mean lunations, after the sun, moon, and nodes, have been once in a line of conjunction, they return so nearly to the same state again, that the same node which was in conjunction with the sun and moon at the beginning of these lunations, will be within 28′ 12″ of the line of conjunction when the last of these lunations is completed; and in this period there will be a regular return of eclipses, till it be repeated about forty times, or in about 720 years, when the line of the nodes will be 28′ × 40 from the conjunction, and will consequently be beyond the ecliptic limits. This is called the Plinian period, or Chaldean saros; it contains, according to Dr. Halley, 18 Julian years, 11d. 7h. 43m. 20s.; or according to Mr. Ferguson, 18 years, 11d. 7h. 42m. 44s. In an interval of 557 years, 21d. 18h. 11m. 51s., in which there are exactly 6890 mean lunations, the conjunction or opposition coincides so nearly with the node, as not to be distant more than 11″. If, therefore, to the mean time of any solar or lunar eclipse, we add this period, and make the proper allowance for the intercalary days, we shall have the mean time of the return of the same eclipse. This period is so very near, that in 6000 years it will vary no more from the truth than 8¼ minutes of a degree."[1]

This rule we proceed now to apply to the eclipse in question. The eclipse is stated to have taken place A.D. 13, April 28th, 7½ P.M., and to have been central. From the first of January to the 27th of April at midnight, there are 117 days; and from midnight to half-past seven in the evening of the 28th, 19 hours and 30 minutes. The sum, then, may be thus stated:

	Y.	D.	H.	M.	S.	January	31
	12	117	19	30	0	February	28
Add the period of return	557	21	18	11	51	March	31
						April	30
	569	139	13	41	51	May	19
							139 days.

Or May 20th, A.D. 570, as the time for the regular return of the same eclipse.

On examining the table of eclipses for the year of our Lord 570, it will be found that there were two partial eclipses of the moon and one central eclipse of the sun, and that the latter is thus described: ⁎ 20 May, 7h. 45m. evening, Europe to the N.W. *central* in 42° lat. Asia to the N.E. *central* in 17° lat. *Annular.*

	Y.	D.	H.	M.	S.	January	31
Again.	557	21	18	11	51	February	28
					2	March	31
						April	30
	1114	43	12	23	42	May	31
Add	12	117	19	30	0	June	10
	1126	161	7	53	42		161 days.

Or June 11th, A.D. 1127, as the time of the second periodical return of the eclipse of A.D. 13.

On examining the table, we find in A.D. 1127 two partial eclipses of the moon, and one central eclipse of the sun, which is thus described: ⁎ 11 June, at 7h. evening, to the N.W. of Europe *central*, in 31° lat. *Annular.*

	Y.	D.	H.	M.	S.		Y.	D.	H.	M.	S.	Jan.	31
Again:	577	21	18	11	51	× 3 =	1671	65	6	35	33	Feb.	28
						Add	12	117	19	30	0	Mar.	31
												Apr.	30
							1683	183	2	5	33	May	31
												June	30
							Or July 2, A.D. 1684.					July	2
													183 days.

In the mean time the change of calendar had taken place, and ten days been omitted. Hence July 2, became July 12.

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[1] Cavallo's Philosophy, vol. iv. p. 261-2.

The table for the year 1684 exhibits, as before, two partial eclipses of the moon, and one central of the sun, described as follows: ∗ 12 July, 3 o'clock P.M. Europe, Africa, Asia, to the W. *central* in lat 42°—18°.

The fourth periodical return of the eclipse of A.D. 13 has not yet taken place. The calculations not being given in detail, but only the results, perfect accuracy could not be obtained. Sufficient however is shown by this mode of proof, to make it certain that in the year 4726 of the Julian period, which we have shown to be the year in which Augustus died, there was on the 28th day of April such an eclipse as Dio has described, and the other writers have mentioned.

Petavius would not have accused Dio of falsehood, if he could have shown any solar eclipse such as the historian described in the year 4727 of the Julian Period, A.D. 14. In that year there were two total eclipses of the moon, but a very inconsiderable eclipse of the sun. I subjoin the tables of the periodical returns of the eclipses of that year, in order that the reader may see the negative as well as the positive side of the argument.

A.D. 14 ● 4 Apr. 1h. 30′ morn. ∗ 18 Apr. 0h. 30′ morn. Asia N. and N.E. ● 27 Sept. 5 morn.

A.D. 571 ● 25 Apr. 6h. even. ∗ 9 May, 9h. even. to N.E. of Asia, ● 18 Octob. 11h. evening.

A.D. 1128 ● 16 May, 6h. 30′ morn. ∗ 30 May, 8h. 30′ even. Asia N.E. ∗ 25 Oct. 5h. even. Europe to the W. ● 8 November, 9h. even. *almost central.*

A.D. 1685 ● 16 June, 6h. even. ∗ 1 July, at 8h. even. Europe to N. Asia, to N.E. ∗ 26 Nov. at 7h. morn. Asia to N. ● 10 Decemb. at 11h. evening.

Before we leave this subject it may be important to notice an eclipse of the moon which, according to Tacitus and Dio, took place after the army in Pannonia had heard of the death of Augustus and the accession of Tiberius. The first of these historians relates, that, on receiving this intelligence, Julius Blæsus, the general, granted a suspension of military duty. This relaxation of discipline led to a fierce and violent mutiny. After some days, a calm was produced, by sending the general's son to Rome, to obtain a redress of their grievances; but the return of some detached companies from Nauportus, the modern Laybach, renewed the commotion, and redoubled its violence.

As soon as Tiberius heard of these transactions, he sent his son Drusus, accompanied by Sejanus and two prætorian cohorts, with a body of cavalry and some other troops, to quell the insurrection. For some time, however, the arrival of Drusus only increased the violence of the mutiny; nor was it checked till the eclipse took place, an account of which we proceed now to give in the language of the historian: "That night, so threatening and ready to burst forth into crime, an accident mitigated; for the moon, in a clear sky, was suddenly seen to grow dim. Ignorant of the reason, the soldier received that as an omen of present occurrences; and, assimilating the eclipse of the planet to his own difficulties, supposed that if brightness and clearness were restored to the goddess, there would be a prosperous termination of passing events. Therefore a noise was made with the sound of brazen instruments, and the concert of trumpets and clarions; as she became brighter or more obscure, they rejoiced or mourned; and after clouds had arisen and snatched her from their view, they believed that she was buried in darkness. As minds once smitten with fear are easily moved to superstition, they lamented that never-ending labour was portended for themselves, and that their misdeeds had brought upon them the aversion of the gods. Cæsar, thinking that he ought to avail himself of this state of mind, and that what chance had presented should be turned into wisdom, ordered the tents to be surrounded."[1]

Dio briefly speaks of the revolt in Pannonia, and then adds, that on the arrival of Drusus with the prætorian guards, the army were in great commotion, because he said nothing to them certain. Some of his retinue were wounded, and he himself was guarded by night lest he should escape. In this situation, having their imagination excited by an eclipse of the moon, they became so dejected, that no mischief was done by them, and they again sent messengers to Tiberius.[2]

The only eclipse of the moon which happened A.D. 13 after August 19th, was on the seventh of October, at 7h. 45m. evening, and there were only three digits and a quarter eclipsed, or less than one third of the moon's disc. On the other hand, the eclipse in A.D. 14, on the 27th of September, took place at five o'clock in the morning, and was total. The question now is, to which of these eclipses had Tacitus or Dio reference?

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[1] Tac. Ann. lib. i. c. xvi.-xxviii. I do not give the Latin, because this part of Tacitus is made a school book, and is in every body's hands.

[2] Hist. Rom. lib. lvii. c. 4, p. 604. Ed. Reimar, tom. ii.

We might answer, that as Dio evidently means the same year when he speaks of the solar eclipse as preceding, and the lunar eclipse as following, the death of Augustus, the proof given of the one, necessarily determines the question with regard to the other.

But not to insist upon what might justly be deemed a corollary from a preceding demonstration, the very circumstances of the narrative, if I mistake not, show that it must have been the eclipse of October 7th, A.D. 13, and not that of September 27th, A.D. 14.

In the first place, the eclipse of September 27th, A.D. 14, was in the morning; that of October 7th, A.D. 13, in the evening.

Petavius has inserted in his work the calculation of the former.

Beginning, 3h. 18′ 32″. Middle, 5h. 14′ 32″. End, 7h. 6′ 32″. Whole duration, 3h. 52′, or nearly four hours.—Post meridiem, Septemb xxviii.

What Petavius means by saying P.M. September 28, I cannot tell; for he had previously said that the true opposition in Pannonia was September xxvii. 5h. 14′ 32″; and Brotier, in his note on the passage in Tacitus, refers to Petavius as his authority, and says: This eclipse of the moon happened *in the morning*, on the 27th day of September, A.U.C. DCCLXVII. J.C. 14. Its beginning was at 3h. 18′ 32″, its end, 7h. 6′ 32″. The table of eclipses in "The art of verifying dates," as we have seen, represents it thus: ● 27 Sept. at 5 morning. But whether morning or afternoon, it is equally at variance with the narrative. The 27th of September was but a few days after the autumnal equinox, and consequently the sun rose not far from 6 A.M. The middle of the eclipse was near the dawn, and the moon, hidden probably from the soldiery by the surrounding mountains, sunk below the horizon eclipsed. If the eclipse had been in the afternoon of September 28, from 18 minutes past three to 6 minutes past seven, it would have risen totally eclipsed; and this would have been equally contrary to the narrative.

On the other hand, the eclipse of October 7th, A.D. 13, is thus described by M. Pingré, in the "Art of verifying dates": ☽ 7 Oct. at 7 and 3 qu. *evening*, greatness of the eclipse, 3 digits 1 quarter. As only the middle of the eclipses are mentioned, the beginning of the eclipse must have been not far from seven o'clock; and as that part of Pannonia was somewhere near Lat. 46″ 30′, and Long. 34°, the sun must have set, and the moon have risen, on the seventh of October, about half-past five. The moon was, therefore, an hour and a half high when the eclipse began. The whole army was up and in action. Their passions were highly excited; and not, as they would have been in the morning, lulled and tranquil.

It may possibly be supposed that the total eclipse of A.D. 14 would accord better with the facts mentioned by Tacitus than the partial eclipse of A.D. 13. Let us proceed, therefore, to examine these facts, on the supposition that it was the partial eclipse.

The moon being an hour and a half high, and the heavens perfectly serene, the eclipse began on the eastern limb in the sight of the whole army. It increased for about three quarters of an hour, and then began to decrease. The superstitious soldiers, considering the moon as a divinity assailed by some calamity, with which she was struggling, thought to help her, and to frighten away her enemy, by the noise of their instruments. Considering the event as ominous of their own destiny, they mourned as the eclipse increased, and rejoiced as it decreased. Their joy would have been complete, if they had seen the moon perfectly escaped from the eclipse, and restored to her brightness and clearness; but, during the decrease, and in the midst of their joy and hope, black clouds arose, which hid her entirely from their view, so that she seemed buried. The night, at first so serene, became dark and dismal, and, to their terrified imaginations, portentous of Divine vengeance. All these circumstances are perfectly reconcilable with the partial eclipse in the evening, but, to me, do not appear to be so with the total eclipse in the morning.

There is another argument, arising from the length of time between the death of Augustus and the date of the two eclipses, which it is proper to mention, but which I shall pass over as lightly as possible, because it amounts only to a collateral probability.

If his death took place August 19th A.D. 14, there were only thirty-eight days between that event and the eclipse on the morning of September 27; if in the preceding year, there were nearly forty-nine days to the evening of October 7th. Considering the course of events, which of these periods is the most probable?

"The death of Augustus," says Dio, "was not immediately made known; for Livia, fearing lest there should be some innovation, because Tiberius was still in Dalmatia, concealed it until his arrival. Such," he adds, "is the statement of the greater part of the historians, and of those most worthy of credit; though there are some who say that Tiberius was present with him in his illness, and received from him certain injunctions."[1] Tacitus speaks of it as a doubtful question.[2] We may place the announcement on the 20th or 21st of August. "Tiberius," says Dio, "immediately sent letters from Nola, as emperor, to the several armies, and to all the provinces, but not calling himself emperor."[3]

The body of Augustus was carried to Rome on men's shoulders; "borne," says Dio, "from Nola, by the principal inhabitants of each city in succession; but, on its arrival at Rome, drawn into the city at night by horses. The next day the senate convened, the members being clothed in the garments of the equestrian order, and the presiding officers, without the prætexta. Tiberius and his son Drusus, clothed in black forensic cloaks, offered sacrifice with incense, but without the flute player. The senators sat in their accustomed seats; the consuls, not in the curule chairs, but lower down; one in the seat of the prætors, the other in that of the tribunes." The will of Augustus was read, and the other documents already mentioned.[4]

After this, the body was laid in state in the senate house. Dio describes the ceremonies, and gives a summary of the funeral oration pronounced by Tiberius. The body was then carried through the triumphal gates, by the senators and knights, attended by all Rome, to the Campus Martius, and there placed on the funeral pile. Around it were ranged first the priests, then the knights, then the military, all of whom cast on the pyre the triumphal ornaments they had received from him as the rewards of their bravery. The centurions applied the torches, and an eagle was let loose, as the flames ascended, bearing the soul of Augustus, as it were, into heaven. The crowd departed; but Livia remained on the spot five days, with the chiefs of the equestrian order, to collect his bones, and deposit them in the mausoleum. The mourning was, according to law, of the men, not many days; of the women, a whole year. Dio adds, emphatically, "In truth, at that time not many, but finally all, mourned."[5]

All these circumstances being duly weighed, it will not be considered too large an estimate, if we allow seventeen days, from his death to the end of the funeral ceremonies. At the most moderate calculation, Nola was 150 miles from Rome, and ten days must have been consumed in the funeral procession. The ceremonies in the senate, reading the will and other documents, the body laid in state, the funeral oration, the procession to the Campus Martius, and burning the body, could hardly have been crowded into a single day. Five days more were passed, before the ashes were collected and deposited in the mausoleum.

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[1] H. R. lib. lvi. c. 31, p. 590.
[2] Ann. lib. i. c. 5.
[3] Lib. lvii. c. 2.
[4] H. R. lib. lvi. ut sup.
[5] H. R. lvi. ut sup. 34-43.

In the meantime, the news of the emperor's death had been received in Pannonia, the mutiny had followed, and the younger Blæsus had left the army for Rome, a distance of at least seven hundred Roman miles. However expeditious he may have been, we cannot reasonably place his arrival there earlier than the termination of the funeral obsequies. Several subsequent meetings of the senate are spoken of by Tacitus, before the subject of the mutiny is introduced. On hearing of the disturbances, Tiberius dispatched Drusus, with a powerful body of infantry and cavalry. How long would it take these heavy-armed troops to march seven hundred miles? Would not twenty days have been an astonishingly rapid movement? And yet they must have marched thirty-five miles a-day for that length of time, to arrive at the camp in Pannonia by the 26th of September.*

If, on the other hand, the death of Augustus happened in the preceding year, where Eusebius places it, and where, by our calculations, it ought to be placed, then the various events recorded by the historians as having occurred in the interval between his death and the lunar eclipse which followed it in that year, may easily have been performed. In that case, there would be at least forty-eight days, and that would leave a month for the march of Drusus and his Prætorian cohorts.

To ascertain the years in which Julius Cæsar and Augustus died, is to settle two of the most important points in chronology. It was impossible, therefore, to avoid the discussion of the several questions relative to these eclipses, because there is no evidence more certain than the concurrent testimony of history and astronomical computations. I proceed now with the narrative.

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* Dr. Robinson, estimating the distance of the land of Goshen from the place where the Israelites crossed the Red Sea, observes that "the usual day's march of the best appointed armies, both in ancient and modern times, is not estimated at higher than fourteen English, or twelve geographical miles." He refers to Major Rennell's Comparative Geography of Western Asia, i. p. liv. as his authority, and then adds: "I am informed by Prussian officers of rank, that the usual march of their armies is three German miles a day, equal to twelve geographical miles of sixty to the degree. Forced marches are reckoned at five German miles a day. In either case the whole army rests every fourth day."—Bib. Res. vol. i. p. 75, and note 2.

The death of Augustus left Tiberius sole master of the Roman empire. According to Suetonius, he was born at Rome, on the sixteenth before the calends of December, or November 16th, in the year when Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, the second time, and Lucius Munatius Plancus were consuls, after the battle of Philippi. Thus it is related in the Fasti and the public acts. He observes, however, that some writers place his birth in the preceding year, the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa, and others in that which followed, or the consulship of Servilius Isauricus and Antonius Suetonius justly gives the preference to the public registers.

In a preceding chapter, we have seen that the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa began on the 1st of January of the second year of Cæsar's reformed calendar, corresponding with the year 4670 of the Julian period. Consequently, the consulship of Lepidus II and Plancus, began January 1st A.J.P. 4671, the third year of the calendar of Julius Cæsar. Tiberius was born on the 16th of November in that year. His early history, it is not necessary to our purpose to pursue; and, in tracing the history of Augustus, we have had occasion to examine the dates of his political and military life, to his adoption as colleague of the empire.

Where he spent most of his time, and what he did after that adoption, is not very apparent, because both Velleius and Suetonius pass it slightly over, and the scanty abridgement of Dio adds but little to our information. He appears to have been much in Illyricum, as the principal seat of war, but going frequently to the city, and sharing with Augustus the councils of the empire. That he had recently gone to Illyricum when Augustus was taken ill at Nola, and that he was thence recalled in haste by Livia, we have seen in the present chapter; and this clearly appears from the narrative of Velleius and Tacitus.[1]

At the time of his accession to undivided empire, he wanted eighty-seven days, or nearly three months, of completing his fifty-fifth year. Previous to that time he appeared amiable and moderate, though he could never entirely deceive the penetration of Augustus.

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[1] Vel. Pat. lib. ii. c. 123; Tac. Ann. lib. i. c. 5.

His first official act was a crime; for, no sooner was the death of Augustus made public, than orders were sent to the island of Planasia to put the young Agrippa to death. These orders were written; but, when the military tribune who had the charge of Agrippa, informed the emperor that what he had commanded was done, he received an answer, dictated by that deep dissimulation which marked all the subsequent life of Tiberius, that he had never commanded it, and that the tribune should render an account to the senate for his conduct.[1]

The next year (A.J.P. 4727), Drusus Cæsar, the son of Tiberius, and Caius Norbanus Flaccus were consuls; and the following year (A.J.P. 4728), Titus Statilius Sisenna Taurus and Lucius Scribonius Libo. "For two whole years," says Suetonius, "after Tiberius had obtained the empire, he never set his foot out of doors; and afterwards he was never absent, unless, very rarely, and for a few days, in some of the neighbouring towns, and, at the utmost, as far as Antium. He frequently promised the provinces and the armies that he would revisit them; and, almost every year, made preparations for departure, engaging carriages, providing supplies (commeatibus), in the various municipia and colonies, and suffering prayers and vows to be offered publicly for his safe departure and return. This was so common, as finally to become a topic of popular ridicule."[2]

Germanicus was in Gaul when Augustus died. He was the commander-in-chief of the two armies on the upper and lower Rhine; the former under Caius Silius, the latter under Aulus Cæcina. A mutiny much more dangerous than that of Pannonia, broke out in the camp of Cæcina. Germanicus hastened to quell it. He was the idol of the soldiers; and they wished to march to Rome and proclaim him emperor. Faithful to Tiberius, he with great difficulty allayed the tumult, and, late as it was in the season, marched against the independent Germans under Arminius, to avenge the slaughter of Varus and his legions. These transactions are fully detailed in the first book of the Annals of Tacitus.

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[1] Suet Tiberius, c. 22.

[2] Suet. Tiber. c. 38

Though the war was not yet ended, a triumph was decreed by the senate to Germanicus, in the consulship of Drusus and Norbanus (A.J.P. 4727).

Agrippina accompanied her husband in this expedition, sharing all his fatigues and dangers, attending to the wants of the soldiers, distributing medicines to the sick and clothes to the indigent. The gloomy and suspicious temper of Tiberius took the alarm, and from this time forth he secretly determined to destroy Germanicus and his hated family.

The disturbances among the Parthians, which began during the consulship of Statilius Taurus and Libo (A.J.P. 4728) afforded him a convenient pretext. He invited Germanicus to return to Rome and enjoy his triumph. The army being in winter quarters, and the Germans weakened and disheartened, Germanicus, after petitioning in vain to continue another year in command, reluctantly returned.[1]

In the following consulship of Caius Cæcilius Rufus and Lucius Pomponius Flaccus (A.J.P. 4729), on the seventh before the calends of June (May 26th), Germanicus thus publicly celebrated his triumph over the Cherusci, Chatti, Angrivani, and other nations of Germany, extending to the Elbe.[2]

It was the policy of Tiberius to load with honours those whom he sought to ruin. He therefore named Germanicus to be consul, and himself to be his colleague, for the ensuing year. This done, he laid before the senate the affairs of Cappadocia, Comagene, Cilicia, Syria, and Judea, and advised that the provinces beyond the Mediterranean should be put under the supreme command of Germanicus, with full authority over all other governors. He then appointed Cneius Piso governor of Syria, while Plancina, the wife of the governor, had full instructions from Livia to mortify the pride of Agrippina.[3]

On his way to the east Germanicus paid a visit to Drusus, in Dalmatia. He then sailed along the coast of Illyricum, and through the Ionian sea, till he came to Nicopolis, the trophy of the victory at Actium. Here, on the 1st of January, A.J.P. 4730, he entered on his consulship with Tiberius; the latter for the third time, the former for the second. From Nicopolis he went to Athens, and thence, by the island of Eubœa, to Lesbos. Here

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[1] Tac. Ann. lib. ii. 1-26. [2] Tac. Ann. lib. ii. c. 41. [3] Tac. ut supr. c. 43.

Agrippina was delivered of a daughter, her last child. After the delay which this occasioned, he proceeded along the coast of Asia Minor into the Euxine, and finally returned to Rhodes. During his stay on that island he saved the life of Piso, by sending boats and galleys to his aid when he was shipwrecked. Piso, who knew no gratitude, proceeded on his way to Syria, there to plot against his benefactor, while Germanicus visited Armenia, Cappadocia, and Comagene, everywhere re-establishing tranquillity.[1]

Proceeding south from Comagene, he met Piso at Cyrrhus, the winter quarters of the tenth legion, about twenty-three or twenty-four Roman miles north of the modern Aleppo. In this interview their smothered resentments burst forth; that of Piso in rude insolence; that of Germanicus with the dignified moderation of an offended superior. With these transactions the year of his consulship ended.

In the consulship of Marcus Junius Silanus and Lucius Norbanus (A.J.P. 4731), Germanicus visited Egypt. Augustus had formerly, as a measure of state policy, prohibited senators and knights from entering that province without his express permission. This could not apply to Germanicus, because in putting all the provinces beyond the Mediterranean, without exception, under his command, Egypt was of course included. But it was now considered as an offence, and, as Suetonius informs us, complained of openly in the senate by Tiberius.[2]

The summer was spent in Upper Egypt, and he went up the Nile as far as the island of Elephantine. On his return to Syria, he found all his arrangements, civil and military, changed by Piso. The dissensions which this occasioned increased more and more, until Germanicus was suddenly taken ill, and this occasioned strong suspicions that he had been secretly poisoned. He died soon after at Epidaphne, but his remains were carried to Antioch and there burned. Agrippina collected his ashes in an urn, and with that and her younger children set sail for Italy. Suetonius speaks of the mourning, when the news first arrived at Rome, as having continued during the December festivals;[3] whence it may be inferred that Germanicus died in November. Agrippina's voyage was in the midst of winter. She landed at Brundusium, and the funeral procession along the Appian way moved slowly onward with military honours, attended by crowds of people, who wept as they walked. Drusus advanced as far as Terracina to meet his remains, and the new consuls, Marcus Valerius Messalla and Marcus Aurelius Cotta, who had lately entered on their office, went out of the city for that purpose, with the whole senate and a numerous body of mourning citizens.[1] It arrived, therefore, early in January, in the year 4732 of the Julian period. Dio remarks that the death of Germanicus occasioned great delight to Tiberius and Livia, but to all others the greatest grief.[2]

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[1] Tac. ut sup. 53-56. [2] Suet. Tiber. c. 52; Tac. ut sup. c. 59. [3] Suet. Calig. c. 6.

The public grief was especially manifested when the urn containing the ashes of Germanicus was deposited in the mausoleum of Augustus. Its universality, continuance, and sincerity may be inferred from the proclamation by which Tiberius sought to relieve himself from its manifestation. "The Megalesian games," he observed, "were at hand, and the people ought to resume their diversions."[3] By turning to the calendar, the reader will see that the Megalesian games continued for eight days from the fourth of April.

Piso and Plancina, the tools of Tiberius and Livia, were now to be sacrificed to the popular cry for vengeance. They arrived in Rome, and the trial of Piso began. All the charges, except that of poisoning Germanicus, were fully substantiated. A call for papers was made, and refused no less by Tiberius than by Piso. They would have been produced, it was fully believed, but for the artifices of Sejanus, who flattered Piso by false promises, because they would have implicated the real authors of the tragedy.[4] Piso put an end to his own life to avoid the disgrace of a public execution, and Plancina obtained a respite under the powerful protection of Livia.

In the same year Tiberius commended to the senate Nero, the eldest son of Germanicus, requesting that he might be a candidate for the office of quæstor five years earlier than the law allowed. In like manner Tiberius himself had been made quæstor at the age of nineteen,[5] which, according to Dio, was five years earlier than by law.[6] In this manner we arrive at the age of this eldest son of Germanicus. He was born in the consulship of Vinicius and Alfinius Varus, the year 4714 of the Julian period, and the first of the Dionysian æra. His marriage with Julia, the daughter of Drusus, soon followed; and both events gave great satisfaction to the Roman people.[1]

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[1] Tac. Ann. lib. iii. c. 1, 2.

[2] Hist. Rom. lib. lvii. c. 18.

[3] Tac. Ann, lib. iii. c. 6.

[4] Tac. ut sup. c. 14, 16, & Suet. Tib. 52.

[5] Vel. Paterc. lib. ii. c. 94.

[6] H. R. lib. liii. 28.

The next year (A.J.P. 4733) Tiberius for the fourth time, and Drusus for the second, were consuls. "Men," says Dio, "immediately predicted the destruction of Drusus, because whoever had been consul with Tiberius, (Quintilius Varus, Cneius Piso, and Germanicus), had died a violent death."[2] In the beginning of the year Tiberius went into Campania for the alleged reason of recruiting his health; "whether," says Tacitus, "gradually meditating a long and continued absence, or that Drusus, his father being no longer with him, might alone perform all the duties of the consulship."[3]

Decimus Haterius Agrippa and Caius Sulpicius Galba were the next consuls (A.J.P. 4734). In this year, Tiberius, by letters to the senate, desired that his son Drusus might receive the tribunitial authority. Livia was taken so alarmingly ill, that her danger occasioned the return of Tiberius to Rome. Tacitus adds, that hitherto the mother and son had lived together, either in sincere harmony, or in well-disguised hatred.[4] Junia, the sister of Brutus and the widow of Cassius, died this year, "the sixty-fourth," says Tacitus, "from the battle of Philippi." That battle, as we have seen, took place in the same year in which Tiberius was born, and before his birth. The death of Junia must have been after his birth-day; for if the consuls are counted from the consulship of Lepidus and Plancus to that of Haterius and Galba, they will be found to be sixty-four, both included. Tiberius commenced his sixty-fourth year on the sixteenth of November. Dio, or rather the abridgment of that author, speaks of the death of Drusus as taking place this year; but as Tacitus places it in the next, the latter date is probably the most correct.

In the consulship of Caius Asinius Pollio and Caius Antistius Vetus (A.J.P. 4735), the ninth year of Tiberius, all things were tranquil and prosperous, when a sudden reverse was occasioned, by the treachery of Lucius Ælius Sejanus, the commander of the prætorian guards, and the prime minister and favourite of Tiberius.

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[1] Tac. Ann. lib. iii. c. 29

[2] Dio, lvii. 20.

[3] Tac. ut sup. c. 31.

[4] Ann. lib. iii. c. 64.

This man, influenced by revenge for an affront he had received, and by motives of personal ambition, determined to murder Drusus. He chose a poison which, by its slow and gradual advances, would have the appearance of an accidental disease. The draught was administered by the eunuch Lygdus, so secretly, that the fact was not discovered till eight years afterwards. Thus was Tiberius rendered childless.[1] Tacitus adds, that the mourning of the senate and people on this occasion was not real. In their hearts they rejoiced, because they now hoped that the house of Germanicus would again flourish. This hope was frustrated by their own exultation, the imprudence of Agrippina, the increasing boldness and villany of Sejanus, the inveterate hatred of the elder Livia, and the gloomy suspicion and cruelty of Tiberius.

In the year of the Julian period 4736, the consulship of Cornelius Cethegus and Visellius Varro, "Ten years of his empire being finished," says Dio, "he had no need of a decree to resume it, for he did not think it necessary to divide it into decennial periods as Augustus had done. Nevertheless," he adds, "decennial games were celebrated."[2]

During the consulship of Marcus Asinius Agrippa and Cossus Cornelius Lentulus (A.J.P. 4737), constant proscriptions and accusations, led to public executions or self-murder. Many of these were for words spoken against the emperor; and Tiberius was often mortified in listening to the details of sarcastic language with which in private his character and conduct had been assailed. This led him to avoid the meetings of the senate; and Sejanus had the craft to turn the disgust of the emperor to his own advantage. He affected to disrelish the noise and bustle of the city, and talked much of the pleasures of rural seclusion.[3]

This probably accelerated the determination which took effect during the next consulship (A.J.P. 4738), that of Cneius Lentulus Gætulicus and C. Calvisius Sabinus. Tiberius set out for Campania, with the ostensible motive of dedicating a temple to Jupiter at Capua, and another to Augustus at Nola, but, in truth, with a determination never to return to Rome. On his way, at Spelunca, a villa near Fundi, he narrowly escaped being crushed to death by a falling wall. Sejanus, to protect his master, fell on his knees, and supported the incumbent weight. Thenceforth, his influence knew no bounds.[1]

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[1] Tac. Ann. lib. iv. 1-8. [2] H. R. lib. lvii. 24. [3] Tac. Ann. lib. iv. c. 34-42.

During the next consulship, that of Marcus Licinius Crassus and Lucius Calpurnius Piso (A.J.P. 4739), Tiberius retired to the island of Capreæ, the modern Capri. The solitude pleased him the more, because the sea which surrounded it was without harbours, it had few conveniences, even for vessels of the smallest size, and no one could land upon the island unobserved. In winter it was mild, and in summer open to the western breeze, and the prospect, before the burning of Vesuvius had changed the scene, was in the highest degree beautiful.[2] There he principally passed the remainder of his infamous life; casting off all the cares of empire; changing none of the military tribunes or præfects or presidents of the provinces; leaving Spain and Syria for many years without consular legates; suffering Armenia to be occupied by the Parthians, and Mœsia by the Dacians and Sarmatians, and the provinces of Gaul to be laid waste by the Germans, to the great disgrace and danger of the commonwealth.[3]

The loathsome narrative of his enormities is given by Tacitus with a freedom and accuracy suited only to the mind of a heathen. "It is a shame even to speak of those things which are done of them in secret."

In the consulship of Lucius Rubellius and Caius Fufius (A.J.P. 4741), both of whom bore the cognomen of Geminus, Livia died, at the advanced age, according to Dio, of 86 years. She possessed a masculine understanding, and great power of pleasing, with an implacable temper, a corrupt and wicked heart, entire self-control, and profound dissimulation. During the latter years of his life, she had ruled Augustus with well-disguised but absolute sway. "To one who asked how she had made him so subservient to her will, she replied, 'by the most scrupulous discretion and modesty, by cheerfully complying with what seemed to him good, by never officiously intermeddling with his affairs, and by never examining or appearing to know his secret and illicit pleasures.'"[4] By such arts, she finally raised her son to empire; and having done so, she expected to rule him, not as she had ruled her husband, but as his mother and his benefactor. The jealous temper of Tiberius took the alarm, and he began to envy the influence and hate the power which overshadowed and restrained him. To this, as the principal cause, many attributed his retirement from Rome.[1] Certain it is, that he neither visited her in her sickness, nor was present at her funeral, nor did he permit the honours which the senate were ready to decree, and to which she was entitled. Her remains were deposited in the mausoleum of Augustus.[2]

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[1] Tac. ut sup. c. 57-59.

[2] Tac. ut sup. c. 67.

[3] Suet. Tiber. c. 39-41.

[4] Dio H. R. lib. lviii. 2.

From this time may be dated the unbridled and headlong career of Tiberius and his favourite. All the arts which hatred and treachery could invent, were practised against Agrippina and her two sons Nero and Drusus, till they all perished: Nero, banished to the island of Pontia, there put himself to death, to avoid the executioner. Drusus, confined at Rome, in the lower part of the palace, after attempting to support life by eating the wool of his mattress, was literally starved to death.[3] Agrippina, treated with every indignity, deprived of one eye by a blow of the brutal soldier who guarded her, forced to eat when she sought to end her miseries by death, was at last starved in the island of Pandataria.[4] Of the sons of Germanicus, Caius, surnamed Caligula, alone was left, to be, in the language of Tiberius, "a serpent to the people of Rome, and a Phaëton to the whole world."

In the year 4742 of the Julian period, Tiberius began to suspect his favourite; and to remove him from his presence, and lull him into a false security, he determined to assume the consulship himself, for the fifth time, the next year, and to make Sejanus his colleague. Accordingly, on the first of January A.J.P. 4743, Sejanus entered on the duties and enjoyed the honours of the consulship; and on the fifteenth before the kalends of November (Oct. 18th) in the same year, was publicly executed with every mark of infamy. The year of Nero's death is uncertain. Drusus survived Sejanus more than a year, having been put to death in the consulship of Servius Sulpicius Galba and Lucius Cornelius Sulla, in the year 4745 of the Julian period. Agrippina died on the eighteenth of October in the same year, the very same day of the month in which, two years before, Sejanus had been executed.[5]

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[1] Tac. Ann. lib. iv. c. 57.

[2] Dio, lviii. 2. Tac. Ann. lib. v. c. 1-2. Suet. Tiber. c. 54.

[4] Suet. Tiber. c. 53. Tac. Ann. lib. vi. c. 25.

[5] Tac. Ann. lib. vi. 25.

The next year, A.J.P. 4746, in which Tiberius completed the twentieth year of undivided sovereignty, the consuls, Lucius Vitellius and Paulus Fabius Persicus, announced the decennial period, as if, according to the practice of Augustus, the senate were conferring the government again upon Tiberius. They therefore celebrated the festival, says Dio, and at the same time were punished; for no accused person was then pardoned. Tiberius was at Albanum and Tusculum, but would not enter the city.[1]

In the next consulship, of Caius Cestius Gallus and Marcus Servilius Nonianus (A.J.P. 4747), Tiberius celebrated at Antium the nuptials of Caius Caligula.[2] Tacitus places this event in the consulship of Galba and Sulla, two years earlier.[3]

In the course of the following year, the consulship of Sextius Papinius and Quintus Plautius (A.J.P. 4748), a dreadful fire laid in ruins the whole of the Aventine Mount. Tiberius paid the whole loss from the public treasury. Among so many crimes, it is cheering to record a single act which has the semblance of a virtue. Public honours were decreed to the emperor; but it is doubtful whether he received or rejected them, as he was near his end. Restless, and unwilling to acknowledge to himself or others the decay of nature, he wandered from place to place, and finally ended his life at a villa near the promontory of Misenum, on the seventeenth, according to Tacitus and Suetonius, or, according to Dio, the seventh, before the calends of April, in the consulship of Cneius Acerronius Proculus and Caius Pontius Nigrinus. The latter date may be attributed to carelessness, and the former, being supported by two such eminent historians, is probably correct. We may therefore consider the sixteenth of March, and not the twenty-sixth of that month, as the day of his death, in the year 4749 of the Julian period; in the third year of the 203d olympiad; thirty-six days before the end of the 788th year of Rome; the 81st year of the reformed calendar of Julius Cæsar; and the 36th year of the Dionysian or common Christian æra. As he was born on the sixteenth of November, A.J.P. 4671, he completed his 78th year on the sixteenth of November, A.J.P. 4748, and the fourth month of his 79th year on the day of his death. Dio, of course, makes his life ten days longer. If we date from February A.J.P. 4723, when he was associated with Augustus, he reigned twenty-six years, one month, and 16 days; if from the death of Augustus, August 19th, A.J.P. 4726, twenty-two years, six months, and twenty-six days; or according to Dio, twenty-two years, seven months, and seven days.

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[1] Dio, H. R. lib. lviii. 24.
[2] Dio, lib. lviii. 25.
[3] Lib. vi. 20.

Clemens of Alexandria, who flourished at the end of the second and beginning of the third century, and was one of the most learned writers of his age, says that Augustus reigned 43 years, Tiberius 22, Caius 4, &c. And then he adds: Some compute the times of the Roman emperors thus; Caius Julius Cæsar 3 years, 4 months, 6 days; after whom, Augustus reigned 46 years, 4 months, and 1 day; then Tiberius, 26 years, 6 months, 19 days. Caius Cæsar succeeded him, 3 years, 10 months, 8 days, &c.[1]

We shall have occasion hereafter to revert to this testimony, as to the double computation of the reign of Tiberius. The object of introducing it here is to show, that while it is correct as to the number of years, it is undoubtedly incorrect as to the months and days. If the period mentioned by Clemens were correct, then, by subtracting it from the date of the death of Tiberius, we should arrive at the date of his association with Augustus as colleague of the empire. Taking the two dates of his death given by the historians, we shall find that six months and nineteen days amount to exactly 200 days; and that they lead back from the 16th of March to the 28th of the preceding August, and from the 26th of March to the 7th of the preceding September, A.J.P. 4748; from which, subtracting 26 solid years, we arrive at the 28th of August, or the 7th of September, A.J.P. 4722, as the commencement of his associate reign.

				Acc. to Tac. & Suet.				According to Dio.		
	Mar. 16	Mar. 26	From	Aug. 28 to Sep. 27	1*m.*		From	Sep. 7 to Oct. 6	1*m*	
Six months.	Feb. 28	Feb. 28		Sep. 28 „ Oct. 27	1			Oct. 7 „ Nov. 6	1	
	Jan. 31	Jan. 31		Oct. 28 „ Nov. 27	1			Nov. 7 „ Dec. 6	1	
	Dec. 31	Dec. 31		Nov. 28 „ Dec. 27	1			Dec. 7 „ Jan. 6	1	
	Nov. 30	Nov. 30		Dec. 28 „ Jan. 27	1			Jan. 7 „ Feb. 6	1	
	Oct. 31	Oct. 31		Jan. 28 „ Feb. 24	1			Feb. 7 „ Mar. 6	1	
	Sep. 30	Sep. 23		Feb. 25 „ Mar. 16		19*d.*		Mar. 7 „ Mar. 26		19*d.*
	Aug. 3									
	200	200			6	19			6	19
				From Aug. 28, A.J.P. 4722				From Septemb. 7, A.J.P. 4722.		

4748—26=4722.—Aug. 28 or Sep. 7.

But the year 4722 of the Julian period was, as we have seen in the last chapter, the consulship of Dolabella and Silanus; and the narrative of Suetonius makes it certain that Tiberius spent the whole of that year in Germany. The decree of the senate associating him with Augustus, was passed not long after his triumph and dedication of the temples of Concord and of Castor and Pollux; all which events, as we learn from the Prænestine calendar, took place in the month of January, A.J.P. 4723.*

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[1] Strom. lib. i. 339. Ed. Potter. tom. i. p. 406.

The reign of Tiberius being now brought to a close, and all the dates important to our purpose examined and adjusted, I shall end the present chapter with the masterly delineation of his character by the Greek historian, to whose accuracy and fidelity I am so much indebted.

"Tiberius," says Dio, "was of a patrician family, and well instructed; but his natural disposition was peculiar. He never said what he desired, and he never desired what he said. His words were always in direct opposition to his preferences. All that he longed for, he denied; all that he hated, he offered. When irritated to the least possible degree, he was in a passion; and when he felt the greatest indignation, he seemed most moderate. He showed compassion for those whom he punished most severely, and he raged most against those whom he pardoned. The man whom he most hated, he treated, when he saw him, with the most familiarity; and towards him whom he most loved, he conducted himself as if he were the greatest stranger. To sum up the whole, he thought it unworthy of an absolute ruler to make manifest his thoughts; for the discovery of them produced many and great mischiefs, while the concealment led to many more and greater advantages. If this, however, had been all, it would not have been necessary for those who came in contact with him to be on their guard; for by taking all things in a sense precisely opposite, they would have judged equally, that he did not wish for that which he most ardently desired, and that he longed for that against which he declaimed most pointedly. But now, he was enraged, if any man showed that he comprehended his meaning; and he put many to death against whom he had no other cause of reproach, than that they did comprehend him. It was, therefore, dangerous indeed not to understand him at all, as they mistook who assented to many things which accorded with his speech but not his will; yet it was much more dangerous to understand him, because they were suspected of scrutinizing the habits of his mind, and, on that account, to such a mind, became more odious. He alone, therefore, if I may so speak, lived through the danger (and such instances were extremely rare), who neither exposed his natural character, nor was ignorant of it. Such were neither deceived by believing him, nor hated by showing that they understood what he was doing; for he manifested very great disturbance, whether any one opposed or assented to what he said. Whether, on the one hand, there was a desire to be sincere, or, on the other, to give a feigned opinion, he held such on either side to be entirely opposed to him; and, on this account, hated, the one for their truth, the other for their dissimulation."[1]

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* Pagi assuming the computation mentioned by Clemens to be correct, dates the decree of the senate from the fifth before the kalends of September, or the 28th of August, in the year ten of the Dionysian æra, A.U.C. 763, which he wrongly names the consulship of Dolabella and Silanus. The decree did indeed take place in the tenth year of the Dionysian æra; but being before the Parilia, it was in the year of Rome 762, and in the consulship, not of Silanus and Dolabella, but of Lepidus and Taurus. This mistake led the learned author into a labyrinth of difficulties, which it would require much time and labour to point out; and it obliged him to consider the testimony of Velleius Paterculus and Suetonius as contradictory, when in fact they are in perfect harmony.—See Pagi Critica in Annales C. Baronii Antwerp. 1727, 4 tom. fol. tom. 1, ad. ann. xi. J. C. p. 10.

The object of the present work is not, like that of Pagi, to attack error, but to establish truth. The former, by its almost interminable labour, would disgust and weary; while the latter, though sometimes difficult, is always delightful. Let truth be made conspicuous, and like the fabled goddess of wisdom be armed with her own ægis, and she will always defend herself and turn her enemies into stone.

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[1] Dio. H. R. lib. lvii. 1.

CHAPTER XII.

ADJUSTMENT OF THE CHRONOLOGY FROM THE DEATH OF TIBERIUS TO THE YEAR WHEN CENSORINUS WROTE.

The present chapter added in order to remove the difficulty occasioned by modern computations.—This done in two ways: first, by examining and adjusting the lists of consuls; and, secondly, by computing the reigns of the emperors. Section I. List of consuls in inverted order from A.D. 238, the year in which Censorinus wrote, to A.D. 28, the consulship of the two Gemini, a period of 210 years. The list of Cassiodorus found to have 211 pairs of consuls, or one too many; the lists of Idatius and the Chronicon Paschale 208, falling short two.—The several lists compared, and each consulship adjusted to its proper year. In this manner, the error of the suppression of a consulship detected, A.D. 160; and this error the occasion of all the confusion.—Section II. Chronology of the emperors adjusted, from Caligula to the Maximini. Sum of the reigns exhibited in a comparative table, showing the same result as that obtained by the series of consuls. Thus the whole series of chronology is adjusted, from the birth of Abraham to the year when Censorinus wrote; after which, dates in general are so certain as to give little or no occasion for dispute.

THE period of Roman history which it was proposed to consider, from the birth of Augustus to the death of Tiberius, has now been carefully surveyed. Where facts are found to arrange themselves so harmoniously, without any effort to support a system, or to weave a theory, there must be truth. As a luxated limb moves with pain and difficulty, but by a slight touch of the surgeon is restored to ease and vigour, so is it with chronology. To prove that we are well, we have only to get up and walk; and the truth of chronology must be tested by the ease with which the events of history fall into their proper places.

Nevertheless there is one difficulty remaining, which has, in fact, been the source of almost all the other difficulties and errors on this subject by which the minds of the learned have been bewildered and perplexed. It relates, indeed, to a subsequent period of history; so that even if the difficulty were insurmountable, it would not in reality affect the truth of what has already been established. But the reader will, of course, be more thoroughly satisfied if the difficulty can be removed; and that I shall now attempt.

In speaking of the Roman year after Romulus, under the kings and the republic,[1] it was stated on the admission of M. De la Nauze, that for at least one hundred and seven years before the reformation of the calendar by Julius Cæsar, or from A.U.C. 600, the consuls entered upon the duties of their office on the first of January. The office was held for one year, and consequently expired the last day of December. Hence it became the annual measure of time; and as the Roman writers in general speak familiarly of events as occurring when such and such persons were consuls, it is impossible to state their course with accuracy until we have arranged and synchronized the series of consuls. But after the subversion of the republic, the consular office, which had been in fact an annual royalty, was degraded and cheapened. To the ambitious mind of Cæsar, it seemed a bauble, to be put on and off as convenience or caprice dictated. The practice of substituting consuls for a few months, and even, as in the case of Rebilus, for a single day, was introduced. The year, indeed, was always designated by the names of the consuls who came into office on the first of January, however short might be the term of their service. But the degradation of the office naturally led to neglect; and the frequency of change caused the care of recording to be less faithfully observed. The public Fasti consulares ended with the death of Augustus; and after the death of Tiberius there was another change, which reached its height in the time of Claudius. The office was usually held only for two months; so that there were often twelve consuls in the space of a single year. Hence events occurring in different months of the same year, might be mentioned as occurring under different consuls. Another source of error likely to affect modern critics, would be the possession of several names by the same consul, and the omission of one or other of these names by different writers, or by the same writer in different places. This the reader must have already observed in the series of consuls from the birth of Augustus to the death of Tiberius.

With these preliminary observations, I proceed to compare the lists of consuls given by Cassiodorus, Victorius, Idatius, and the Chronicon Paschale. The list from Dion Cassius is discontinued, because it extends only seventeen years after the death of Tiberius; and the list annexed to Xiphilinus appears to be the labour of the modern editor, and therefore not of equal authority with the former. In lieu of it I insert the list of Victorius, which extends from A.D. 28 to A.D. 457, or from the consulship of the two Gemini to that of Constantinus and Rufus, the year in which Victorius wrote.

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[1] Chap. iii. sec. 2, p. 71.

According to the system hitherto pursued, I take a point of time, in the first place, concerning which there can be no dispute. Censorinus states that "the index and title" of the year in which he wrote, was "the consulship of Ulpius and Pontianus," and that it was "the thousand and fourteenth year from the first Olympiad," ......"the nine hundred and ninety first year from the building of Rome,"......"the two hundred and eighty-third of those years to which the name of Julian is given, reckoning from the first of January which Julius Cæsar made the beginning of the year constituted by him."[1] It has been shown by the tables (chap. v. sec. 2, p. 147), that the year in question coincided with A.J.P. 4951, A.D. 238. From that year, therefore, the four lists are here given in inverted order, and are continued back not only to the consulship of Acerronius Proculus and Pontius Nigrinus, in which Tiberius died, but also to that of the two Gemini, which, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, corresponded with A.J.P. 4741, A.D. 28. In the list from the Chronicon Paschale, it has not been thought necessary to add the Olympiads therein given, because they are manifestly erroneous; but the Indictions have been inserted, because they show that the original order of the compiler has been preserved, and they enable us to ascertain the exact number of years in which the manuscript is defective.

When these lists are thus laid before the reader, he will at once see the nature of the difficulties, and be enabled to appreciate properly the critical remarks which will be then subjoined, and of which the object will be to reduce the whole series to its true order.

It may be proper here to observe, that as Cassiodorus was consul in A.D. 514, and Victorius wrote in A.D. 457, it is probable that Cassiodorus was acquainted with the list of Victorius, and that both drew from the same sources. It will be perceived, on comparison, that the two lists generally agree, though there is sufficient difference to show that both are independent.

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[1] Chap. 1, sec. 3, p. 34.

A.J.P.	Years J.Cæs	A.D.	Cassiodorus.	Victorius.	Idatius.	Chronicon Paschale.	
4951	283	238	Pius Proculus	Ulpio Pio Proculo	Pio Pontiano	14	Ulpiciò Pontiano
4950	282	237	Perpetuus Cornelianus	Perpetuo Corneliano	Perpetùo Corneliano	13	Perpetuo Cornelio
4949	281	236	Maximinus Africanus	Maximo al. Maximino Africano	Maximo III Africano	12	Maximo VI Africano
4948	280	235	Severus Quinctianus	Severo Quintiano	Severo Quintiano	11	Severo Quintiano
4947	279	234	Maximus II Urbanus	Maximo II Urbano	Maximo II Urbano	10	Maximo V Urbano
4946	278	233	Maximus Paternus	Maximo Paterno	Maximo Paterno	9	Maximo IV Paterno
4945	277	232	Lupus Maximus	Lupo Maximo	Lupo Maximo	8	Lupo Maximo III
4944	276	231	Pompeianus Felicianus	Pompeiano Feliciano	Pompeiano Peligiano	7	Pompeiano Pelegeniano
4943	275	230	Gratus Seleucus	Grato Seleuco	Agricola Clemente	6	Agricola Clemente
4942	274	229	Alexander III Dio	Alexandro III Dione celebri	Alexandro III Dione	5	Alexandro III Dione
4941	273	228	Modestus Probus	Modesto Probo	Modesto Probo	4	Modesto Probo
4940	272	227	Albinus Maximus	Albino Maximo	Albino Maximo	3	Albino Maximo II
4939	271	226	Annianus Maximus	Anniano Maximo	Alexandro II Marcello	2	Alexandro II Marcello
4938	270	225	Alexander II Marcellus	Alexandro II Marcello	Fusciano Dextro	1	Fusciano Dextro
4937	269	224	Fuscus Dexter	Fusco Dextro	Fabiano Crispino	15	Flaviano Crispino
4936	268	223	Julianus Crispinus	Juliano Crispino	Maximo II Æliano	14	Maximo Æliano
4935	267	222	Maximus Ælianus	Maximo Æliano	Antonino IV Alexandro	13	Ant. Augusto II Alexandro
4934	266	221	Alexander Augustus	Alexandro Augusto	Grato Seleuco	12	Grato Seleuco
4933	265	220	Cratus Seleucus	Grato Seleuco	Antonino III Comazonte	11	Antonino Comazonte
4932	264	219	Antoninus III Comazon	Antonino III Comazonte	Antonino II Sacerdote	10	Ant. Augusto VI Sacerdote

A.J.P.	Years J. Cæs	A.D.	Cassiodorus.	Victorius.	Idatius.	Chronicon Paschale.
4931	263	218	Antoninus II Sacerdos	Antonino II Sacerdote	Antonino Advento	9 Ant. Augusto V Advento
4930	262	217	Antoninus Adventus	Antonino Advento	Præsente Extricato	8 Præsente Extricato
4929	261	216	Præsens Extricatus	Præsente Extricato	Sabino Anullino	7 Sabino II Anulino
4928	260	215	Sabinus II Venustus	Sabino II Venusto	Læto Cereale	6 Lentulo Cereali
4927	259	214	Lætus Cærealis	Læto Cereale	Messala Sabino	5 Messala Sabino
4926	258	213	Messala Sabinus	Messala Sabino	Antonino IV Balbino	4 Ant. Augusto IV Albino
4925	257	212	Antoninus IV Balbinus	Antonino Balbino	Duobus Aspris	3 Apro II Apro
4924	256	211	The two Aspri	Duobus Aspris	Gentiano Basso	2 Gentiano Basso
4923	255	210	Gentianus Bassus	Gentiano Basso	Faustino Rufino	1 Faustino Rufino
4922	254	209	Faustinus Rufus	Faustino Rufino	Pompeiano Avito	15 Pompeiano Avito
4921	253	208	Pompeianus Avitus	Pompeiano Avito	Antonino III Geta III	14 Antonino III Geta III
4920	252	207	Antoninus III Geta III	Antonino III Geta III	Apro Maximo	13 Apro Maximo
4919	251	206	Aper Maximus	Apro Maximo	Albino Emiliano	12 Albino Æmiliano
4918	250	205	Albinus Ælianus	Albino Æliano	Antonino II Geta II	11 Antonino II Geta II
4917	249	204	Antoninus II Geta II	Antonino II Geta II	Chilone Libone	10 Chilone Libone
4916	248	203	Cilo Libo	Chilone Libone	Plautiano II Geta	9 Plautiano Geta
4915	247	202	Geta Plautianus	Geta Plautiano	Severo III Antonino	8 Severo Augusto III Antonino
4914	246	201	Severus III Antoninus	Severo III Antonino	Muciano Fabiano	7 Muciano Fabiano
4913	245	200	Fabianus Mucianus	Fabiano Mutiano	Severo II Victorino	6 Severo Augusto II Victorino
4912	244	199	Severus II Victorinus	Severo II Victorino	Anullino Frontone	5 Anullino Frontone

A.J.P.	Years J.Cæs	A.D.	Cassiodorus.	Victorius.	Idatius.	Chronicon Paschale.	
4911	243	198	Annulinus Fronto	Anulino Frontone	Saturnino Gallo	4	Saturnino Gallo
4910	242	197	Saturninus Gallus	Saturnino Gallo	Laterano Rufino	3	Laterano Rufino
4909	241	196	Lateranus Ruffinus	Laterano Rufino	Dextro Prisco	2	Dextro Prisco
4908	240	195	Dexter Priscus	Dextro Prisco	Tertullo Clemente	1	Tertullo Clemente
4907	239	194	Tertullus Clemens	Tertullo Clemente	Severo II Albino	15	Severo Augusto Sabino
4906	238	193	Severus Albinus	Severo Albino	Flaccone Claro	14	Flacco Claro
4905	237	192	Falco Clarus	Falcone Claro	Commodo VII Pertinace	13	Com. Augusto VII Pertinace
4904	236	191	Commodus VII Pertinax	Commodo VII Pertinace	Aproniano Bradua	12	Com. Augusto VI Septimiano
4903	235	190	Apronianus Bradua	Aproniano Bradua	Commodo VI Septimiano	11	Fusciano Silano
4902	234	189	Commodus VI Septimianus	Commodo VI Septimiano	Duobus Silanis	10	Crispino Æliano
4901	233	188	The two Silani	Duobus Silanis	Fusciano Silano	9	Com. Augusto V Glabrione
4900	232	187	Fuscianus Silanus	Fusciano Silano	Crispino Æliano	8	Materno Bradua
4899	231	186	Crispinus Ælianus	Crispino Æliano	Commodo V Glabrione	7	Marcello Æliano
4898	230	185	Commodus V Glabrio	Commodo V Glabrione	Materno Bradua	6	Com. Augusto IV Victorino
4897	229	184	Maternus Bradua	Materno Bradua	Marullo Æliano	5	Mamertino Rufo III
4896	228	183	Marullus Ælianus	Marullo Æliano	Commodo IV Victorino	4	Com. Augusto III Vero II
4895	227	182	Commodus IV Victorinus	Commodo IV Victorino	Mamertino Rufo	3	Præsente Gordiano
4894	226	181	Mamertinus Rufus	Mamertino Rufo	Commodo III Byrro	2	Com. Augusto II Vero
4893	225	180	Commodus III Byrrhus	Commodo III Byrrho	Præsente Condiano	1	Orphito IV Rufo II
4892	224	179	Præsens Gordianus	Præsente Gordiano	Commodo II Vero	15	Commodo Quintillo

A.J.P.	Years J. Cæs	A.D.	Cassiodorus.	Victorius.	Idatius.	Chronicon Paschale.	
4891	223	178	Commodus II Verus II	Commodo II Vero II	Orfito Rufo	14	Pollione Apro
4890	222	177	Orfitus Rufus	Orfito Rufo	Commodo Quintillo	13	Orphito Rufo
4889	221	176	Commodus Quinctillus	Commodo Quinctillo	Pollione Apro	12	Gallo Flacco
4888	220	175	Pollio Aper	Pollione Apro al. Aspro	Pisone Juliano	11	Severo II Pompeiano
4887	219	174	Piso Julianus	Pisone Juliano	Gallo Flacco	10	Orphito Maximo
4886	218	173	Gallus Flaccus	Gallo Flacco	Severo II Pompeiano	9	Severo Herenniano
4885	217	172	Severus II Pompeianus	Severo II Pompeiano	Orfito Maximo	8	Cethego Claro
4884	216	171	Orfitus Maximus	Orfito Maximo	Severo Herenniano	7	Prisco Apollinari
4883	215	170	Severus Herennianus	Severo Terentiano al. Herenniano	Cethego Claro	6	Aproniano Paulo
4882	214	169	Cethegus Clarus	Cethego Claro	Prisco Apollenare	5	Mar. Aur. Vero III Quadrato
4881	213	168	Priscus Apollinaris	Prisco Apollinare	Aproniano Paulo	4	Pudente II Pollione
4880	212	167	Apronianus Paullus	Aproniano Paulo	Vero III Quadrato	3	Orphito Pudente
4879	211	166	Verus III Quadratus	Vero IV Quadrato	Pudente Pollione	2	Macrino Celso
4878	210	165	Pudens II Pollio	Pudente II Pollione	Orfito Pudente	1	Æliano Pastore
4877	209	164	Orfitus Pudens	Orfito Pudente	Macrino Celso	15	Rusticio Aquilino
4876	208	163	Macrinus Celsus	Macrino Celso	Læliano Pastore	14	Marco Aur. Vero Lu. Com. Aug. III
4875	207	162	L. Ælianus Pastor	Juliano al. L. Æliano Pastore	Rufino Æquilino	13	Marco Aur. Vero Lu. Com. Aug. II
4874	206	161	Rusticus Aquilinus	Rustico Aquilino	Antonino V Aurelio Cæs. Duob. Aug.	12	Bradua Vero
4873	205	160	The two Augusti	Duobus Augustis	Bradua Vero	11	Quintillo Prisco
4872	204	159	Antoninus V Aurelius III	Antonino VI Aurelio IV al. P.C. V et III	Quintillo Prisco	10	Tertullo Sacerdote

A. J. P.	Years J. Cæs.	A.D.	Cassiodorus.	Victorius.	Idatius.	Chronicon Paschale.
4871	203	158	Verus II Bradua	Antonino V Aurelio III	Tullo Sacerdote	9 Barbaro Regulo
4870	202	157	Quinctillus Priscus	Vero II Bradua	Barbato Regulo	8 Silano Augurino
4869	201	156	Tertullus Sacerdos	Quintillo Prisco	Silvano Augurino	7 Severo VI Sabiniano
4868	200	155	Barbatus Regulus	Tertullo Sacerdote	Severo Sabiniano	6 Commodo Laterano
4867	199	154	Silvanus Augurinus	Barbato al. Barbaro Regulo	Commodo Laterano	5 Præsente Rufino
4866	198	153	Verus Sabinus	Silvano Augurino	Præsente Rufino	4 Glabrione II Jumilio
4865	197	152	Commodus Lateranus	Veto Sabino	Glabrione II Humillio	3 Cordiano Maximo
4864	196	151	Præsens Rufus	Commodo Laterano	Gordiano Maximo	2 Glabrione Vetere
4863	195	150	Glabrio II Homulus [Romulus?]	Præsente Rufino al. Rufo	Glabrione Vetere	1 Orphito Prisco
4862	194	149	Gordianus Maximus	Glabrione II Romulo al. Homulo	Orfito Prisco	15 Torquato II Juliano
4861	193	148	Glabrio Vetus	Gordiano Maximo	Torquato Juliano	14 Largo Messalino
4860	192	147	Orfitus Priscus	Glabrione Vetere	Largo Messalino	13 Severo V Verino
4859	191	146	Torquatus III Julianus	Orfito Prisco	Claro Severo	12 Ant. Augusto III Aureliano II
4858	190	145	Largus Messalianus	Torquato III Juliano	Antonino IV Aurelio II	11 Aviola Maximo
4857	189	144	Antoninus IV Aurelius II	Largo Messaliano	Avito Maximo	10 Torquato Herode
4856	188	143	Gratus Seleucus	Antonino IV Aurelio II	Torquato Herode	9 Rufino Quadrato
4855	187	142	Antoninus III Aurelius	Grato Seleuco	Rufino Quadrato	8 Severo IV Silano
4854	186	141	Aviola Maximus	Antonino III Aurelio	Severo Silvano	7 Ant. Augusto II Marco Aur. Vero, filio ejus
4853	185	140	Torquatus II Herodes	Aviola Maximo	Antonino III Aurelio	6 Ant. Augusto Præsente
4852	184	139	Rufinus Torquatus	Torquato II Herode	Antonino II Præsente	5 Camerino Nigro

A.J.P.	Years J. Cæs.	A.D.	Cassiodorus.	Victorius.	Idatius.	Chronicon Paschale.
4851	183	138	Severus Sylvanus	Rufino Torquato	Camerino Nigro	4 Æliano Balbino
4850	182	137	Antoninus II Præsens II	Severo Sylvano	Cæsare II Balbino	3 Commodo Pontiano III
4849	181	136	Antoninus Præsens	Antonino II Præsente II	Commodo Pompeiano	2 Pontiano II Aquilino
4848	180	135	Camerinus Niger	Antonino Præsente	Pontiano Aquilino Rufo	1 Severo Varo
4847	179	134	L. Ælius Balbinus	Camerino Nigro	Severo III Varo	15 Tiberio Sisinno
4846	178	133	Pompeianus II Commodus	Lælio al. L. Ælio Albino	Hibero Sisenna	14 Augurino Sergiano
4845	177	132	Pompeianus Atilianus	Pompeiano II Commodo	Auguriano Sergiano	13 Pontiano Rufo
4844	176	131	Sergianus II Verus	Pompeiano Attiliano	Pontiano Rufo	12 Catullino Libone II
4843	175	130	Hiberus Silanus	Sergiano II Vetere al. Vero	Catullino Libone	11 Marcello Celso
4842	174	129	Augurinus Sergianus	Tiberio al. Hiberto Silano	Marcello Celso	10 Torquato Libone
4841	173	128	Pontianus Rufinus	Augurino Sergiano	Torquato Libone	9 Titiano Gallicano
4840	172	127	Celsus Marcellinus	Celso Marcellino	Titiano Gallicano	8 Severo III Amfigulo
4839	171	126	Torquatus Libo	Vetere Valente	Vero III Ambigulo	7 Asiatico Aquilino
4838	170	125	Gallicanus Titianus	Torquato Libone	Asiatico Aquilino	6 Glabrione Torquato
4837	169	124	Verus Ambiguus	Gallicano Titiano	Glabrione Torquato	5 Aproniano II Pampino
4836	168	123	Asiaticus Quintus	Vero Ambiguo	Aproniano Panpino	4 Aviola Pansa
4835	167	122	Glabrio Apronianus	Asiatico Quinto	Aviola Pansa	3 Severo II Augurino
4834	166	121	Paternus Torquatus	Glabrione Aproniano	Vero II Augure	2 Severo Fulco
4833	165	120	Aviola Pansa	Paterno Torquato	Severo II Fulgo	1 Æl. Hadr. Aug. II Rusticio
4832	164	119	Verus Augur	Aviola Pansa	Hadriano IV Rustico	15 Æl. Hadr. Aug. Salinatore

A.J.P.	Years J.Cæs	A.D.	Cassiodorus.	Victorius.	Idatius.	Chronicon Paschale.	
4831	163	118	Catilius Fulvius	Vero Augure	Hadriano Salinatore	14	Apronino Nigro
4830	162	117	Hadrianus II Rusticus	Servilio (Catilio) Fulvio	Aproniano Nigro	13	Æliano Vetere
4829	161	116	Hadrianus Salinator	Hadriano II Siliano (Rustico)	Eliano Vetere	12	Messala Podone
4828	160	115	Clarus Alexander	Hadriano Rustico al. Salinatore	Messala Podone	11	Malso Bulcisco
4827	159	114	Niger Apronianus	Claro Alexandro	Malsa Volciso	10	Prisciano Celso
4826	158	113	Æmilius Vetus	Nigro Aproniano	Celso II Prisciano II	9	Trajano Augusto v Africano
4825	157	112	Messalla Pedo	Æmilio Vetere	Trajano VI Anfricano	8	Pisone Juliano
4824	156	111	Asta Piso	Messala Pedone	Pisone Juliano	7	Orphito Prisciano
4823	155	110	Celsus Crispinus	Asta Pisone	Orfito Prisciano	6	Palma Tullo
4822	154	109	Trajanus VII Africanus	Celso Crispino	Palma II Tullo	5	Gallo Bradua
4821	153	108	Piso Rusticus	Trajano VII Africano	Gallo Bradua	4	Syriano III Senecione
4820	152	107	Crispinus II Solenus	Pisone Rustico	Syra III Senecione II	3	Commodo Ceretano
4819	151	106	Africanus Crispinus	Crispino Soleno	Commodo Cereali	2	Candido Quadrato
4818	150	105	Gallus Bradua	Africano Crispino	Candido II Quadrato	1	Syriano II Marcello III
4817	149	104	Senecio IV Sura III	Gallo Bradua	Suburano II Marcello	15	Trajano Aug IV Maximo
4816	148	103	Commodus Cerealis	Senetione IV Sura III	Trajano V Maximo	14	Syriano Syrio
4815	147	102	Candidus Quadratus	Commodo Cereale	Severiano Sirio	13	Trajano Aug III Peto
4814	146	101	Urbanus Marcellus	Candido Quadrato	Trajano IV Peto	12	Trajano Aug. II Pontiano
4813	145	100	Senecio III Sura II	Urbano Marcello	Trajano III Pontino	11	Palma Senecione

A.J.P.	Years J.Cæs	A.D.	Cassiodorus.	Victorius.	Idatius.	Chronicon Paschale.
4812	144	99	Trajanus vi Maximus	Senetione iii Sura ii	Palma Senecio	10 Trajano Augusto solo
4811	143	98	Senecio ii Sura	Trajano vi Maxino	Nerva iv Trajano ii	9 Nerva Augusto Tito Rufo iii
4810	142	97	Trajanus v Orfitus	Senetione ii Sura	Nerva iii Rufo iii	8 Valente Vetere
4809	141	96	Trajanus iv Fronto	Trajano v Orfito	Valente Vetere	7 Domitiano xiv Clemente ii
4808	140	95	Senecio Palma	Trajano iv Frontone	Domitiano xiv Clemente	6 Asprenate Laterano
4807	139	94	Nerva iii Trajanus iii	Senetione Palma	Asprenate Laterano	5 Dom. Aug. xiii Flavio Clemente
4806	138	93	Sabinus Antoninus	Nerva iii Trajano iii	Pompeiano Prisciano	4 Pompeio Crispino
4805	137	92	Fulvius Vetus	Sabino Antonino	Domitiano xiii Sturnino	3 Dom. Aug. xii Saturnino
4804	136	91	Nerva ii Rufus	Flavio al. Fulvio Vetere	Grabrione Gralano	2 Glabrione Trajano
4803	135	90	Domitianus ix Clemens ii	Nerva ii Rufo	Domitiano xii Nerva ii	1 Dom. Augusto x Nerva
4802	134	89	Asprenas Clemens	Domitiano ix Clemente ii	Fulvio Atratino	15 Fulvio ii Atratino
4801	133	88	Silvanus Priscus	Asprenate Clemente	Domitiano xi Rufo	14 Dom. Augusto x Tito Rufo
4800	132	87	Domitianus viii Saturninus	Silvano Prisco	Domitiano x Saturnino	13 Dom. Augusto ix Saturnino
4799	131	86	Trajanus ii Glabrio	Domitiano viii Saturnino	Domitiano ix Dolabella	12 Dom. Augusto viii Dolabella
4798	130	85	Domitianus vii Nerva	Trajano Glabrione	Domitiano viii Fulvio	11 Dom. Augusto vii Fulvio
4797	129	84	Flavius Trajanus	Domitiano vii Nerva	Domitiano vii Sabino ii	10 Dom. Augusto vi Sabino
4796	128	83	Domitianus vi Rufus iv	Flavio Trajano	Domitiano vi Rufo	9 Dom. Augusto v Tito Rufo
4795	127	82	Domitianus v Dolabella	Domitiano vi Rufino	Domitiano v Sabino	8 Dom. Augusto iv Sabino
4794	126	81	Domitianus iv Rufus iii	Domitiano v Dolabella	Galva Pollione	7 Galba Pollione

A.J.P.	Years. J.Cæs	A.D.	Cassiodorus.	Victorius.	Idatius.	Chronicon Paschale.	
4793	125	80	Domitianus III Sabinus	Domitiano IV Rufo III	Tito VII Domitiano IV	6	Tito Augusto VII Domitiano III
4792	124	79	Domitianus II Rufus II	Domitiano III Sabino	Vespasiano IX Tito VI	5	Tito VI Domitiano II
4791	123	78	Domitianus Messalinus	Domitiano II Rufo II	Vespasiano VIII Domitiano III	4	Vespa. Aug. VII Tito V
4790	122	77	Silvanus Verus	Domitiano Messaliano	Vespasiano VII Tito V	3	Vespa. Augusto VI Tito IV
4789	121	76	Vespasianus IX Titus VIII	Silvano Vero	Vespasiano VI Tito IV	2	Vespa. Augusto V Tito III
4788	120	75	Vespasianus VIII Titus VII	Vespasiano IX Tito VIII	Vespasiano V Tito III		Domitiano Messalino
4787	119	74	Commodus Rufus	Vespasiano VIII Tito VII	Domitiano II Messalino	15	Vespa. Augusto IV Tito II
4786	118	73	Vespasianus VII Titus VI	Commodo Rufo	Vespasiano IV Tito II	14	Vespa. Augusto III Tito
4785	117	72	Vespasianus VI Titus V	Vespasiano VII Tito VI	Vespasiano III Nerva	13	Vespa. Augusto II Nerva
4784	116	71	Vespasianus V Titus IV	Vespasiano VI Tito V	Vespasiano II solo.	12	Vespasiano solo
4783	115	70	Vespasianus IV Titus III	Vespasiano V Tito IV	Galba II Tito Rufino	11	Galba Tito Rufino
4782	114	69	Vespasianus I Nerva	Vespasiano IV Tito III	Italico Trahalo	10	Italico Trachano
4781	113	68	Vespasianus II Titus II	Vespasiano III Nerva	Capitone Rufo	9	Capitone Rufo
4780	112	67	Vespasianus Titus	Vespasiano II Tito II	Telesino Paulino	8	
4779	111	66	Silvanus Otho	Vespasiano Tito	Helva Vestino	7	
4778	110	65	Italicus Turpilianus	Sylvano Othone	Crasso Basso	6	
4777	109	64	Capito Rufus	Italico Turpiliano	Rufo Regula	5	
4776	108	63	Telesinus Appuleius	Capitone Rufo	Mario Gallo	4	
4775	107	62	Sylvanus Paullinus	Celsino al. Telesino Apuleio	Lacio Turpiniano	3	

A.J.P.	Years J.Cæs	A.D.	Cassiodorus.	Victorius.	Idatius.	Chronicon Paschale.	
4774	106	61	Crassus Bassus	Sylvano Paulino	Nerone IV Lentulo	2	
4773	105	60	Macrinus Gallus	Crasso Basso	Aproniano Capitone	1	
4772	104	59	Pius Turpilianus	Macrino Gallo	Nerone III Messal. Corvino	15	
4771	103	58	Nero IV Cornelius	Pio Carpiliano al. Turpiliano	Nerone II Pisone	14	
4770	102	57	Nero III Messalla	Nerone IV Cornelio	Saturnino Scipione	13	
4769	101	56	Nero II Piso	Nerone III Messala	Nerone Vetere	12	
4768	100	55	Nero Vetus	Nerone II Pisone	Marcello Aviola	11	
4767	99	54	Marcellinus Aviola	Nerone Vetere	Silano Antonino	10	
4766	98	53	Silanus II Antoninus II	Marcellino Aviola	Sylla Catone	9	
4765	97	52	Silanus Otho	Silano Antonino	Claudio Orfito	8	
4764	96	51	Tiberius III Antoninus	Silano Othone	Vetere Nerviniano	7	
4763	95	50	Silvanus Silvius	Tiberio III Antonino	Veriano Gallo	6	
4762	94	49	Claudius Orfitus	Sylvano Silvio	Vitellio IV Publicola	5	
4761	93	48	Vetus Servilianus	Claudio Orfito	Claudio IV Vitellio III	4	
4760	92	47	Verannius Gallus	Vetere Neviliano	Asiatico Silano	3	Asiatico Silano
4759	91	46	Vitillius II Publicola	Verannio Gallo	Vinitio Corvino	2	Vinnicio Corvino
4758	90	45	Tiberius II Vitellius	Vitellio II Publicola	Crispo II Tauro	1	Crasso Tauro
4757	89	44	Asiaticus Cornelius	Tiberio II Vitellio	Claudio III Vitellio	15	Claudio Cæsare V Vitellio
4756	88	43	Vinicius Cornelius	Asiatico Silano	Claudio II Larbo	14	Claudio Cæsare IV Largo

A.J.P.	Years J.Cæs	A.D.	Cassiodorus.	Victorius.	Idatius.	Chronicon Paschale.
4755	87	42	Crispinus Taurus	Vinicio Cornelio	Cæsare IV Antonino	13 Claudio Cæsare III Antonino
4754	86	41	Tiberius Gallus	Crispo Tauro	Cæsare III solo	12 Claudio Cæsare II solo
4753	85	40	Secundus Venustus	Tiberio Gallo	Cæsare II Cæsiano	11 Claudio Cæsare Cersiano
4752	84	39	Cæsar II Saturninus	Secundo Venusto	Juliano Asprenate	10 Juliano Asprenate
4751	83	38	Cæsar Julianus	Cæsare II Saturnino	Proculo Nigrino	9 Proculo Nigrino
4750	82	37	Publicola Nerva	Cæsare Juliano	Emiliano Plautio	8 Leliano Plauto
4749	81	36	Julianus Asprenas	Publicola Nerva	Gallo Nonniano	7 Gallo Nonniano
4748	80	35	Proculus Nigrinus	Juliano Asprenate	Persico Vitellio Pulo	6 Galba Sulla
4747	79	34	Galienus Plautianus	Proculo Nigrino	Galba Libolo Sylla	5 Aruntio Aënobarbo
4746	78	33	Gallus Nonianus	Gallieno Plautiano	Aruntio Ahenobarbo	4 Persico Vitellio
4745	77	32	Persicus Vitellius	Gallo Noniano	Tib. Cæsare IV solo	3 Tiberio Cæsare V solo
4744	76	31	Sulpicius Silla	Prisco Vitellio	Vinicio Longino Cassio	2 Vennicio Longino
4743	75	30	Vinicius Longinus	Sulpitio Sylla	Rufo Rubellione	1 Rufo Rubellino
4742	74	29	Tib. Cæsar V * * *	Vinicio Longino	Silano Nerva	15 Gemino Gemino
4741	73	28	M. Vinicius L. Cassius	duobus Geminis Ruffino Rubellio	Crasso Pisone	14 Silano Nerva
			C. Rubellius C. Fufius		Getulio Sabino	13 Crasso Pisone

If now we take A.J.P. 4741 from A.J.P. 4951, or A.D. 28 from A.D. 238, the difference is 210 years; and consequently excluding the consulship of A.D. 28, and including that of A.D. 238, there ought to be 210 pairs of consuls. Censorinus calls the consuls of A.D. 238, Ulpius and Pontianus; by Cassiodorus they are called Pius and Proculus; by Victorius, Ulpius Pius and Proculus; by Idatius, Pius and Pontianus; by the Chronicon Paschale, Ulpicius and Pontianus. This diversity may be easily reconciled. Censorinus is certainly the best authority for the names of the consuls in the year in which he wrote. Ulpius might easily be changed into Pius or Ulpicius; and Proculus was probably the prænomen of Pontianus. It has already been observed that the apparent discrepancy in the various lists of consuls often arises from this interchange of names belonging to the same individual.

The consuls of A.D. 28, are rightly named by Cassiodorus, C. Rubellius, and C. Fufius. Both, as Tacitus asserts, had the cognomen of Geminus.[1] But for Fufius, several authors read Rufus; and he is thus called by Idatius, and in the Chronicon Paschale. Victorius calls him Rufinus. Their consulship is familiarly called that of the two Gemini: "Duobus Geminis Coss." This has led the Greek compiler into the egregious mistake of making two consulships out of one, the former of which he calls Geminus and Geminus; the latter, Rufus and Rubellinus. The extremes being now adjusted, we proceed to examine and compare the intervening series.

Excluding the consulship of the two Gemini, we find, on counting the lists, that Cassiodorus has given 211; Victorius, 210; and Idatius, 208. The list in the Chronicon Paschale is unfortunately defective; but by means of the indictions we are enabled to ascertain that exactly twenty years are missing. These, with the 171 preceding, and the 17 which follow to the consulship of Rufus and Rubellinus, make up 208. It is evident, therefore, that the number in the list of Victorius is right; that in the list of Cassiodorus there is an *excess* of *one*, and in the two other lists a *defect* of *two* consulships. Hence a critical examination is necessary in order to correct these opposite errors.

The names for the first eight years of the ascending series, from

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[1] Rubellio et Fufio Consulibus, quorum utrique Geminus cognomentum erat.—Tac. Ann. v. 1.

A.D. 238 to 231 inclusive, are so nearly alike, that no doubt can be entertained of their identity.

In the ninth of the series, A.D. 230, Cassiodorus and Victorius have inserted the names of Gratus and Seleucus. This is probably an error which has crept into the text; for in the nineteenth of the series occur the names Cratus or Gratus and Seleucus, corresponding with Gratus and Seleucus in the other lists. We must therefore take for A.D. 230 the names of Agricola and Clemens, or rather, according to Muratori,[1] Clementinus. An inscription recorded by Gruter, p. 300, reads:

L. VIRIO AGRICOLA ET SEXTO CATIO C . . . . . . INO COSS.

For the next three years, A.D. 229, 228, 227, the three lists agree. The consulship of A.D. 229 was filled by the emperor M. Aurelius Severus Alexander the third time, and the celebrated historian Dio or Dion Cassius, whose labours have been so useful in the present work. He finished his history in this year.

A.D. 226. Cassiodorus and Victorius insert Annianus and Maximus; a consulship concerning which all others are silent. Annianus may possibly have been a corruption of the preceding name, Albinus. Taking this out, and placing in its stead the consulship of the Emperor M. Aurelius Severus Alexander the second time, with C. Marcellus Quinctilianus, the four lists are again in accordance; and they so continue, with slight variations, to A.D. 222. In that year, the emperor M. Aurelius Antoninus Elagabalus Augustus the fourth time, and M. Aurelius Severus Alexander Cæsar, were consuls. The four lists are thus easily adjusted.

A.D. 221. The consuls were Gratus Sabinianus and Seleucus. The name Sabinianus occurs in a fragment of Dion Cassius. The lists are thus harmonized to A.D. 217, when C. Bruttius Præsens and T. Messius Extricatus were consuls.

A.D. 216. Venustus, on the lists of Cassiodorus and Victorius, may possibly have been one of the names of Anullinus. Muratori states that according to an ancient inscription preserved by Fabretti, (p. 682), the names of the consuls were C. Atius Sabinus II. and —— Cornelius Anulinus.

For the next 53 years, A.D. 215-163, with some slight variations, occasioned, doubtless, by the carelessness of transcribers, Cassiodorus, Victorius, and Idatius are in harmony. So also are Idatius and the Chronicon Paschale, with similar exceptions, for twenty-four years, A.D. 215-192. The Chronicon Paschale then omits the consulships of Apronianus and Bradua, and the two Silani, transposes those of Orfitus and Rufus, and Commodus and Quintillus, and omits altogether the consulship of Piso and Julianus. These corrections being made, the four lists are in harmony to A.D. 163 inclusive.

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[1] Sigon. Op. tom. i. col. 737.

A.D. 162. Cassiodorus and Victorius are right in naming the consuls Rusticus and Aquilinus, and not Rufinus or Rusticius and Aquilinus, as in the other lists. "This appears," says Muratori, "from an ancient inscription recorded by Gruter."[1]

A.D. 161—A.D. 160. The next two consulships in the ascending series, according to Cassiodorus, were, A.D. 161, the two Augusti; and A.D. 160, Antoninus V. and Aurelius III. Victorius, beside the two Augusti, has inserted the consulships of Antoninus and Aurelius twice. Idatius has confounded the two consulships of the two Augusti, and Antoninus and Aurelius, blending them into one: "Antonino V. et Aurelio Cæs. duobus Augustis." The Chronicon Paschale, on the other hand, distinguishes the two consulships, but confounds the persons; omitting the name of Antoninus, and supposing both to have been borne by Marcus Aurelius the philosopher, and his colleague Lucius Verus: "A.D. 161 Marco Aurelio Vero et Lucio Commodo Augusto III. A.D. 160 Marco Aurelio Vero et Lucio Commodo Augusto II." The modern critics, having mistaken the year of Julius Cæsar's war in Spain, and placed that war one year later than it ought to be, have been obliged to omit one of these consulships. They have therefore neglected the testimony of Cassiodorus, and by comparing Idatius with the Chronicon Paschale, have thought to correct both by representing thus the consulship of A.D. 161:

M. Aur. Verus Antoninus Cæs. III. dictus *Philosophus.*
L. Ælius. Aur. Verus. Cæs. II. dictus etiam *Commodus.*

They have therefore suppressed entirely the consulship of

A.D. 160. *Antoninus Pius Imp. Aug. V.*, and *M. Ælius Aurelius Cæsar III.*, which are correctly stated by Cassiodorus.

This important suppression, by which the whole consular chronology

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[1] Gruter, p. 286, VII.; and p. 131, III. ap. Murat. Sigon. Op.

for more than TWO HUNDRED YEARS, *from the time of Julius Cæsar to the end of the reign of Antoninus Pius, has been thrown into disorder*, will be more clearly illustrated when we come to consider the length of the several imperial reigns. In the meantime it may be well to insert here a passage from Spartian, in his life of Ælius Verus, the father of Lucius Antoninus Verus Commodus:

"His son was that Antoninus Verus who was adopted by Marcus. Verus certainly had an equal share with Marcus in the government of the empire. *For these are they who first were called* THE TWO AUGUSTI, *and whose names are so enregistered in the consular fasti, that they are called not merely the two Antonini, but* THE TWO AUGUSTI. The novelty and dignity of this thing had so much authority, that some of the consular fasti took thence the order of the consuls."[1]

A.D. 159. Cassiodorus, Victorius, Idatius, and the Chronicon Paschale have Verus as the colleague of Bradua. Some ancient inscriptions read Varus; and on their authority, Muratori adopts the latter. The names in full are, as given by him: "*App. Annius Atilius Bradua*, and *T. Clodius Vibius Varus*."

The next four in the series, from Quintillus and Priscus to Silvanus and Augurinus, A.D. 158 to A.D. 155, occur in all the lists, with but slight variations.

A.D. 154. The names of the consuls are written by Cassiodorus, *Verus and Sabinus*; by Victorius, *Vetus and Sabinus*; in the other two lists more correctly, *Severus and Sabinianus*. This appears from ancient inscriptions published by Panvinius and Gruter.[2]

The next eight years, from A.D. 153 to A.D. 146 inclusive, or from the consulship of Commodus and Lateranus to that of Largus and Messalinus, occur in all the lists, with slight variations as to orthography, but in the same order.

A.D. 145, Clarus and Severus by Idatius, are omitted by Cassiodorus and Victorius, and written in the Chronicon Paschale, Severo v. et Verino. Reland, as quoted by Muratori, conjectures that the true names were *Sextus Erucius Clarus* and *Cneius Clau-*

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[1] Ejus filius est Antoninus Verus, qui adoptatus est a Marco. Verus certe cum Marco æquale gessit imperium. Nam ipsi sunt qui primi *duo Augusti* appellati sunt: et quorum fastis consularibus sic nomina præscribuntur, ut dicantur non tantum duo Antonini, sed duo Augusti: tantumque hujus rei et novitas et dignitas valuit, ut fasti consulares nonnulli ab his sumerent ordinem Consulum.—Ælii Spartiani Ælius Verus, ap. Hist. Aug. Scriptores, ed. Salmasius, Paris, 1620, fol. p. 16.

[2] Sigon. Op. ed. Muratori, tom. i. col. 607.

dius Severus. Spartian, in his life of Severus, says that he was born "Erucio Claro bis, et Severo *Coss.*"

A.D. 144. The consuls for this year were evidently *Antoninus Pius Imperator Augustus IV.* and *Marcus Ælius Aurelius Cæsar II.*

Cassiodorus and Victorius have here inserted again the names of Gratus and Seleucus. This must be an error; for no such consuls are spoken of elsewhere as existing at this time. They have also evidently transposed the consulship of Antoninus III. and Aurelius. These corrections being made, we may harmonize the lists as follows:

A.D. 143. Avitus and Maximus. Cassiodorus, Victorius, and the Chronicon Paschale, read, Aviola and Maximus; but this is proved to be an error, by an inscription transcribed by Montfaucon, and published in his Diarium Italicum, p. 389-90, which reads in two places,

AVITO ET MAXIMO COS.

The names at full length, according to other ancient inscriptions, are given by Muratori, on the authority of Panvinius and Gruter: *P. Lollianus Avitus* and *C. Gavius Maximus.* Others read, Claudius Maximus; but one ancient marble, as Muratori justly observes, is of more value than a hundred conjectures.

A.D. 142. *C. Bellicius Torquatus*, and *Tib. Claud. Attic. Herodes.* In the inscription above referred to (Diar. Ital. p. 389) the consulship immediately preceding that of Avitus and Maximus is,

TORQVATO ET ATTICO COS.

A.D. 141. Coss. Rufinus and Quadratus. By an evident mistake (probably the reiteration of the preceding name by the copyist), he lists of Cassiodorus and Victorius read, Rufinus and Torquatus. An ancient inscription, given by Panvinius and Gruter, reads at full length,

L. CUSPIVS RVFINVS ET L. STATIVS QVADRATVS.

A.D. 140. Severus and Silvanus. Muratori thinks that all the three lists are here erroneous; and on the authority of an ancient inscription given by Panvinius, and another by Gruter,[1] prefers to read, *M. Peducæus Syloga Priscinus* and *T. Hoënius Severus.*

A.D. 139. *Antoninus Pius, Imp. Aug. III.* and *M. Æl. Aurelius Verus Cæs. Coss.*

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[1] Gruter, p. 182, IV. ap. Murut. Sigon. Op.

A.D. 138. *Antoninus Pius, Imp. Aug. II.* and *Bruttius Præsens II. Coss.*

We have now a collateral proof of the accuracy of this arrangement afforded us by Censorinus; for writing in the year 238 of the Christian æra, he says that the first day of the Egyptian month Thoth, which that year was on the seventh before the calends of July, or June 25, fell on the twelfth before the calends of August, or July 21st, "*a hundred years ago*, when the emperor Antoninus Pius, the second time, and Bruttius Præsens were consuls.[1] Censorinus made a mistake of one day in his calculations; for in the year 138, the first of Thoth fell on the 20th of July; and it did not fall on the 21st of that month till A.D. 135, A.J.P. 4848, which was a leap-year. But this slight mistake does not affect the value of his testimony as to the fact that the consulship of Antoninus Pius II. and Bruttius Præsens coincided with A.D. 138.

A.D. 137. Cassiodorus and Victorius put as the next in order Antoninus and Præsens, the first time; but in this they are unsupported by any other authority. We follow, therefore, Idatius and the Chronicon Paschale, both of which put next in the ascending series to Antoninus Pius II. and Bruttius Præsens, the names of *Camerinus and Niger.*

A.D. 136. Cass. and Vict., L. Ælius and Balbinus; Idat. Cæsar II. and Balbinus; Chron. Pasch., Ælianus and Balbinus. All mean the same persons. Cejonius Commodus, called also Ælius Verus, was adopted by Adrian, and received the title of Cæsar. According to Spartian, he was first called Lucius Aurelius Verus, but being adopted by Adrian, he took the name of the emperor's family —Ælius. From this, Ælianus is derived; as from Octavius, Octavianus. The names also occur in ancient inscriptions quoted by Panvinius, Gruter, and Fabretti, and, on their authority, are thus given by Muratori: *L. Ælius Verus Cæsar II. and P. Cælius Balbinus Vibulus.*

A.D. 135. Cass. and Vict., Pompeianus II. and Commodus; Idat. Commodus and Pompeianus; Chron. Pasch., Commodus and Pontianus III. The prænomina, nomina and cognomina of these consuls occur in several inscriptions, and are thus given by Muratori: *L. Cejonius Commodus Verus* and *Sextus Vetulenus Civica Pompei-*

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[1] Cum abhinc *annos centum* Imperatore Antonino Pio II et Bruttio Præsente Coss. iidem dies fuerint ante diem xii kal. August.—Cens. de Die Nat. cap. xxi.

anus. L. Commodus Verus was this year adopted into the Ælian family, by Adrian.

A.D. 134. Cass. and Vict., Pompeianus and Atilianus; Idat., Pontianus and Aquilinus Rufus; Chron. Pasch., Pontianus II. and Aquilinus. This diversity has given great trouble to modern chronologists. An ancient inscription produced by Fabretti[1] settles the question, so far as to one of the names of each:

......*Pontianus* and ......*Atilianus*

A.D. 133. Cass., Sergianus II. and Verus; Vict., Sergianus II. and Vetus; Idat., Severus III. and Varus; Chron. Pasch., Severus and Varus. They should be, *C. Julius Servianus III.* and *C. Vibius Varus.* Bianchini quotes an inscription from Gruter, p. 108-7 and p. 431-9. Another in Ciampini de Sacris Ædibus, c. iv. p. 30; and another in Fabretti Inscrip. 509.

A.D. 132. Cass., Hiberus and Silanus; Vict., Tiberius al. Hibertus and Silanus; Idat., Hiberus and Sisenna; Chron. Pasch., Tiberius and Sisinnus. These may be easily reconciled. Bianchini produces a marble inscription in the Albani museum, which reads,

......*Antonius Hiberus*.........*Nummius Sisenna Coss.*

A.D. 131. Cass. Vict. and Chr. Pas., Augurinus and Sergianus; Idat., Augurianus and Sergianus. Pliny the younger[2] speaks of Sentius Augurinus. The modern critics are divided in opinion concerning the second consul; some following our lists, and others preferring *Severianus.*

A.D. 130. Cass., Pontianus and Rufinus; omitted by Victorius; Idat. and Chron. Pasch., Pontianus and Rufus. Panvinius produces an inscription which has,

Ser. Octav. Lænas Pontianus. M. Antonius Rufinus Coss.

A.D. 129. Idat., Catullinus and Libo; Chr. Pas. Catullinus and Libo II; Cassiodorus and Victorius wholly omit this consulship. Two inscriptions produced by Panvinius from Gruter, p. 108, num. vi., and Fabretti, p. 503, read,

Q. Fabius Catullinus. M. Flavius Aper. Coss.

A.D. 128. Cass. and Vict., Celsus and Marcellinus; Idat. and Chr. Pas., Marcellus and Celsus. Ulpian[3] speaks of Q. Julius Balbus and P. Juventius Celsus, Coss. These names occur in an inscription produced by Panvinius, which contains also the names of the consuls substituted in that year. Among these are C. Neratius Marcellus and Cn. Lollius Gallus. The critics infer, therefore, that the consuls and the substituted consuls of this year have been partially confounded. Hence they prefer to designate this year as the consulship of *Q. Julius Balbus* and *P. Juventius Celsus* II.

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[1] P. 509, et de Col. Traj. p. 192.

[2] Epist. lib. iv. 27.

[3] Digest. v. tit. iii.

Victorius here inserts "Vetus and Valens," in which he is supported by no other authority. This being omitted, all the lists for the next two years are in harmony. A.D. 127, Torquatus and Libo. A.D. 126, Gallicanus and Titianus. M Annius Libo, Cos. is mentioned by Julius Capitolinus, in his life of the emperor Marcus Aurelius; and an ancient inscription[1] gives the names of *L. Non. Aspr. Torquatus* II. *M. Annius Libo, Coss.* Nothing is certain as to the consuls of A.D. 126, excepting the names *Titianus* and *Gallicanus.*

A.D. 125. Cass. and Vict., Verus et Ambiguus; Idat., Verus III. et Ambigulus; Chr. Pas. Severus III. et Amfigulus. On the authority of Cardinal Noris, and the inscriptions given by him, Muratori adopts, as the names of these consuls,

M. Annius Verus III. *L. Varius Ambibulus.*

Julius Capitolinus, in his life of Pertinax, says that he was born in the consulship of Verus and Bibulus.[2]

A.D. 124. Cass. and Vict., Asiaticus and Quintus; Idat. and Chr. Pas., Asiaticus and Aquilinus. From three inscriptions given by Panvinius, Gruter, and Fabretti, it appears that the names of these consuls were,

P. Corn. Scipio Asiaticus II. and *Q. Vettius (or Vectius) Aquilinus.*

A.D. 123. Cass. and Vict., Glabrio and Apronianus; Idat. and Chr. Pas., Glabrio and Torquatus. An inscription preserved by Panvinius has the prænomen, nomen, and cognomen of both these consuls: *M'. Acilius Glabrio* and *C. Bellicius Torquatus.*

A.D. 122. Cass. and Vict., Paternus and Torquatus; Idat., Apronianus and Pampinus; Chr. Pas., Apronianus II. and Pampinus. Cassiodorus and Victorius have interchanged the names of Apronianus and Torquatus with A.D. 123. In the two other lists, the name of Pætinus is corrupted into Panpinus or Pampinus. An inscription on baked clay, transcribed by Panvinius and Fabretti,

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[1] Gruter, p. 337; Fabretti, p. 510.

[2] Natus autem Cal. Augustis Vero et Bibulo Coss.—Hist. Aug. SS. p. 59.

p. 503 and 509, and other inscriptions recorded by Gruter, p. 1079, No. x. and p. 1082, No. XVI., have corrected these errors. The real names were,

Quintus Arrius Pætinus and *C. Ventidius Apronianus.*

A.D. 121. All the lists agree in Aviola and Pansa. From an inscription in Gruter, p. 337, it appears that the names were,

M'. (or Manius) Acilius Aviola and *C. Cornelius Pansa.*

A.D. 120. Cass. and Vict., Verus et Augur; Idat., Verus II. et Augur; Chr. Pas. Severus II. et Augurinus. Julius Capitolinus, in his life of the emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, says that he was born when his grandfather Annius Verus, the second time, and Augur were consuls.[1] It is the same Annius Verus who was consul the third time A.D. 125. The name of Augur, or Augurinus, has the name of Aurelius prefixed to it, in an ancient inscription in Cuper's preface to the Fasti Consulares of Almeloveen. The names, therefore, were,

M. or *L. Annius Verus II.* and ...*Aurelius Augur* or *Augurinus.*

A.D. 119. Cassiod., Catilius and Fulvius; Vict., Servilius or Catilius and Fulvius; Idat., Severus II. and Fulgus; Chr. Pas., Severus and Fulcus. Cassiodorus is most correct. Julius Capitolinus, in his life of the emperor Antoninus Pius, gives as his original name, Titus Aurelius Fulvius Boionius Antoninus, and says that he was consul with Catilius Severus.[2] To the latter, an inscription preserved by Gruter, p. 499, No. IX. gives the prænomen Lucius. Muratori calls these consuls, L. Catilius Severus and L. Aurelius Fulvus. But the testimony of Julius Capitolinus is express, that the same person who was afterwards emperor under the name of Antoninus Pius, was consul with Catilius Severus. I therefore feel constrained by that testimony to write the names as he has,

L. Catilius Severus and *T. Aurelius Fulvius Antoninus.*

A.D. 118. Cass., Hadrianus II. et Rusticus; Vict., Hadrianus II. and Silianus al. Rusticus; Idat., Hadrianus IV. et Rusticus; Chr. Pas. Ælius Hadrianus Augustus II. et Rusticius. All the critics agree that it was the third consulship of *Adrian* with *Q. Junius Rusticus.*

A.D. 117. Vict., Hadrianus and Rusticus al. Salinator. The other three lists agree in giving Salinator as the colleague of Adrian. His name was *Tiberius Claudius Fuscus Salinator,* as

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[1] Hist. Aug. SS. p. 22.

[2] Ib. p. 17.

Panvinius gathers from an inscription in Fabretti, p. 677, No. 33, where his prænomen, nomen, and cognomen, are given; and also from the correspondence of Trajan and Pliny. The latter gives a high character of Fuscus Salinator.[1]

A.D. 117. Clarus and Alexander are here inserted by Cassiodorus and Victorius, but are not in the other lists. They were probably substituted, and not regular consuls. These being omitted, the four lists are in harmony. Cass. and Vict., Niger et Apronianus; Idat., Apronianus et Niger; Chr. Pas., Apronianus et Niger. The prænomen aud nomen of one, and the nomen of the other, are ascertained by three inscriptions.[2]

Quinctius Niger. C. Vipstanius Apronianus.

A.D. 115. Cass. and Vict., Æmilius et Vetus; Idat., Elianus et Vetus; Chr. Pas., Ælianus et Vetus or Veter. Cardinal Noris shows from Phlegon, cap. 9 de Mirabilibus, that the consuls were, *L. or L. Ælius Lamia* and *Ælianus Vetus* or *Veter.*

A.D. 114. Cass. and Vict., Messalla and Pedo; Idat. and Chr. Pas. Messala et Podo. It appears from Gruter,[3] and from Cardinal Noris,[4] that the names were,

L. Vipstanius Messalla and *M. Vergilianus Pedo.*

A.D. 113. Cass. and Vict., Asta et Piso; Idat., Malsa et Volcisus; Chr. Pas., Malsus et Bulciscus. All are corrupt. Panvinius produces one, and Gruter (p. 214) another marble, from which it appears that the real names were,

Q. Ninnius Hasta and *P. Manilius Vopiscus.*

A.D. 112. Cass. and Vict., Celsus and Crispinus; Idat., Celsus II. and Priscianus II.; Chr. Pas., Priscianus and Celsus. An ancient inscription in the Farnese palace at Rome, given by Gruter, p. 214, enables us to correct the names thus:

L. Publicius Celsus II. and *L. Clodius Crispinus.*

A.D. 111. Cass. and Vict., Trajanus VII. et Africanus; Idat., Trajanus VI. et Anfricanus; Chron. Pasch., Trajanus Augustus V. et Africanus. The name of the emperor Trajan is well known; but it is not always easy to determine the number of times the same person was consul, because of the practice of substituting one set of consuls after another in the same year. Hence, as in the present instance, proceeds the frequent diversity of numbers. The prænomen and nomen of Africanus are given by Card. Noris on the authority of Gruter.[1] Muratori therefore states the names of both consuls as follows:

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[1] Epist. lib. vi. 26.
[2] Gruter, p. 578, No. 1; 1008, No. 7; 1009, No. 2.
[3] Inscript. Antiq. p. 1066 and 1070.
[4] Epist. Consul. p. 935, ed. Veron.

M. Ulp. Trajan. Imp. Aug. VI. T. Sextius Africanus.

A.D. 110. Cass. and Vict., Piso et Rusticus; Idat. and Chr. Pas., Piso and Julianus. C. Calpurnius Piso is a name well known. With regard to his colleague, there is much diversity of opinion. From Gruter, Ins. Ant. p. 128, 163; Fabretti, Insc. p. 696; Boldet, p. 78, it is inferred that his name was M. Vectius or Vettius Bolanus. Rusticus may have been his cognomen. How Julianus has been substituted for Bolanus, it is in vain to conjecture.

A.D. 109. Cass., Crispinus II. and Solenus; Vict., Crispinus and Solenus; Idat. and Chr. Pasch., Orfitus and Priscianus. A stone produced by Bianchini ad Anastas, tom. ii. p. 122, as then lately found near the Porta Capena at Rome, and some inscriptions on baked clay mentioned by him and by Fabretti, p. 508, give the names of these consuls thus:

Ser. Salvidienus Orfitus and *M. Peducæus Priscinus.*

A.D. 108. Cass. and Vict., Africanus et Crispinus; Idat., Palma II. et Tullus; Chron. Pasch., Palma et Tullus. The names recorded by Cassiodorus and Victorius were the consuls substituted on the first of March, A.D. 107, C. Julius Africanus and Clodius Crispinus. But of the consuls of this year, Palma, as we shall soon see, was consul for the first time A.D. 98. The name of the second consul is preserved in the life of M. Aurelius by Julius Capitolinus.[2] where he is called Calvisius Tullus, and is said to have been twice consul. The consuls of this year are therefore called by Muratori,

A. Cornelius Palma II. and *C. Calvisius Tullus II.*

A.D. 107. All the lists agree in the names Gallus and Bradua. An inscription produced by Panvinius calls them,

Appius Annius Trebonius Gallus and *M. Atilius Metilius Bradua.*

A.D. 106. Cass. & Vict., Senecio IV. and Sura III.; Idat., Syra III. Senecio II.; Chr. Pas., Syrianus III. Senecio. Panvinius and Bianchini cite ancient inscriptions for

L. Licinius Sura III. and *C. Sosius Senecio IV.*

A.D. 105. Cass. Vict. and Idat., Commodus and Cerealis; Chr.

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[1] Inscr. Antiq. p. 1029, No. 6.

[2] Hist. Aug. SS. p. 22, ed. Salmas.

Pas., Commodus and Ceretanus. The name of the first is given by Spartian in the life of Ælius Verus, and by Julius Capitolinus in the life of the emperor Verus,[1] *Lucius Ceionius Ælius Commodus Verus.* The name of the other, *L. Tutius Cerealis.*

A.D. 104. Cass. Vict. and Chron. Pasch., Candidus and Quadratus; Idat., Candidus II. et Quadratus. Spartian mentions them in the life of Adrian, who was created tribune of the people in their consulship: Tribunus plebis factus est Candido et Quadrato iterum *coss.*[2] The first of these consuls is named in an ancient inscription, Tiberius Julius Candidus. Critics are not agreed as to the prænomen and nomen of the second. Bianchini calls him C. Actius Quadratus; Spon., C. Antius Julius Quadratus. "Non nostrum est tantas componere lites."

A.D. 103. Cass. and Vict., Urbanus et Marcellus; Idat., Suburanus II. et Marcellus; Chr. Pasch., Syrianus II. et Marcellus. All agree as to Marcellus. The name of the other consul is uncertain.

A.D. 102. Contrary to the other lists, Cassiodorus and Victorius have here inserted Senecio III. and Sura II. Omitting, or rather transposing these, the several lists are in harmony, excepting as to the number of the consulship of Trajan. Cass. and Vict., Trajanus VI. et Maximus; Idat., Trajanus V. et Maximus; Chr. Pas., Trajanus Augustus IV. et Maximus.

A.D. 101. Cass. and Vict., Senecio III. Sura II.; Idat., Severianus et Sirius; Chr. Pas., Syrianus et Syrius. All these names seem to have been corrupted from those transposed by Cassiodorus and Victorius. The critics generally agree in the names of the consuls of A.D. 106 as being the consuls of this year, *C. Sosius Senecio III.* and *L. Licinius Sura II.*

A.D. 100. Cass. and Vict., Trajanus V. et Orfitus; Idat., Trajanus IV. et Petus; Chr. Pas., Trajanus Augustus III. et Petus. Orfitus was substituted for Pætus on the first of March, as Panvinius conjectures; for on the first of May, and again on the first of July, other consuls were substituted. Spartian, in his life of Adrian, (p. 2), speaks of the consulship of Trajan IV. and Arunculeius. The modern critics think that this should be Articuleius, and hence they write the consulship thus:

M. Ulpius Trajanus Imp. Aug. IV., and *Sextus Articuleus Pætus.*

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[1] Hist. Aug. SS. ed. Salmas, pp. 16, 35.

[2] Ib. p. 2.

A.D. 99. Cass. and Vict., Trajanus IV. et Fronto; Idat., Trajanus III. et Pontinus; Chr. Pas., Trajanus Augustus II. et Pontianus. M. Cornelius Fronto seems to have been substituted on the first of March for the ordinary consul. Card. Noris has given very convincing reasons for believing that Pontinus and Pontianus are corruptions of the name of Frontinus, the well known author of the work on the aqueducts of Rome. The consuls, then, of this year were

M. Ulpius Trajanus Imp. Aug. III. and *Sextus Julius Frontinus* III.

A.D. 98. Cass. and Vict., Senecio et Palma; Idat. and Chr. Pas., Palma et Senecio.

A. Cornelius Palma, C. Sosius Senecio, Coss.

A.D. 97. Cass. and Vict., Nerva III. Trajanus, III.; Idat., Nerva IV. Trajanus II.; Chr. Pas., Trajanus Augustus alone.

M. Cocceius Nerva, Imp. Aug. IV. *Ulpius Trajanus Cæsar* II.

A.D. 96. Cassiodorus and Victorius have here inserted the consulships of Sabinus and Antoninus, and Flavius or Fulvius and Vetus, unsupported by any other authority. Omitting these, and reading in the order of the other lists, we have, Cass. and Vict., Nerva II. and Rufus; Idat., Nerva III. and Rufus III.; Chr. Pas., Nerva Augustus and Titus Rufus III. Julius Frontinus de Aquæduct. Art. 102, represents this consulship thus:

Imp. Nerva III. *et Verginio Rufo* III. *Coss.*

A.D. 95. Idatius and the Chron. Pasch. make the next consulship that of Valens and Vetus or Veter. Cassiodorus and Victorius insert the consulship of Fulvius and Vetus between the third and fourth consulships of Nerva. But in this part of their lists, Cassiodorus and Victorius are singularly incorrect. Dion Cassius calls these consuls, Caius Valens and Caius Antistius.[1] Their full names, as appears by an ancient inscription produced by Bianchini, were, *C. Antistius Vetus* and *C. Manlius Valens.*

A.D. 94. Cass. and Vict., Domitianus IX. et Clemens II.; Idat., Domitianus XIV. et Clemens; Chron. Pasch., Domitianus XIV. et Clemens II. Dion Cassius speaks of Titus Flavius Clemens, as being consul with Domitian, and put to death that year.[2] He was a Christian.

A.D. 93. Cass. and Vict., Asprenas et Clemens; Idat. and Chr. Pas., Asprenas et Lateranus. The critics are divided; part following Cassiodorus and Victorius, in making Titus Flavius Clemens the colleague of Asprenas; part, on the authority of the other two, preferring Lateranus.

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[1] Lib. lxvii. 14.

[2] Ib.

A.D. 92. Cass. and Vict., Silvanus et Priscus; Idat., Pompeianus et Priscianus; Chr. Pas., Pompeius and Crispinus. Tacitus, in his life of Agricola,[1] says that he died in the consulship of Collega and Priscus. Hence all the modern critics agree in calling the consuls, *Pompeius Collega* and *Cornelius Priscus.*

A.D. 91. Cass. and Vict., Domitianus VIII. et Saturninus; Idat., Domitianus XIII. et Saturninus; Chr. Pas., Domitianus Augustus XII. et Saturninus. Cardinal Noris has shown that Volusius and Quinctius were the nomen and prænomen of Saturninus. The consuls of this year, therefore, were,

Flavius Domitianus, Imp. Aug. and *Q. Volusius Saturninus.*

A.D. 90. Cass., Trajanus II. et Glabrio; Vict., Trajanus and Glabrio; Idat., Grabio et Gralanus; Chr. Pas., Glabrio et Trajanus. Dion Cassius speaks of the consulship of Ulpius Trajanus and Acilius Glabrio.[2] The consuls of this year were, therefore,

M. Ulpius Trajanus. M. Acilius Glabrio.

A.D. 89. Cass. and Vict., Domitianus VII. et Nerva; Idat., Domitianus XII. et Nerva II.; Chron. Pasch., Domitianus Augustus XI. et Nerva. The consuls, therefore, were, *Fl. Domit. Imp. Aug.* and *M. Cocceius Nerva,* who was afterwards emperor.

A.D. 88. Cass. and Vict., Flavius et Trajanus; Idat., Fulvius et Atratinus; Chr. Pas., Fulvius II. et Atratinus. Why Cassiodorus and Victorius should have written Flavius and Trajanus appears inexplicable. Titus Aurelius Fulvius is mentioned by Julius Capitolinus as the grandfather of the emperor Antoninus Pius; and he says of him that he was twice consul. All the critics agree in naming this the consulship of

Titus Aurelius Fulvius II. and A. Sempronius Atratinus.

A.D. 87. Cass., Domitianus VI. et Rufus IV.; Vict., Domitianus VI. et Rufinus; Idat., Domitianus XI. et Rufus; Chr. Pas., Domitianus Augustus X. et Titus Rufus. The testimony of Censorinus is explicit, that the consulship was Domitianus XIV. and L. Minucius Rufus; and that the secular games were celebrated for the seventh time in that year.[3] But here a new difficulty presents itself; for he says that it was in the year of the city 841. But that year, on his own calculations, as will be seen on examining the tables, chap. v. sec. 2, p. 143, began the 21st of April, A.D. 88; and if, as Suetonius asserts, they were celebrated on the day of the Circensian games,[1] it must have been towards the close of that year of Rome, or April 10, A.D. 89. This cannot have been: and, therefore, I must think that there has been some conjectural emendation of the text of Censorinus as to this date. For if Censorinus be correct as to the consulship, and Suetonius correct as to the time of the year when the secular games were celebrated, they must have been at the close of A.U.C. 839, or April 10, A.D. 87.

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[1] Sec. 44.

[2] Lib. lxvii. 12.

[3] Septimos Domitianus, se xiv. et L. Minucio Rufo Coss. anno IↃCCCXLI.—De Die Nat. c. xvii.

Censorinus enables us also to rectify the numbers of Domitian's consulships, so confusedly stated in the ancient lists. Suetonius tells us that *before* Domitian, *no one* held, and that Domitian *did* hold *seventeen* consulships.[2] If, then, A.D. 87 was his fourteenth consulship, A.D. 89 was his fifteenth, and A.D. 91 and 94 the sixteenth and seventeenth.

A.D. 86. Idat., Domitianus X. et Saturninus; Chr. Pas., Domitianus Augustus IX. et Saturninus. We have placed in A.D. 91 the corresponding consulship of Domitianus VIII. and Saturninus, recorded by Cassiodorus and Victorius, and it must therefore be omitted here, because Idatius and the Chron. Pasch. have one more consulship of Domitian and Saturninus than they have. In this, Idatius and the Chron. Pasch. are the more correct. Cassiodorus and Victorius are very confused, as we have before had occasion to observe, in this part of their list. The consulship of Q. Volusius Saturninus A.D. 91 was his second, and the present year his first. This correction made, the consulship of this year is,

Flav. Domitianus, Imp. Aug. XIII. *Q. Volusius Saturninus.*

Muratori says, A. Volusius Saturninus; I know not on what authority.

A.D. 85. Cass. and Vict., Domitianus V. et Dolabella; Idat., Domitianus IX. et Dolabella; Chr. Pas. Domitianus Augustus VIII. et Dolabella. Censorinus has preserved the accurate description of this consulship, De Die Natali, c. xviii. where, speaking of the lustrum and the quinquennial games, he says that these capitoline contests were first instituted by Domitian, in his twelfth consulship with Servius Cornelius Dolabella.[1]

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[1] Sueton. Domit. c. 4.

[2] Consulatus septemdecim cepit, quot ante eum nemo.—Ib. Domit. c. 13.

Flav. Domitianus, Imp. Aug. XII. *Ser. Cornelius Dolabella.*

A.D. 84. Cass. and Vict., Domitianus IV. et Rufus III; Idat., Domitianus VIII. et Fulvius; Chr. Pas., Domitianus Augustus VII. et Fulvius. Julius Capitolinus speaks, as we have seen under A.D. 88, of Titus Aurelius Fulvius, the grandfather of Antoninus Pius, as having been twice consul. This, therefore, was his first; and the true record of it is,

Flav. Domitianus, Imp. Aug. XI. *Titus Aurelius Fulvius*

A.D. 83. Cass. and Vict., Domitianus III. et Sabinus; Idat., Domitianus VII. et Sabinus II.; Chr. Pas., Domitianus Augustus VI. et Sabinus. Bianchini produces an ancient marble which gives the names correctly: *Fl. Domitianus, Imp. Aug.* X. *T. Aurelius Sabinus.*

A.D. 82. Cass. and Vict., Domitianus II. Rufus II.; Idat., Domitianus VI. et Rufus; Chr. Pas., Domitianus Augustus V. et Titus Rufus. Cardinal Noris, from Phlegon, cap. 24, de Mirabilibus, and a Greek inscription at Smyrna, gives the names thus:

Fl. Domit. Imp. Aug. IX *Q. Petilius Rufus* II.

A.D. 81. Cass., Domitianus and Messalinus; Vict., Domitianus and Messalianus; Idat., Domitianus V. et Sabinus; Chr. Pas., Domitianus Augustus IV. et Sabinus; Cassiodorus and Victorius were probably misled by the fact, that in A.D. 82 C. Valerius Messallinus was substituted for Q. Petil. Rufus. The consuls for this year, from an inscription ap. Gruter, p. 68, No. 16, and p. 314, No. 3, were,

Flav. Domitianus, Imp. Aug. VIII. *T. Flavius Sabinus.*

A.D. 80. Cass. and Vict., Silvanus et Verus; Idat., Galva et Pollio; Chr. Pas. Galba et Pollio. After a long contest among the learned, occasioned by contradictory testimony, Bianchini discovered two inscriptions on marble, by which it was terminated. One of these was from the museum of Cardinal Alexander Albani, and had previously been published by Philip à Turre, pp. 99 and 387 of his work on the monuments of Ancient Antium. The names of the consuls were,

L. Flavius Silva Nonius, Asinius Pollio Verrucosus.

A.D. 79. Idat., Titus VII. et Domitianus IV.; Chr. Pas. Titus Augustus VII. et Domitianus III. This consulship is omitted by

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[1] Quorum agonum primus a Domitiano institutus fuit duodecimo ejus et Ser. Cornelii Dolabellæ consulatu.—Censorin. De Die Natali, c. xviii.

Cassiodorus and Victorius. It is proved, however, by ancient inscriptions,[1] and also by coins; and is thus correctly stated:

Titus, Imp. Aug. VIII. *Fl. Domitianus Cæsar* VII.

A.D. 78. Cass. and Vict., Vespasianus IX. et Titus VIII.; Idat., Vespasianus IX. et Titus VI.; Chr. Pas., Titus VI. et Domitianus II. We have now come into the region of more accurate history. Vespasian died, as Suetonius informs us, in his ninth consulship.[2] It was evidently the seventh consulship of Titus:

T. Flav. Vespasianus, Imp. Aug. IX. *Titus Cæsar Vesp. F.* VII.

A.D. 77. Cass. and Vict., but transposed, Commodus and Rufus. These are omitted by Idatius and the Chron. Pasch.; but an ancient inscription produced by Bianchini, from Spon. Miscell. Erud. sec. 2, art. 2, then placed in a villa called Montalto, and existing in the time of Muratori in the museum of Cardinal Albani, reads thus:

C. Cejonius Commodus, D. Novius Priscus.

Judging merely from the distance of time, I should infer that this Ceionius Commodus was the father or grandfather of him who bore the same name, was adopted by Adrian, and called Ælius Verus Cæsar.[3]

A.D. 76. Cass. and Vict., Vespasianus VIII. Titus VII.; Idat., Vespasianus VIII. et Domitianus III.; Chr. Pas., Vespasianus Aug. VII. Titus V. They should be, *T. Flav. Vespasianus, Imp. Aug.* VIII. *Titus Cæsar* VI. On the first of July they both abdicated, and for them were substituted, *T. Flavius Domitianus Cæsar* VI. Cn. Julius Agricola. This accounts for the mistake of Idatius.

A.D. 75. Cass. and Vict., Vespasianus VII. et Titus VI.; Idat. Vespasianus VII. and Titus V.; Chr. Pas., Vespasianus Augustus VI. et Titus IV. It should be,

T. Flavius Vespasianus, Imp. Aug. VII. *Titus Cæsar* V.

Both abdicated July 1, and the following consuls were substituted: T. Flavius Domitianus V. T. Plautius Silvanus II. This last, however, is not certain. The evidence for Domitian appears in an ancient catalogue of bishops in the life of St. Cletus.

A.D. 74. Cass. and Vict., Vespasianus VI. et Titus V.; Idat., Vespas. VI. Titus IV.; Chr. Pas. Vespasianus Augustus V. et Titus III. It should be,

T. Flavius Vespasianus, Imp. Aug. VI. *Titus Cæsar* IV.

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[1] Gruter, pp. 172, 316.

[2] Sueton. Vespas. c. 24.

[3] See Spartian's Life of Adrian, Hist. Aug. SS. ed. Salmas, p. 11.

On the first of July were substituted, T. Flavius Domitianus IV. and M. Licinius Mucianus III. The latter is mentioned by Pliny.[1] He was consul the second time A.D. 69, and the first time A.D. 51, but in every instance substituted.

A.D. 73. Cass. and Vict., Vespasianus V. et Titus IV.; Idat., Vespasianus V. Titus III.; Chr. Pas., Domitianus et Messalinus. There can be no doubt as to this consulship. Censorinus speaks of the first census and lustrum established by Servius, as being little less than 650 years before that which was the 75th in number, made when *Vespasian* V. and *Cæsar* III. were consuls.[2] Pliny speaks of this census as occupying four years.[3] On the first of July, Titus abdicated, and Domitian was substituted, it being his third consulship.

A.D. 72. Idat. Domitianus II. and Messalinus. The Chron. Pasch. transposes this consulship with that of the preceding year, Vespasianus Augustus IV. et Titus II. Cassiodorus and Victorius have misplaced it after the last consulship of Vespasian. That this was its true position, appears from the Fasti Cassinatenses in the Albani Musæum, cited by Bianchini, and from Jul. Frontinus de Aquæd. Art. CII.

Flavius Domitianus Cæsar II. *M. Valerius Messalinus.*

A.D. 71. Cass. and Vict. Vespasianus IV. et Titus III. Idat. Vespas. IV. et Titus II. Chron. Pas. Vespasianus Augustus III. et Titus. They should be

T. Flav. Vespasianus Imp. Aug. IV. *Titus Cæsar* II.

Pliny speaks of an eclipse of the sun and another of the moon, within fifteen days of each other, during the reign of the Vespasians, when the father was the third (it should be *fourth*), and the son the second time consuls.[4] The eclipses here referred to are marked as follows in the accurate tables of Pingré, A.D. 71. ☽ 4 March, at 8 p.m., 4¼ digits, * 20 March, at 9½ a.m. Eur. Afr. Asia *central.*

Muratori cites Riccioli, from the astronomical tables, for an eclipse of the sun Feb. 8, and an eclipse of the moon Feb. 22, A.D. 72. But Pingré shows that there was no eclipse on the 8th of February of that year. Consequently, the second consulship of Titus must have been A.D. 71.

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[1] H. Nat. lib. vii. c. 4.

[2] De Die Nat. c. xviii.

[3] Lib. vii. c. 49.

[4] Nam ut quindecim diebus utrumque sidus quæreretur, et nostro ævo accidit, imperatoribus Vespasianis, patre III. filio iterum Consulibus.—Nat. Hist. lib. ii. x. 13, ed. Brotier, tom. i. p. 163.

A.D. 70. Cass. Vict. and Idat. Vespasianus III. et Nerva. Chron. Pas. Vespas. Aug. II. et Nerva. On the 1st of March were substituted Domitianus Cæsar and Cn. Pedius Castus. This appears from a decree of Vespasian apud Gruter. p. 573, No. 1.

T. Flav. Vespasianus Imp. Aug. III. *M. Cocceius Nerva.*

A.D. 69. Cass. and Vict. Vespasianus II. Titus II. Idat. Vespasianus II. alone; Chron. Pas. Vespasianus alone. Vespasian and Titus were elected consuls when both were absent. By a decree of the senate Titus and Domitian were proclaimed cæsars. On the first of July were substituted M. Licinius Mucianus, P. Valerius Asiaticus.

A.D. 68. Cassiodorus and Victorius have here inserted two consulships, where the other lists have but one. Vespasianus et Titus, Silvanus et Otho; Idat. Galba II. et Titus Rufinus; Chron. Pasch. Galba et Titus Rufinus. This year is celebrated for the atrocity of its events, and for the multitude of its consuls. With this year Tacitus begins the first book of his history.[1] Brotier, in an excellent note, has given the names and dates of the several ordinary and substituted consuls, with the authorities for each.

Cal. Januar. *Ser. Sulpicius Galba Aug.* II. *T. Vinius Rufinus.*[2] Both being slain, the following were substituted until the calends of March. M. Salvius Otho Aug., L. Salvius Otho Titianus.[3]

Cal. March until the calends of May, were substituted L. Verginius Rufus, Pompeius Vopiscus.[4]

Cal. May until the calends of July, were substituted Cælius Sabinus, Flavius Sabinus.[5]

Cal. July, to the calends of September, T. Arrius Antoninus, P. Marius Celsus.[6]

Cal. September, to the calends of November, C. Fabius Valens, A. Alienus Cæcina.[7] Cæcina being accused of treachery by Vitellius, and condemned by the senate, on the last day of October, for one day, Rosius Regulus was substituted.[8]

Cal. November, to the calends of January, were substituted Cn. Cæcilius Simplex, C. Quinctius Atticus.[9]

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[1] Initium mihi operis, Ser. Galba iterum, T. Vinius, consules erunt.

[2] Tacit. Hist. i. 1.

[3] Ib. i. 77.

[4] Ib. i. 77.

[5] Ib. i. 77.

[6] Ib. i. 77.

[7] Ib. ii. 71.

[8] Ib. iii. 37.

[9] Ib. ii. 60, iii. 68 and 73; Dio, lxv. p. 741; Brotier, Notæ et Emend. ed. Paris, 1771, 4to. tom. iii. pp. 397-8.

Fifteen consuls in twelve months! The mistake of Cassiodorus and Victorius can easily be accounted for. T. Flavius Sabinus was brother to the emperor Vespasian; and Silvanus and Otho might easily be formed from Salvius Otho, and Salvius Otho Titianus.

A.D. 67. Cass. and Vict.; Italicus and Turpilianus; Idat. Italicus and Trahalus; Chron. Pas. Italicus and Trachanus. The names of the consuls of this year are given by Julius Frontinus de Aquæductibus, art. 102.

C. Silius Italicus, *M. Galerius Trachalus Turpilianus*, A.U.C. DCCCXIX.

It will be seen by our tables (chap. v. p. 143) that the year of Rome 819 extended from A.D. 66, April 21, to A.D. 67, April 20, inclusive. Silius Italicus and Trachalus Turpilianus, therefore, entered, and could enter, upon their office, only on the first of January, A.D. 67.

A.D. 66. The four lists all agree in the names of Capito and Rufus as the consuls of this year. The names are given at full length by Bianchini from the marble Fasti Coloniæ Casinatis, preserved in the Museum Albani at Rome.

L. Fonteius Capito, C. Julius Rufus.

From this year for twenty years of the ascending series, the Greek catalogue of the Chronicon Paschale is defective. The chasm happens fortunately where there is abundant other testimony to supply its loss.

A.D. 65. Cass. Telesinus et Appuleius; Vict. Celsinus al. Telesinus et Apuleius; Idat. Telesinus et Paulinus. Tacitus calls them, Caius Suetonius et Lucius Telesinus[1]; Xiphilinus or Dion. Cass., Caius Telesinus and Suetonius Paulinus[2]; Frontinus, L. Telesinus and Suetonius Paullinus.[3] Hence their names were

Caius Lucius Telesinus and *Caius Suetonius Paullinus.*

A.D. 64. Cass. and Vict.; Sylvanus et Paullinus; Idat. Helva et Vestinus. Tacitus calls these consuls, Silius Nerva and Atticus Vestinus.[4] Velleius Paterculus speaks of A. Licinius Nerva Silianus the son of P. Silius.[5] This change of name was according to the Roman law of adoption. The son of Silius being adopted by A. Licinius Nerva, took the name of him who adopted him, and changed his father's name to Silianus. Thus the son of

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[1] Ann. xvi. 14.

[2] Lib. lxiii. 1.

[3] De Aquæd. Art. 202.

[4] Ann. xv. 48.

[5] H. R. lib. ii. c. 116, 4.

Paulus Æmilius when adopted by Scipio Africanus became Scipio Æmilianus. Thus Octavius Thurinus, when adopted by his grand-uncle, Caius Julius Cæsar, became C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus. Suetonius, as well as Tacitus, calls the second consul Atticus Vestinus.[1] Quintilian calls him Marcus Vestinus.[2] The names therefore were

A. Licinius Nerva Silianus and *Marcus Atticus Vestinus* or *Vestinus Atticus.*

A.D. 63. Cass. Vict. and Idat., Crassus et Bassus. Tacitus calls them Caius Læcanius and Marcus Licinius.[3] Frontinus, Crassus Frugi, and Lecanius Bassus.[4] Therefore, their names were,

Marcus Licinius, Crassus Frugi. Caius Læcanius Bassus.

They were consuls, according to Frontinus, A.U.C. DCCCXV. which, by our tables, extended from April 21, A.D. 62, to April 20, A.D. 63. Consequently, their consulship began Jan. 1, A.D. 63.

A.D. 62. Idat., Rufus et Regula. Cassiodorus and Victorius omit this consulship entirely. Tacitus names them Memmius Regulus and Verginius Rufus.[5] Frontinus, Verginius Rufus and Memmius Regulus, A.U.C. 814. Their names were,

L. Verginius Rufus and C. Memmius Regulus.

As their consulship began in A.U.C. DCCCXIV. it was on Jan. 1, A.D. 62.

A.D. 61. Cass. and Vict., Macrinus et Gallus, Idat., Marius et Gallus. Tacitus,[6] Publius Marius and Lucius Asinius. Their names were,

Publius Marius Celsus and Lucius Asinius Gallus.

A.D. 60. Cass. Pius and Turpilianus; Vict. Pius and Carpilianus, al. Turpilianus; Idat. Lucius et Turpinianus; Tacit.,[7]

Cæsonius Pætus and Petronius Turpilianus.

A.D. 59. Cass. and Vict. Nero IV. et Cornelius; Idat. Nero IV et Lentulus. Suetonius says, that Nero held the consulship four times.[8] Nero entered on his fourth consulship with Cornelius Cossus, says Tacitus.[9] Cornelius Cossus are the well-known names of the family of the Lentuli. Nerone Claudio Cæsare IIII. et Cosso Cossi F. Coss, A.U.C. DCCCXI. says Frontinus de Aquæduct. By our tables, A.U.C. 811 began April 21, A.D. 58, and ended April 20,

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[1] Sueton. Nero, c. 35.

[2] Quinctil. Inst. Orat. vi. 3, ed. Burman, tom. i. p. 548.

[3] Ann. xv. 33.

[4] De Aquæduct. art. 102.

[5] Ann. xv, 23.

[6] Ann. xiv. 48.

[7] Ann. xiv. 29.

[8] Sueton. Nero, c. 14.

[9] Ann. xiv. 20.

A.D. 59. Consequently, on the 1st of January, A.D. 59, began the consulship of

Nero Claud. Cæs. Imp. Aug. IV. *and Cornelius Cossus Lentulus.*

A.D. 58. Idat. Apronianus et Capito. Omitted by Cassiodorus and Victorius. Tacitus,[1] Caius Vipstanius and Lucius Fonteius. Consequently, the names were,

Caius Vipstanius Apronianus and Lucius Fonteius Capito.

A.D. 57. Cass. and Vict., Nero III. et Messalla; Idat., Nero III. et Messalla Corvinus; Tacitus,[2] Nero III. and Valerius Messalla, the great grandson of Corvinus Messalla. The names, therefore, were,

Nero Claud. Imp. Aug. III. *Valerius Messalla Corvinus.*

A.D. 56. Cass. and Vict., Nero II. et Piso; Idat., Nero II. et Piso; Tacitus,[3] Nero II. et Lucius Piso. The name of the latter, it is well known, was Lucius Calpurnius Piso. The consuls, then, of this year were,

Nero Claud. Imp. Aug. II. *Lucius Calpurnius Piso.*

A.D. 55. Idatius, Saturninus et Scipio; omitted by Cassiodorus and Victorius; Tacitus,[4] Quintus Volusius et Publius Scipio. The latter name is well known, and both were,

Quintus Volusius Saturninus and *Publius Cornelius Scipio.*

A.D. 54. Cass., Vict., and Idat. agree in Nero and Vetus. Tacitus,[5] Nero and Lucius Antistius, the well-known names of Vetus. The consuls were, therefore,

Nero Claud. Imp. Aug. and Lucius Antistius Vetus, or Veter.

A.D. 53. Cass. and Vict. Marcellinus and Aviola. Idat. Marcellus and Aviola. Tacitus,[6] Marcus Asinius and Manius Acilius. Suetonius,[7] Asinius Marcellus and Acilius Aviola. The names were, therefore,

Marcus Asinius Marcellus and Manius Acilius Aviola.

A.D. 52. Cass. Silanus II. et Antoninus II. Vict. and Idat. Silanus et Antoninus. Tacitus,[8] Decimus Junius and Quintus Haterius. The full names were,

Decimus Junius Silanus, Quintus Haterius Antoninus.

A.D. 51. Cass. and Vict. Silanus et Otho. Idat. Sylla et Cato. Tacitus,[9] Faustus Sulla, Salvius Otho. Frontinus,[10] Sulla et Titianus, A.U.C. DCCCIII. The year of Rome 803, began April 21,

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[1] Ann. xiv. 1.
[2] Ib. xiii. 34.
[3] Ib. xiii. 31.
[4] Ib. xiii. 25.
[5] Ib. xiii. 11.
[6] Ib. xii. 64.
[7] Sueton. Claudius, c. 45.
[8] Ann. xii. 58.
[9] Ann. xii. 52.
[10] De Aquæd. art. 13.

A.D. 50, and ended April 20, A.D. 51. Consequently, the consulship began January 1, A.D. 51. But the manuscripts vary as to the year of Rome. The names of the consuls, as Pighius has given them, were,

P. Cornelius Sulla Faustus, *L. Salvius Otho Titianus.*

A.D. 50. Idat. Claudius and Orfitus. Transposed, and put by Cassiodorus A.D. 49, and Victorius A.D. 48. Tacitus,[1] Tiberius Claudius V., Servius Cornelius Orphitus. Several inscriptions of this consulship exist. A marble found at Antium, has the following:

TI . CLAVDIO . AVGVSTO . V .
SER . CORNELIO . ORPHITO . COS.

A.D. 49. Idat. Vetus, or Veter, and Nervinianus. Transposed by Cassiodorus to A.D. 48, and called Vetus et Servilianus; by Victorius to A.D. 47, and called Vetus, or Veter, and Nevilianus. Tacitus,[2] Caius Antistius, Marcus Suillius. Therefore the names were

Caius Antistius Vetus, or *Veter*, and *Marcus Suillius Nervilianus.*

A marble in the Museum Albani, another in the Villa Mattei, and others preserved by Gruter and Fabretti, attest the same thing. The marble found at Antium, has

C . ANTISTIO . VETERE .
M . SVILLIO . NERVILINO . COS.

A.D. 48. Idat. Verianus et Gallus. Transposed to A.D. 47 by Cassiodorus, and to A.D. 46 by Victorius, and called Verannius et Gallus. Tacitus,[3] Caius Pompeius, Quintus Veranius. Frontinus[4] Q. Veranio, Pompeio Longo, Coss. An ancient inscription in Muratori,[5] Q. VERANIO. A. POMPEIO. GALLO. COS. The prænomen of Gallus may, therefore, have been Aulus, and not Caius. Some think that his name was Longinus Gallus, others Longus Gallus. The marble found at Antium, has Q. VERANIO. A. POMPEIO. GALLO. COS.

A.D. 47. Cass. A.D. 46, and Vict. A.D. 45, Vitellius II. et Publicola. Idat. A.D. 49, Vitellius IV. et Publicola. Tacitus,[6] Aulus Vitellius and Lucius Vipsanius. The names, therefore, were,

Aulus Vitellius (afterwards emperor), and *Lucius Vipsanius Poplicola.*

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[1] Ann. xii. 41.
[2] Ib. xii. 25.
[3] Ib. xii. 5.
[4] De Aquæd. art. 102.
[5] Thesaur. Inscript. tom. i. p. 305.
[6] Ann. xi. 23.

A.D. 46. Cass. A.D. 45, Vict. A.D. 44, Tiberius II. et Vitellius. Idat. A.D. 48, Claudius IV. et Vitellius III.

Tiberius Claudius Imp. Aug. IV. *Lucius Vitellius* III.[1]

A.D. 45. Cass. Asiaticus et Cornelius. Vict., Idat., and Chr. Pas. Asiaticus et Silanus. Tacitus[2] speaks of Valerius Asiaticus, as having enjoyed the honours of two consulships; but his annals of that period are, unhappily, lost. According to Dion Cassius,[3] the consuls of this year were Valerius Asiaticus II. and M. Silanus.

Dion Cassius, Eusebius Aurelius Victor, Seneca, and Cassiodorus, speak of an island which arose in the Ægean sea, near Thera; and, on the same night, Victor tells us there was a remarkable eclipse of the moon.[4] Seneca says, that the phenomenon occurred in the consulship of Valerius Asiaticus;[5] Dion, in that of Claudius IV. and L. Vitellius. No eclipse of the moon can be produced, corresponding with these accounts, but that of December 31, A.D. 46. In A.D. 45, but one eclipse is mentioned by Pingré, and that was of the sun. In A.D. 47, there were two eclipses of the moon, but both were in the morning. That of December 31, A.D. 46, took place at half-past nine, P.M. and was central.

A.D. 44. Cass. A.D. 43, and Vict. A.D. 42, Vinicius et Cornelius. Idat. and Chron. Pas. A.D. 46, Vinicius et Corvinus. Dion Cassius,[6]

M. Vinicius II. *and Statilius Corvinus.*

A.D. 43. Cass. A.D. 42, Crispinus et Taurus. Vict. A.D. 41, Crispus and Taurus. Idat. Crispus II. et Taurus. Chron. Pas. Crassus and Taurus. Dion Cassius,[7] C. Crispus II. and T. Statilius. From an inscription,[8] Pagi, Tillemont, Bianchini, and others, call them,

L. Quinctius Crispinus II. and *M. Statilius Taurus.*

A.D. 42. Cass. A.D. 41, and Vict. A.D. 40, Tiberius et Gallus. Idat. A.D. 44, Claudius III. et Vitellius. Chron. Pas. A.D. 44, Claud. Cæs. V. et Vitell. Dion[9] speaks of this as the third consulship of Claudius, but he does not mention Vitellius. The modern critics generally suppose that it was the second consulship of Lucius Vitellius. Hence it is noted thus:

Tiberius Claudius Aug. Imp. III. *Lucius Vitellius* II.

A.D. 41. Cass. A.D. 40, and Vict. A.D. 39, Secundus et Venustus.

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[1] Dion. Cass. lx. 29.

[2] Ann. xi. 1.

[3] Ap. Xiphilinum, lx. 27.

[4] De Cæsaribus, c. 4, 14.

[5] Nat. Quæst. lib. ii. c. 26.

[6] lx. 25.

[7] lx. 23.

[8] Ap. Gruter, p. 1041, No. 10.

[9] lx. 17.

Idat. A.D. 43, Claudius II. et Larbus. Chron. Pas. A.D. 43, Claudius Cæsar IV. et Largus. Dion Cassius,[1] Tiberius Claudius Nero Germanicus II. C. Largus. The latter was his colleague for the whole year. He himself was consul only two months.

Tib. Claud. Aug. Germanicus II. *C. Cœcina Largus.*

A.D. 40. Cass. A.D. 39, and Vict. A.D. 38, Cæsar II. et Saturninus; Idat. A.D. 42, Cæsar IV. et Antoninus; Chr. Pas. A.D. 42, Claudius Cæsar et Antoninus. Dion[2] speaks of Pomponius Secundus as being consul when the emperor Caius Caligula was killed; and that will probably account for the mistake of Cassiodorus in putting opposite to this year, in his series, the names of Secundus and Venustus. Suetonius says[3] that Caius held his fourth consulship only until the seventh of January (vii. Idus Januarii), and that he was killed[4] on the 24th of January (ix. cal. Febr.). Josephus mentions Cneius Sentius Saturninus as one of the consuls,[5] and Quintus Pomponius as the other consul.[6] We may infer, therefore, that after the abdication of Caligula (January 7), Quintus Pomponius Secundus was substituted, with his colleague Cneius Sentius Saturninus. If this inference be correct, the ordinary consuls of this year were.

C. Cæsar. Caligula Aug. IV. *Cn. Sentius Saturninus.*

A.D. 39. Cass. A.D. 38, and Vict. A.D. 37, Cæsar et Julianus; Idat. A.D. 41, Cæsar III. alone; Chr. Pas. A.D. 41, Claudius Cæsar II. alone. Dion[7] says expressly, that Caligula was consul the third time without a colleague.

A.D. 38. Cass. A.D. 37, and Vict. A.D. 36, Publicola et Nerva; Idat. A.D. 40, Cæsar II. et Cæsianus; Chr. Pas. A.D. 40, Claudius Cæsar et Cersianus. Cardinal Noris[8] has clearly shown that Lucius Apronius Cæsianus, the colleague of Caligula, held office six months; after which, were substituted M. Sanguinius Maximus II. for Caligula, and Cneius Domitius Corbulo for Apronius Cæsianus. It is, therefore, most unaccountable why or how Cassiodorus and Victorius could here insert the names of Publicola and Nerva.

A.D. 37. Idat. and Chr. Pas. (A.D. 39), Julianus et Asprenas; Cass. (A.D. 36), Julianus et Asprenas; Vict. (A.D. 35), Julianus et Asprenas. Here, as to names, and as to the order of the series, though not as to years, the four lists are in accordance. The names and dates are correctly given by Frontinus de Aquæduct.[1] M. Aquillio Juliano, P. Nonio Asprenate coss, anno urbis conditæ DCCLXXXVIIII. The year of Rome 789, according to our tables, began April 21, A.J.P. 4749, Ref. Cal. of Jul. Cæs. 81, A.D. 36, and ended April 20, A.J.P. 4750, Ref. Cal. of Jul. Cæs. 82, A.D. 37. Consequently the only calends of January in which these consuls could enter on their office was January 1, A.D. 37.

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[1] lx. 2; compared with 10.
[2] lix. 29.
[3] Suet. Caligula 17.
[4] Ib. 58.
[5] Antiq. xix. 2, 1.
[6] Ib. xix. 4, 5.
[7] lix. 24.
[8] Epist. Consul. p. 877-879.

M. Aquillius Julianus, P. Nonius Asprenas.

A.D. 36. Cass. (A.D. 35), Vict. (A.D. 34), Idat. and Chr. Pas. (A.D. 38), Proculus et Nigrinus. This was the year in which Tiberius died. There is and can be no debate as to the consuls; or that the death of Tiberius, and the accession of Caligula, took place A.J.P. 4749, 36 days before the end of A.U.C. 788, or March 16th, A.D. 36.

Cn. Acerronius Proculus. C. Pontius Nigrinus.

The remaining consulships to that of the two Gemini have been heretofore considered, and shown to be unquestionable.

A.D. 35.	Sextus Papinius, Quintus Plautius	Tac. Ann.	vi. 40
„ 34.	Caius Cestius Gallus, M. Servilius Nonianus	„	vi. 31
„ 33.	Lucius Vitellius, Paulus Fabius Persicus	„	vi. 28
„ 32.	Servius Sulpicius Galba, L. Cornelius Sulla	„	vi. 15
„ 31.	Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, Furius Camillus Scribonianus		vi. 1
„ 30.	Tiberius Augustus v., L. Ælius Sejanus		
„ 29.	M. Vinicius Quartinus, L. Cassius Longinus		
„ 28.	L. Rubellius Geminus, C. Fufius Geminus		

The consulships of A.D. 31 and A.D. 30 are omitted by Victorius, in consequence of the insertion of two superfluous consulships, A.D. 159 and A.D. 68.

SECT. II.—Thus, by the *descending* series of consuls from Cicero and Antonius to Proculus and Nigrinus; and, again, by the *ascending* series, from Ulpius and Pontianus to Proculus and Nigrinus; we have found, by considering singly the evidence for each as we proceeded, and ignorant of the results till they unfolded themselves, an unbroken list of consuls for 302 years. We proceed now to test the accuracy of this adjustment by another process; that is, by the history of the emperors, from the death of Tiberius to the year in which Censorinus wrote. If the exact length of each reign can be determined, in connexion with the consulships of each, and if the aggregate number of years corresponds with the number of the consulships, there can be no material error in the chronology. We begin with the emperor

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[1] De Aquæduct. art. xiii. ed. Patav. p. 49.

CAIUS CÆSAR, surnamed CALIGULA.

According to Suetonius, Caligula was born on the last day of August (Prid. cal. Septembris) in the year of his father's consulship with C. Fonteius Capito.[1] That consulship coincided, as we have seen, with A.J.P. 4724, Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæs. 56, A.D. 11. Being after the 21st of April, the birth-day of Caligula was the 11th day of the fifth month A.U.C. 764. The death of Tiberius took place, according to Suetonius, on the 16th, and according to Dion Cassius, on the 26th of March, in the consulship of Proculus and Nigrinus, A.J.P. 4749, Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæs. 81, A.D. 36, towards the close of A.U.C. 788. Caligula was killed on the 24th of January (ix. cal. Feb.), when he had reigned, according to Suetonius, three years, ten months, and eight days, or according to Dion Cassius,[2] three years, nine months, and twenty-eight days. The difference of the two accounts is ten days; the same difference which exists in their several accounts of the reign of Tiberius. Both therefore agree as to the date of Caligula's death, on the 24th of January, A.D. 40.

Tiberius died,

According to Suetonius,				According to Dion Cassius,			
	Y.	M.	D.		Y.	M.	D.
March 16, A.D. 36, or	35	2	16	March 26, A.D. 36, or	35	2	26
Add for Caligula's reign	3	10	8	Add for Caligula's reign	3	9	28
	39	0	24		39	0	24

That is, 39 solid years, and 24 days in the 40th year, or Jan. 24, A.D. 40.

Clemens, Alexandrinus, and Eutropius, follow Suetonius; and so does Cassiodorus, neglecting only the eight days. Josephus, who has given the best account extant of Caligula's death, makes his reign four years within four months.[3] Hence, probably, Theophilus of Antioch computes his reign as being three years, eight months, and seven days. Aurelius Victor and the Chronicon Paschale say only, in round numbers, four years. But the truth lies between Suetonius and Dion Cassius; and as we follow the Latin historian as to the day of the month in which Tiberius died, we must also follow him as to the length of Caligula's reign. The following is the list of consuls:

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[1] Sueton. Caligula, c. 8.
[2] Lib. lix. 30.
[3] Ant. Jud. lib. xix. 2.

A.J.P.	A.D.	CONSULS.	TIME.	Y.	M.	D.
4749	36	Proculus and Nigrinus	from March 17 to Dec. 31	0	9	15
4750	37	Julianus and Asprenas	one year	1	0	0
4751	38	Caius Caligula II. and Cæsianus	„	1	0	0
4752	39	Caius Caligula III. alone	„	1	0	0
4753	40	Caius Caligula IV. and Saturninus, from Jan. 1 to 24		0	0	24
				3	10	8

As he was born on the 31st day of August, A.J.P. 4724, by deducting the time before his birth from the date of his death, we learn his exact age. 4752y. 0m. 24d.—4732y. 7m. 30d.=28y. 4m. 25d.; so that he was, as Suetonius says, in the 29th year of his age when he was killed. According to the same author, he abdicated his fourth consulship (vii. Idus Januar.) on the seventh of January,[1] or the eighteenth day before his death; and Quintus Pomponius Secundus was then substituted, as may be inferred from the narrative of Dion.[2] Pomponius Secundus and Sentius Saturninus were, therefore, in the consular office at the time of his death, though the year was designated as his fourth consulship.

Tib. Claudius Drusus Cæsar

was born (cal. Aug.) on the first day of August, in the consulship of Julus Antonius and Fabius Africanus.[3] This coincided with A.J.P. 4703, and was the twelfth day of the fourth month in A.U.C. 743. We may date his accession to the empire the day after the death of Caligula, Jan. 25, A.J.P. 4753, A.D. 40, two months and twenty-seven days before the close of A.U.C. 792. The length of his reign may be easily proved; first by determining his age when he died, and then by deducting from it the date of Caligula's death. It may be as well to observe here, that as Caligula and Claudius both died in months which had thirty-one days, we must, if we wish to be accurate, take that into account in our computation of the number of days. Claudius died on the 13th of October (iii. Id. October) in the consulship of Asinius Marcellus and Acilius Aviola,[4] which coincided with A.J.P. 4766, A.D. 53, or as it may be expressed in solid years, months and days, 4765y. 9m. 13d. He was born August 1st, A.J.P. 4703; consequently 4702 solid years and seven complete months had preceded his birth. Hence 4765y. 9m. 13d.—4702y. 7m. 0d.=63y. 2m. 13d. He lived two months and thirteen days over sixty-three years, and died, as Suetonius says, in his

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[1] Sueton. Calig. 17.
[2] Dion. C. lib. lix. 29.
[3] Sueton. Claud. 2.
[4] Ib. 45.

64th year. Again: Caligula died Jan. 24, A.J.P. 4753, A.D. 40. Therefore 4765y. 9m. 13d. — 4752y. 0m. 24d. = 13y. 8m. 20d. as the length of the reign of Claudius; and this accords exactly with Dion's computation.[1] It agrees also with the corrected list of consuls, as we shall now proceed to show.

A.J.P.	A.D.	CONSULS.	TIME.	Y.	M.	D.
4753	40	Caligula IV. and Saturninus	from Jan. 24 to Dec. 31	0	11	7
4754	41	Claudius II. and Largus	one year	1	0	0
4755	42	Claudius III. and Vitellius II.	„	1	0	0
4756	43	Crispinus II. and Taurus	„	1	0	0
4757	44	Vinicius II. and Corvinus	„	1	0	0
4758	45	Valerius Asiat. II. and Silanus	„	1	0	0
4759	46	Claudius IV. and Vitellius III.	„	1	0	0
4760	47	A. Vitellius and Vipsanius Poplicola	„	1	0	0
4761	48	Veranius and Gallus	„	1	0	0
4762	49	Vetus and Nervilianus	„	1	0	0
4763	50	Claudius V. and Orphitus	„	1	0	0
4764	51	Sulla Faustus and Otho Titianus	„	1	0	0
4765	52	Junius Silanus and Haterius Antoninus	„	1	0	0
4766	53	Marcellus and Aviola	from Jan. 1 to Oct. 13	0	9	13
				13	8	20

NERO CLAUDIUS CÆSAR

was born at Antium, December 15th (xviii. cal. Jan.) in the consulship of Acerronius Proculus and Pontius Nigrinus,[2] nine months after the death of Tiberius. His birth took place therefore A.J.P. 4749, Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæs. 81, A.D. 36; and being in December, it was on the 25th day of the eighth month of A.U.C. 789. His reign is to be dated from the death of Claudius, though that death was concealed for a time. Nero therefore

	Y.	M.	D.	
Began to reign A.J.P. 4765. A.D.	52	9	14	or October 14th, A.D. 53.
He was born A.J.P. 4748. A.D.	35	11	15	or Decemb. 15th, A.D. 36.
He was therefore	16	9	29	or wanting two months and one or two days to complete his seventeenth year.

It is remarkable that Suetonius departs from his usual practice by not mentioning the day of Nero's death and the consulship under which it happened. He says only that "he died in the thirty-second year of his age, on the same day in which he had formerly killed Octavia."[3] Authors, therefore, are by no means agreed as to his age at the time of his death, and consequently the duration of his reign. Eutropius says that he died in the thirty-first year of his age.[1] Dion Cassius says more accurately that "he lived thirty years and nine months, of which he reigned thirteen years and eight months."[2] Happily the last-mentioned historian has, in another place, furnished us with a clue, by which we can arrive at the day of Nero's death. "From the death of Nero to the reign of Vespasian, was one year and twenty-two days."[3] Now Suetonius mentions[4] that the legions were induced to swear allegiance to Vespasian by Tiberius Alexander, præfect of Egypt, on the first day of July, and that this was afterwards observed as the beginning of his reign.[5] From the first of July, therefore, must we reckon back the period between his accession and Nero's death; and as that period was twenty-two days over a solid year, we count back twenty-two days from the first of July, and find, if we exclude both extremes, that Nero died on the eighth of June. If we exclude one of the extremes only, the death of Nero will fall on the ninth of June. Dion Cassius, as we have seen, makes his reign thirteen years and eight months; Josephus, thirteen years and eight days;[6] Sextus Aurelius Victor says that he reigned thirteen years; Eutropius, fourteen; Suetonius, a little less than fourteen.[7] St. Theophilus of Antioch, 13y. 6m. 28d.; St. Clemens Alexandrinus, 13y. 8m. 28d.; Cassiodorus, 13y. 7m. 28d. With these authorities before us, we proceed to examine the length of his reign by the consulships.

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[1] Lib. lx. 34.

[2] Suet. Nero, c. 6.

[3] Obiit secundo tricesimo ætatis anno, die quo quondam Octaviam interemerat.—Suet. Nero, 57.

A.J.P.	A.D.	CONSULS.	TIME.	Y.	M.	D.
4766	53	Marcellus and Aviola	from Oct. 14 to Dec. 31	0	2	18
4767	54	Nero and Antistius Vetus	one year	1	0	0
4768	55	Saturninus and Scipio	"	1	0	0
4769	56	Nero II. and Calpurnius Piso	"	1	0	0
4770	57	Nero III. and Messalla Corvinus	"	1	0	0
4771	58	Apronianus and Capito	"	1	0	0
4772	59	Nero IV. and C. Cossus Lentulus	"	1	0	0
4773	60	Pætus and Turpilianus	"	1	0	0
4774	61	Marius Celsus and Asinius Gallus	"	1	0	0
4775	62	Rufus and Regulus	"	1	0	0
4776	63	Crassus Frugi and Læcanius Bassus	"	1	0	0
4777	64	Nerva and Vestinus	"	1	0	0
4778	65	Telesinus and Suetonius	"	1	0	0
4779	66	Fonteius Capito and Rufus	"	1	0	0
4780	67	Silius Italicus & Trachalus Turpilianus	fr. Jan. 1 to Jun. 9	0	5	9
				13	7	27

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[1] Trigesimo et altero ætatis anno.—Breviar. lib. vii. 15. Verheyk, his Dutch commentator, endeavours to force his author into conformity with Suetonius, by maintaining that "altero" means "secundo"!

[2] Lib. lxiii. 29.

[3] Dion. C. lxvi. 19.

[4] Suet. Vesp. c. 6.

[5] "Tiberius Alexander, præfectus Ægypti, primus in verba Vespasiani legiones adegit Kalendis Julii: qui principatus dies in posterum observatus est."

[6] Bel. Jud. lib. iv. c. 9, sec. 2.

[7] Paullo minus quatuordecim annos.—Sueton. Nero. 40

If then we add his age when he began to reign to the length of his reign, that is 16y. 9m. 29d. + 13y. 7m. 27d., we shall have his age at the time of his death, 30y. 5m. 26d., which is three months and four days less than the computation of Dion Cassius. If the date of his birth in Suetonius be correct, I see not how we can arrive at any other conclusion.

GALBA, OTHO and VITELLIUS.

SERVIUS SULPICIUS GALBA was born December 24th. (ix. cal. Jan.) in the consulship of M. Valerius Messalla and Cneius Lentulus.[1] He perished, according to the same author, in the seventy-third year of his age and the seventh month of his reign.[2] Dion Cassius gives a different account. "Galba," he says, "lived seventy-two years, and reigned nine months and thirteen days."[3] Eutropius follows Suetonius, both as to his age and the length of his reign. The other historians speak only of the latter. Cassiodorus and the Chronicon Paschale say seven months. Tacitus puts into the mouth of Otho, exciting the soldiers against Galba, that seven months were then passed since the death of Nero.[4] St. Clemens Alexandrinus says, seven months and six days; Josephus and Aurelius Victor, seven months and seven days; St. Theophilus of Antioch, two years, seven months, and six days, being misled probably by the erroneous accounts of Galba's age. Amid this discordance, we must have recourse to computation. The accuracy of Tacitus[5] makes it certain that Galba was slain on the fifteenth of January (xviii. calendas Februarii) in the year of his second consulship with Titus Vinius Rufinus; that is, as we have seen, A.D. 68, A.J.P. 4781, three months and six days before the end of A.U.C. 820. The death of Nero took place June 9th, A.J.P. 4780. The two sums, therefore, may be stated thus:—

4780 0 15 or Jan. 15, 4781.
—4779 5 9 or June 9, 4780.
0 7 6

The difference is the length of Galba's reign, reckoning from the death of Nero; and it accords with the computation of Clemens of Alexandria. The age of Galba at the time of his death may be ascertained thus: he was born Dec. 24th, in the consulship of Messalla and Lentulus, or A.J.P. 4710, the year in which Herod the Great died. Before his birth 4709 years 11 months and 23 days had elapsed. These deducted from 4780y. 0m. 15d. the date of his death, give seventy years and twenty-two days as the exact term of his life, and not seventy-two or seventy-three years, as Dion and Suetonius asserted.

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[1] Sueton. Galba 4.

[2] Ibid. c. 23.

[3] Lib. lxiv. c. 5.

[4] Septem a Neronis fine menses sunt.—Tac. Hist. lib. i. c. 37.

[5] Hist. i. 27.

M. SALVIUS OTHO was born on the 28th of April, (iv. cal. Maii) when Camillus Arruntius, and Domitius Aënobarbus were consuls.[1] He killed himself, on the same authority,[2] "in the thirty-eighth year of his age, and the ninety-fifth day of his empire." In this statement Eutropius follows him. But "Otho lived," says Dion, "thirty-seven years, wanting eleven days. He reigned ninety days."[3] Tacitus says that he died in the thirty-seventh year of his age.[4] As to his reign, the Chronicon Paschale gives him six months; St. Clemens of Alexandria, five months and one day; St. Theophilus of Antioch and Cassiodorus, three months and five days, agreeing with Suetonius; Josephus, three months and two days; and Aurelius Victor, three months or ninety days, as asserted by Dion. We must again have recourse to computation.

The consulship of F. Camillus Arruntius Scribonianus and Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, coincided, as we have seen, with A.D. 31, A.J.P. 4744. As Otho was born on the 28th of April, the year of Rome 784 began eight days earlier. He killed himself during the night after the day following that on which his army was defeated by Vitellius.[5] His reign must be dated from the death of Galba, 4780y. 0m. 15d. If we add three months and five days to this sum, it brings us to 4780y. 3m. 20d., or April 20, A.J.P. 4781, A.D. 68, which would be eight days before the completion of his thirty-seventh year. But as Dion says that he lived thirty-seven years wanting *eleven* days, his death may be placed in the night following the 17th of April; and consequently the battle took place April 16. Now, from 4780y. 3m. 17d. take 4780y. 0m. 15d., the date of Galba's death, and it leaves three months and two days, according to the accurate computation of Josephus,[6] as the utmost extent of Otho's reign.

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[1] Sueton. Otho, c. 2.

[2] Sueton. Otho. c. 2.

[3] Lib. lxiv. c. 85.

[4] Hunc vitæ finem habuit septimo et tricesimo ætatis anno.—Hist. lib. ii. c. 50.

[5] Tac. Hist. ii. 45-50.

[6] Bel. Jud. lib. iv. c. 9, s. 9.

Aulus Vitellius, the son of Lucius, was born, says Suetonius,[1] September 24 (viii. cal. Oct.), as some say, or, according to others, September 7 (vii. Idus Sept.), in the consulship of Drusus Cæsar and Norbanus Flaccus. He perished, with his brother and his son, in the fifty-seventh year of his age.[2] Tacitus also says, if there be no mistake in the text, that he had completed his fifty-seventh year.[3] Dion Cassius, on the other hand, says that he lived fifty-four years and eighty-nine days, and reigned one year wanting ten days.[4] Other chronicles speak only of the length of his reign. The Chronicon Paschale says he reigned ten months; Eutropius and Cassiodorus, eight months and one day; Aurelius Victor, eight months; Clemens of Alexandria, seven months and one day; Theophilus of Antioch, six months and twenty-two days. That Dion's account is the most accurate, will appear from the statements of the Latin historians themselves. The consulship of Drusus and Norbanus Flaccus coincided with A.J.P. 4727, Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæs. 59. A.D. 14. All agree that Vitellius was killed in the year known as the consulship of Galba II. and Titus Vinius Rufinus, A.J.P. 4781, A.D. 68. According to Suetonius, he was born September 24, or September 7, A.J.P. 4727. The preceding time, therefore, was:

4726 8 23 or 4726 8 6
Add 54 2 28 54 2 28
4780 11 21=Dec. 21, 4781, or 4780 11 4=Dec. 4, 4781.

Again: if the length of his reign was one year wanting ten days, it was exactly eleven months and twenty-one days. These being deducted from the time of his death, will give that of the commencement of his reign:

4780 11 21 or 4780 11 4
Subtract 11 21 11 21
4780 0 0=Jan. 1, 4781, or 4779 11 13=Dec. 13, 4780.

That he died on the 21st of December, and not on the 4th of that month, and consequently that his reign is to be computed from the 1st of January A.J.P. 4781, A.D. 68, will appear, if I mistake not, from the narrative of Tacitus. And if we take the testimony of Dion, as to the age of Vitellius, when he died, it will necessarily follow, that he was born on the 24th, and not on the 7th of September.

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[1] Sueton. Vitellius, c. 3.

[2] Ib. c. 18.

[3] Septimum et quinquagesimum ætatis annum explebat.—Hist. iii. 86.

[4] Dion. C. lxv. c. 22.

According to Tacitus,[1] Galba sent Vitellius to take command of the legions of lower Germany. Suetonius says the same; and adds, that he was sent contrary to Galba's own opinion, and under the influence of his colleague, Titus Vinius, who was secretly Galba's enemy. A month had hardly elapsed before the army under Galba's command saluted him as emperor, and he was soon after proclaimed by the army of Upper Germany.[2]

Galba, having heard of the German revolt, though nothing certain concerning Vitellius, determined to adopt Piso; and this adoption he announced to the army (iv. Idus Jan.) on the 10th of January. On the 15th of January (xviii. cal. Feb.), Piso, in his address to the soldiers, said that it was the sixth day of his adoption.[3] In another place Tacitus expressly says, that the fourth and twenty-second legions in the upper army broke the images of Galba on the 1st of January, and that the legions in Lower Germany, the first, fifth, fifteenth, and sixteenth, though less violent, were equally ready to revolt. In the night which followed the 1st of January, Vitellius, then at Cologne, was informed of the revolt of the upper army, and on the following day, through the prompt action of Fabius Valens, was saluted emperor by the lower army. To this the upper army acceded (iii. Non. Jan.) on the 3rd of January.[4] All the discordant accounts of the other writers, arise from their assigning different dates to the beginning, and not the end of his reign. The time between the death of Nero, and that of Vitellius, was

4780 11 21 or Dec. 21, A.J.P. 4781. A.D. 68
—4779 5 9 or June 9, A.J.P. 4780. A.D. 67
1 6 12 or 18 months and 12 days.

The sum of the reigns of Galba and Otho (7.6 + 3.2) were ten months and eight days; and 18.12—10.8=8.4. Those historians, therefore, who computed from the death of Otho to that of Vitellius, would call his reign eight months.

All the incidental and intermediate dates accord with these arrangements of time. As soon as Vitellius heard of the death of Galba, he divided his forces, sending one body of them against Otho, while he advanced with the remainder.[5] This movement was probably about the 1st of February. The decisive battle with Otho, near Belriacum or Bedriacum, in the upper part of Italy, took place, as we have seen, on the 16th of April. Vitellius heard of this, while he was in Gaul.[1]

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[1] Hist. i. 9.
[2] Suet. Vitellius, c. 8.
[3] Tac. Hist. i. 14, 18, 27-29.
[4] Tac. Hist. i. 55-57.
[5] Suet. Vitellius, 9.

On the 1st of July, Vespasian was proclaimed emperor at Alexandria, by the legions in Egypt, under the influence of Tiberius Alexander; and before the 15th of that month, all Syria had declared in his favour.[2]

On the 18th of July (xv. cal. Aug.) Vitellius was in Rome, where he assumed the office of supreme pontiff.[3] On the birthday of Vitellius (Sept. 24) he was still at Rome, and gladiatorial shows were exhibited with unwonted parade.[4]

The decisive battle of Cremona must have been fought on the 29th of October. It began about nine o'clock in the evening (tertia ferme noctis horâ), and continued the whole night, "various, doubtful, atrocious." The sun rose upon them as they were fighting.[5]

Dion, who has given a most eloquent description of this battle, mentions a circumstance, omitted by Tacitus, which enables us to fix its date. "While this commotion existed in the army of Vitellius, it was greatly increased by an eclipse of the moon, which to their terrified minds seemed not only overshadowed, but to be black and bloody, and to emit other fearful colours. The soldiers, however, did not on this account desist from their purpose; but when Primus [the general of Vespasian's army] sent messengers, they sent others, exhorting him to submit to Vitellius. This brought on a severe battle, though the soldiers of Vitellius were without a general; for Alienus [Cæcina] was in chains in Cremona."[6]

At sunrise a panic seized the soldiers of Vitellius, and they fled to Cremona.[7] By the tables of Pingré, it appears that a total eclipse of the moon took place A.D. 68, Oct. 29, at 6h. 30′ A.M. The moon was then in the western horizon, and the approaching light of the sun in the east, and the exhalations in the west, produced the variety of colours by which the soldiers were terrified.

After the battle, Cremona was taken by storm, and burned to the ground, when it had existed 286 years.[8]

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[1] Suet. Vitel. c. 10. Tac. Hist. ii. 57.

[2] Tac. Hist. ii. 79, 81.

[3] Tac. Hist. ii. 91.

[4] Ib. ii. 95.

[5] Ib. iii. 22-24.

[6] Dion. Cass. lxv. c. 11.

[7] Ib. c. 14.

[8] Tac. Hist. iii. 33.

The 31st of October (Prid. cal. Nov.) Rosius Regulus was made consul for that single day.[1]

On the 18th of December (xv. cal. Jan.) Vitellius, having heard of the defection of the legion and cohorts who had surrendered at Narni, departed from the palace in a mourning dress, accompanied by his family, as if he would deposit the regalia in the temple of Concord, and thus abdicate. But he afterwards returned, encouraged by the acclamations of the people present.[2]

He spent the night in quiet; but the next morning (Dec. 19) Sabinus, the brother of Vespasian, sent him a message complaining that he had acted with bad faith in not resigning.[3]

The capitol was burned by the fury of the soldiers; but it is uncertain by which party.[4] Domitian, the son of Vespasian, made his escape; while Sabinus and the consul Atticus were loaded with chains and conducted into the presence of Vitellius. Atticus was spared, but Sabinus cruelly put to death.[5] These events must have taken place on the 20th of December.

The army of Vespasian left Narni on the festival of the Saturnalia (Dec. 17), but did not arrive till the capitol was burned.[6]

Vitellius sent out the vestal virgins, with letters, asking a respite for one day; but he received for answer, that the death of Sabinus and the conflagration of the capitol had precluded all parley.[7]

The city being taken by Vespasian's army, Vitellius was dragged from the privy in which he had concealed himself, and ignominiously put to death.[8]

It is evident from this narrative that Dion's calculations are scrupulously correct, and that we must place the death of Vitellius on the 21st of December, A.D. 68. The reign of Vespasian, however, is not to be dated from the death of Vitellius, but from the first of July, when he was first saluted emperor. The passage in Dion, to which allusion has before been made, says expressly "that one year and twenty-two days elapsed from the death of Nero to the reign of Vespasian." "I have written this," he adds, "that some should not be deceived, who make the calculation of time with regard to those who held the government. For they did not succeed one another; but while another was living and still reigning, each believed that he was emperor from the time in which he applied himself to that thing. All the days of each are not to be reckoned as succeeding one another, but, as I have said, must be computed altogether, for the accurate adjustment of time."[1]

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[1] Tac. Hist. iii. 37.
[2] Ib. iii. 67, 68.
[3] Ib. 69 70.
[4] Ib. 71 72.
[5] Ib. 74.
[6] Ib. iii. 78, 79.
[7] Ib. iii. 81.
[8] Ib. iii. 85.

T. Flavius Vespasianus

was born (xv. cal. Decemb.) in the evening of the 17th of November, in the consulship of Q. Sulpicius Camerinus and C. Poppæus Sabinus, the fifth year before the death of Augustus.[2] This was A.J.P. 4721, Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæsar 53, A.D. 8. He was proclaimed emperor at Alexandria on the 1st of July, in the consulship of Serv. Sulpicius Galba II and T. Vinius Rufinus, A.J.P. 4781, A.D. 68. While at Alexandria, he heard of the death of Vitellius.[3] Dion says that he was created emperor by the senate, and his sons, Titus and Domitian, cæsars; that Vespasian and Titus received the consulship, the one being in Egypt and the other in Palestine; and that while Vespasian was in Egypt, Mucianus and Domitian administered the affairs of the empire.[4] The consulship of which Dion speaks was that of A.J.P. 4782, A.D. 69, Vespasianus II, Titus II.

"In his ninth consulship," says Suetonius, "he attempted to go by easy journeys into Campania, but soon returned to the city, and went to his country seat at Cutiliæ, where he usually spent his summers. Here he died, on the 23rd of June (ix. cal. Jul.), having lived seven months and seven days over his sixty-ninth year,"[5] He also affirms,[6] that Vespasian and his two sons reigned the same number of years as the united sum of the reigns of Claudius and Nero. Dion says, that he lived sixty-nine years and eight months, and reigned ten years wanting six days.[7] Eutropius says, that he reigned nine years and seven days; Clemens of Alexandria, eleven years, eleven months, and twenty-two days; Theophilus of Antioch and Cassiodorus, nine years, eleven months, and twenty-two days; Aurelius Victor, ten years; and the Chronicon Paschale, nine years.

As Suetonius mentions that he died in his ninth consulship, our computation of the length of his reign must first be made by the ist of consuls.

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[1] Dion Cass. lib. lxvi. c. 17.

[2] Suet. Vesp. c. 2.

[3] Ib. c. 7.

[4] Hist. Rom. lib. lxvi. c. 1. 2.

[5] Annum gerens ætatis sexagesimum ac nonum, superque mensem ac diem septimum.—Suet. Vesp. c. 24.

[6] C. 25.

[7] Dion C. lxvi. c. 17.

A.J.P.	A.D.	CONSULS.	TIME.	Y.	M.	D.
4781	68	Ser. Sulpicius Galba II. & T. Vinius Rufinus,	from Jul. 1 to Dec. 31	0	6	0
4782	69	T. Flavius Vespasianus II. and Titus Cæsar II	one year	1	0	0
4783	70	T. F. Vespasianus III. and M. C. Nerva	,,	1	0	0
4784	71	T. F. Vespasianus IV. and Titus Cæsar II.	,,	1	0	0
4785	72	Domitianus II. and Messalinus	,,	1	0	0
4786	73	T. F. Vespasianus V. and Titus Cæsar III.	,,	1	0	0
4787	74	T. F. Vespasianus VI. and Titus Cæsar IV.	,,	1	0	0
4788	75	T. F. Vespasianus VII. and Titus Cæsar V.	,,	1	0	0
4789	76	T. F. Vespasianus VIII. and Titus Cæsar VI.	,,	1	0	0
4790	77	C. Cejonius Commodus and D. Novius Priscus	,,	1	0	0
4791	78	T. F. Vespasianus IX. and Titus Cæsar VII	June 1 to June 23	0	5	23
		He reigned therefore ten years wanting *seven* days, or		9	11	23

To ascertain his age, we must take the date of his birth from that of his death.

Vespasian died	4790	5	23	or June 23 A.J.P. 4791, A.D. 78.
Time preceding his birth	4720	10	16	or Nov. 16 ,, 4721, A.D. 8.
	69	7	7	

Suetonius is, therefore, right as to his age.

TITUS FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS

"was born," says Suetonius, "on the third before the calends of January, of that year which was rendered memorable by the assassination of Caligula."[1] I take the January here spoken of, to be that of the year in which Caligula was killed, and not of the year after; of A.J.P. 4753, A.D. 40, and not of A.J.P. 4754, A.D. 41. If this be correct, Titus was born December 30, A.J.P. 4752, A.D. 39. My reasons for this will be more apparent, when we come to compute his age. He succeeded his father June 24th, A.J.P. 4791, A.D. 78; and "he died," says Suetonius, "at the same villa where his father expired, on the ides of September (Sept. 13), two years, two months, and twenty days after he had succeeded his father, and in the forty-first year of his age."[2]

There is but little difference among historians as to the length of his reign. The Chronicon Paschale says, merely two years; St. Theophilus of Antioch, two years and twenty-two days; Cassiodorus and Clemens of Alexandria, two years and two months; Aurelius Victor and Dion Cassius agree with Suetonius, two years, two months, and twenty days. Eutropius alone has two years, eight months, and twenty days; but this, I presume, is an error in his text, as he generally follows Suetonius. The computation by consuls is as follows:

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[1] Natus est iii. calendas Jan. insigni anno Caiana nece.—Suet. Titus, c. 1.

[2] Ib. c. 11.

A.J.P.	A.D.	CONSULS.	TIME.	Y.	M.	D.
4791	78	T. F. Vespasianus ix. and Titus Cæsar vii.	June 24 to Dec. 31	0	6	7
4792	79	Titus Imp. Aug. viii. and Fl. Domitianus Cæs. vii.	one year	1	0	0
4793	80	L. F. Silva Nonius & Asinius Pollio Verrucosus	Jan. 1 to Sep. 13	0	8	13
				2	2	20

His age at the time of his death is thus determined:

Titus died	4792	8	13	or September 13, 4793, A.D. 80.
Time before his birth	4751	11	29	or December 29, 4752, „ 39.
	40	8	15	

He wanted, therefore, three months and a half to complete his forty-first year.

T. Flavius Domitianus

was born October 24th (ix. kal. Nov.), when his father was designated consul, and was to enter on the dignity the following month.[1] As this consulship was substituted for the last two months of the year only, it does not furnish us with a date, as it would have done if his father had been the ordinary consul of that year. "He was slain," says Suetonius, "on the 18th of September (xiv. kal. Octob.), in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign."[2] "Domitian lived," says Dion, "forty-four years, ten months, and twenty-six days, and reigned fifteen years and five days." The historians vary about the length of his reign. The Chronicon Paschale makes it sixteen years; St. Clemens of Alexandria, fifteen years, eight months, and five days; St. Theophilus of Antioch, fifteen years, five months, and six days; Cassiodorus, fifteen years and five months; Aurelius Victor and Eutropius, fifteen years.

A.J.P.	A.D.	CONSULS.	TIME.	Y.	M.	D.
4793	80	Silva Nonius and Asinius Pollio Verrucosus	Sep. 14 to Dec. 31	0	3	17
4794	81	Flav. Domitianus Imp. viii. and T. F. Sabinus	one year	1	0	0
4795	82	Fl. Domitianus Imp. ix. and Petilius Rufus ii.	„	1	0	0
4796	83	Fl. Domitianus Imp. x. and T. Aurelius Sabinus	„	1	0	0
4797	84	Fl. Domitianus Imp. xi. and T. Aurelius Fulvius	„	1	0	0
			Carried over	4	3	17

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[1] Sueton. Domit. c. 1.

[2] Ib. Domit. c. 17.

A.J.P.	A.D.	CONSULS.				
			Brought over	4	3	17
4798	85	Fl. Domitianus Imp. xii. and S. Corn. Dolabella	one year	1	0	0
4799	86	Fl. Domitianus Imp. xiii. and Q. Volusius Saturninus	„	1	0	0
4800	87	Fl. Domitianus Imp. xiv. and L. Minucius Rufus	„	1	0	0
4801	88	T. Aur. Fulvius ii. and A. Sempron. Atratinus	„	1	0	0
4802	89	Fl. Domitianus Imp. xv. and M. Cocceius Nerva	„	1	0	0
4803	90	M. Ulpius Trajanus and M. Acilius Glabrio	„	1	0	0
4804	91	Fl. Domitianus Imp. xvi. and Q. Volusius Saturninus	„	1	0	0
4805	92	Pompeius Collega and Cornelius Priscus	„	1	0	0
4806	93	Asprenas and Clemens or Lateranus	„	1	0	0
4807	94	Fl. Domitianus Imp. xvii. and T. Flavius Clemens ii.		1	0	0
4808	95	C. Antistius Vetus and C. Manlius Valens	from Jan. 1 to Sep. 18	0	8	18
				15	0	5

The date of his birth, and the length of his life, may be thus computed: he was born on the 24th of October, and was put to death September 18th, in the forty-fifth year of his age. He would, therefore, have completed his forty-fifth year on the 23rd of October, A.J.P. 4808, A.D. 95. Therefore, from

4807 9 23 or Oct. 23d. 4808
Subtract 45
4762 9 23

He was, therefore, born October 24, 4763, A.D. 50. His father Vespasian was then designated consul, and was to enter on that dignity the 1st of November. That was the year in which the emperor Claudius v. and Orphitus were the ordinary consuls. Now, from the date of Domitian's death,

4807 8 18 or Sep. 18, 4808, A.D. 95.
Take the time before his birth 4762 9 23 or Oct. 23, 4763, „ 50.
44 10 26

and you have his exact age, just as it is stated by Dion Cassius.

M. Cocceius Nerva.

The lights of Tacitus and Suetonius being now withdrawn, and Dion Cassius known to us only through the meagre abridgment of Xiphilinus, we are left comparatively in the dark with regard to that peaceful and happy period of Roman history, which continued from the accession of Nerva to the death of the Antonines. Nevertheless, we have light enough, from the feeble and glimmering rays of the later chroniclers, to pursue our way along the current of time.

Nerva succeeded Domitian September 19th, in the consulship of Caius Antistius Vetus and Caius Manlius Valens, A.J.P. 4808, A.D. 95. There is a difference of only two days in the most exact statements of the length of his reign. Dion Cassius, one year, four months, and nine days; Eutropius, one year, four months, and eight days; St. Theophilus of Antioch, St. Clemens of Alexandria, and Aurelius Victor, one year, four months, and ten days; Cassiodorus, one year and four months; and the Chronicon Paschale, one year. We will take Dion's account as the mean. The one year was from September 19th, A.J.P. 4808, to September 18th, 4809. The four months were as follows:

1.	From September 19, 4809	to October 18,	30 days
2.	From October 19, „	to November 18,	31 „
3.	From November 19, „	to December 18,	30 „
4.	From December 19, „	to Jan. 18, 4810,	31 „
			122
	From January 19 to Jan. 27, 4810 inclusive, 9 days		9
			131

Therefore, Nerva died on the 27th of January, A.J.P. 4810, A.D. 97; and Trajan succeeded him on the 28th of Jan. of that year.

A.J.P.	A.D.	CONSULS.	TIME.	Y.	M.	D.
4808	95	C. Antistius Vetus and C. Manlius Valens	fr. Sep. 19 to Dec. 31	0	3	12
4809	96	Imp. Nerva III. and Verginius Rufus III.	one year	1	0	0
4810	97	M. C. Nerva Imp. IV. and Ulpius Trajanus Cæs. II.	Jan. 1 to 27	0	0	27
				1	4	9

As Nerva died on the twenty-seventh day of his consulship, it is easy to perceive why the Chronicon Paschale says Trajanus Augustus alone.

M. Ulpius Trajanus.

Trajan's sole reign began, as we have seen, January 28, A.J.P. 4810, A.D. 97. Sextus Aurelius Victor says that he reigned twenty, and the Chronicon Paschale, nineteen years. The other lists vary but little between these extremes. St. Clemens Alexandrinus says, nineteen years, seven months, and fifteen days; but, as he agrees with the other lists, excepting in the number of the months, it is probable that some error has crept into his text. St. Theophilus of Antioch says, nineteen years, six months, and sixteen days; Dion Cassius, Eutropius, and Cassiodorus, agree that Trajan reigned nineteen years, six months, and fifteen days. Assuming these numbers as the most probable, we arrive at the date of his death in the following manner:

Nerva died	4809	0	27	or Jan. 27, A.J.P. 4810, A.D. 97.
Add for Trajan's reign	19	6	15	
	4828	7	11,	or Aug. 11, A.J.P. 4829, A.D. 116.

The testimony given by the list of consuls, is as follows:

A.J.P.	A.D.	CONSULS.	TIME.	Y.	M.	D.
4810	97	Nerva Imp. Aug. IV. and Ulp. Traj. Cæs. II.	Jan. 28 to Dec. 31	0	11	4
4811	98	A. Cornelius Palma, and C. Sosius Senecio	one year	1	0	0
4812	99	M. Ulp. Traj. Imp. Aug. III. and S. Julius Frontinus III.		1	0	0
4813	100	M. Ulp. Traj. Imp. Aug. IV. and S. Articuleius Pætus		1	0	0
4814	101	C. Sosius Senecio III. and L. Licinius Sura II.	"	1	0	0
4815	102	M. Ulp. Traj. Imp. Aug. V. and Maximus	"	1	0	0
4816	103	Suburanus II. and Marcellus	"	1	0	0
4817	104	Tib. Julius Candidus and C. Quadratus	"	1	0	0
4818	105	L. C. Ælius Commodus Verus and L. Tutius Cerealis		1	0	0
4819	106	L. Licinius Sura III. and C. Sosius Senecio IV.	"	1	0	0
4820	107	Ap. An. Trebonius Gallus and M. Atil. Metil. Bradua		1	0	0
4821	108	A. Cornelius Palma II. and C. Calvisius Tullus II.	"	1	0	0
4822	109	Scr. Salvidienus Orfitus and M. Peducæus Priscinus		1	0	0
4823	110	C. Calpurnius Piso and M. Vettius Bolanus	"	1	0	0
4824	111	M. Ulp. Traj. Imp. Aug. VI. and T. Sextius Africanus		1	0	0
4825	112	L. Publicius Celsus II. and L. Clodius Crispinus	"	1	0	0
4826	113	Q. Ninnius Hasta and P. Manilius Vopiscus	"	1	0	0
4827	114	L. Vipstanius Messalla and M. Vergilianus Pedo	"	1	0	0
4828	115	L. Ælius Lamia and — Ælianus Vetus	"	1	0	0
4829	116	— Quinctius Niger & C. Vipstanius Apronianus	Jan. 1 to Aug. 11	0	7	11
				19	6	15

These calculations have been made independent of any other testimony than the several writers who give the length of Trajan's reign; but that they are accurate, appears from Spartian's life of Adrian. That historian says, that Adrian, being legate of Syria, received letters of adoption on the *ninth* of August (v. Idus Aug.), and that on the *eleventh* of August (iii. Idus Aug.) he received the news of the death of Trajan.[1] The exact date of the death of Trajan was concealed. He died at Selinûs, or Trajanopolis, in Cilicia, on his way to Rome, while Adrian was at Antioch. It did not take long, therefore, to convey the news of his death to Adrian, and the latter was immediately proclaimed emperor.

ÆLIUS HADRIANUS, OR ADRIANUS,

as his name is written with or without the aspirate by different historians, was born at Rome, according to Spartian, on the 24th of January (ix. cal. Febr.) when Vespasian VII. and Titus V. were consuls, or A.J.P. 4788, A.D. 75. His age on the eleventh of August A.J.P. 4829, A.D. 116, when he was proclaimed emperor, was, therefore, A.J.P. 4828y. 7m. 11d.—4787y. 0m. 23d.=41y. 6m. 19d. Sextus Aurelius Victor makes his reign 22 years; Eutropius, 21y. 10m. 29d.; the Chronicon Paschale, 21 years; Dion Cassius, 20y. 11m.; Clemens Alex., and Theoph. Antioch. 20y. 10m. 28d.; and Cassiodorus, 20y. 10m. 19d. Spartian says that he lived 72 years, 5 months, and 17 days, and reigned 21 years and 11 months. He states also that Adrian died at Baiæ, on the 10th of July.[1] Dion, on the other hand, affirms that "he lived 62 years, 5 months, 19 days."[2] According to Spartian's own testimony, he could not have been 72 years old; for if we add 21 years and 11 months, which Spartian says was the length of his reign, to his age when he began to reign, according to the same author's account of the year when he was born, it will produce the following result: 41. 6. 19. + 21. 11. = 63. 5. 19. This shows that the text of Spartian is corrupt. Instead of "Vixit annis lxxii." &c., and "Imperavit annis xxi." &c., it should read, Vixit annis lxii.—Imperavit annis xx. With this emendation, it nearly agrees with Dion, and will be found to harmonize with the list of consuls.

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[1] Hist. Aug. SS. ed. Salmasii, Paris, 1620.

A.J.P.	A.D.	CONSULS.	TIME.	Y.	M.	D.
4829	116	Quinctius Niger and C. Vipst. Apronianus	fr. Aug. 11 to Dec. 31	0	4	21
4830	117	Æl. Hadrianus Imp. and Tib. Claud. Fuscus Salinator	1 year	1	0	0
4831	118	Æl. Hadr. Imp. Aug. II. and Q. Junius Rusticus	"	1	0	0
4832	119	L. Catilius Severus and T. Aurel. Fulv. Antoninus	"	1	0	0
4833	120	Annius Verus II. and Aurelius Augur	"	1	0	0
4834	121	Manius Acilius Aviola and C. Cornelius Pansa	"	1	0	0
4835	122	Q. Arrius Pætinus and C. Ventidius Apronianus	"	1	0	0
4836	123	M. Acilius Glabrio and C. Bellicius Torquatus	"	1	0	0
4837	124	P. Corn. Scipio Asiatic. II. and Q. Vettius Aquilinus	"	1	0	0
4838	125	M. Annius Verus III. and L. Varius Ambibulus	"	1	0	0
4839	126	...... Titianus and ...... Gallicanus	"	1	0	0
4840	127	L. Non. Aspr. Torquatus II. and M. Annius Libo	"	1	0	0
4841	128	Q. Julius Balbus and P. Juventius Celsus II.	"	1	0	0
4842	129	Q. Fabius Catullinus and M. Flavius Aper.	"	1	0	0
4843	130	Ser. Oct. Lænas Pontianus and M. Antonius Rufinus	"	1	0	0
4844	131	.. Sentius Augurinus and .. Sergianus or Severianus	"	1	0	0
4845	132	.. Antonius Hiberus and .. Nummius Sisenna	"	1	0	0
4846	133	C. Julius Servianus III. and C. Vibius Varus	"	1	0	0
4847	134	...... Pontianus and ...... Atilianus	"	1	0	0
4848	135	L. Cejon. Com. Verus & Sex. Vet. Civica Pompeianus	"	1	0	0
4849	136	L. Ælius Verus Cæs. II. and P. Cælius Balbin. Vibulus		1	0	0
4850	137	...... Camerinus and .... Niger	from Jan. 1 to July 10	0	6	10
				20	11	0

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[1] Apud ipsas Baias periit die sexto Iduum Juliarum.—H. Aug. SS. 12.

[2] lxix. 23.

The difference of two days between the amended text of Spartian and Dion's account of Adrian's age, may easily be accounted for from their different modes of computation. Adrian died on the 10th of July A.J.P. 4850, and was born on the 24th of January A.J.P. 4788. Therefore, from the day of his death,

	4849	6	10	reckoning 30 days to the month
subtract	4787	0	23	the time before his birth,
and it gives	62	5	17	as the length of his life, or 62 years, 5 months, and 17 days.

Dion makes 19 days instead of 17, which is thus obtained. From the date of Trajan's death,

	4828	7	11	reckoning 31 days to the month,
subtract	4787	0	23	
and it gives	41	6	19	his age when he began to reign,
add	20	11	0	the length of his reign,
and it gives	62	5	19	as his age.

The difference is not great; but it arises from reckoning 31 days to the month in one case, and 30 in the other; and from counting August 11 twice,—first, as the day of Trajan's death, and then as the commencement of Adrian's reign.

TITUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS PIUS.

It is among the most extraordinary facts in history, that such an emperor as Antoninus Pius should be one of those of whom least is known. Xiphilinus observes, "that the history of Antoninus Pius is not found in the copies of Dion. It would seem that his books have somewhat suffered; so that almost the whole history concerning Antoninus is unknown."[1] Nothing can be more jejune than the life of this emperor by Julius Capitolinus. All that we can do, is to gather up the scanty gleanings; and the very discordancy as to the length of his reign, shows the ignorance of the writers. He was born, says Julius Capitolinus, in the consulship of Domitian XII. and Cornelius Dolabella, on the 19th of September (xiii. cal. Octob.); and the same author says that he died in his 70th year.[2] That this is a gross mistake, will soon be evident. Eutropius says that he died in the 73rd year of his age, and the 23rd of his reign.[3] Xiphilinus says that he reigned 24 years;

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[1] Lib. lxx. [2] Exiit anno septuagesimo. [3] Obiit..vitæ anno LXXIII. imperii XXIII.

St. Clemens Alex. 22y. 3m. 7d.; St. Theoph. of Antioch, 22y. 7m. 6d.; Aurelius Victor and the Chronicon Paschale, 23 years; Orosius, not full 23 years; Cassiodorus, 21 years. It is impossible to reconcile these conflicting statements; and the only method of arriving at the date of his death, is to count back from the succeeding reigns. In this way, we shall soon be able to see that he died on the sixth of March A.D. 160. It will be seen by the list of consuls, that he did not live beyond that year; and, therefore, assuming for the present what I hope soon to prove, I proceed to give the evidence of the length of his reign which that list contains:

A.J.P.	A.D.	CONSULS.	TIME.	Y.	M.	D.
4850	137	...... Camerinus and ...... Niger	from July 11 to Dec 31	0	5	21
4851	138	Antoninus Pius, Imp. Aug. II. and Bruttius Præsens II.	one year	1	0	0
4852	139	Antoninus Pius, Imp. Aug. III. & M. Æl. Aurel. Ver. Cæs.	„	1	0	0
4853	140	M. Peducæus Syloga Priscinus and T. Hoënius Severus	„	1	0	0
4854	141	L. Cuspius Rufinus and L. Statius Quadratus	„	1	0	0
4855	142	C. Bellicius Torquatus and Tib. Claud. Herodes Atticus	„	1	0	0
4856	143	P. Lollianus Avitus and C. Gavius Maximus	„	1	0	0
4857	144	Antoninus Pius, Imp. Aug. IV. and M. Æl. Aurel. Cæs. II.	„	1	0	0
4858	145	Sex. Erucius Clarus and Cn. Claudius Severus	„	1	0	0
4859	146	.... Largus and .... Messalinus	„	1	0	0
4860	147	.... Torquatus III. and .... Julianus	„	1	0	0
4861	148	.... Orfitus and .... Priscus	„	1	0	0
4862	149	.... Glabrio or Gallienus and .... Vetus	„	1	0	0
4863	150	.... Condianus or Gordianus and .... Maximus	„	1	0	0
4864	151	.... Glabrio and .... Homulus	„	1	0	0
4865	152	Bruttius Præsens [III. ?] and Junius Rufinus	„	1	0	0
4866	153	.... Commodus and ...... Lateranus	„	1	0	0
4867	154	.... Severus and .... Sabinianus	„	1	0	0
4868	155	.... Silvanus and .... Augurinus	„	1	0	0
4869	156	.... Barbatus and .... Regulus	„	1	0	0
4870	157	.... Tertullus and .... Sacerdos	„	1	0	0
4871	158	.... Quintillus and .... Priscus	„	1	0	0
4872	159	App. Annius Atilius Bradua and T. Clodius Vibius Varus	„	1	0	0
4873	160	Anto. Pius, Imp. Aug. V. & M. Æl. Aurel. Cæs. III.	Jan. 1 to Mar. 6	0	2	6
				22	7	27

This computation, it will be seen, accords with St. Theophilus of Antioch as to the years and months, and with St. Clemens of Alexandria as to the years. It differs from the computation given by Clemens, 4 months and 20 days, and from that of Theophilus, 21 days. Any one acquainted with Greek manuscripts knows that the omission of a letter, or the substitution of one letter for another, by the carelessness of transcribers, makes an important change in numbers. We may thus readily admit the supposition that the original text of Clemens read, κβ. ζ. κζ, and not κβ. γ. ζ; and that the text of Theophilus was κβ. ζ. κϛ. In this case, there may have been a difference of one day in their computations. Theophilus lived in the reign of Commodus; and Clemens, in that of Septimius Severus. They were, therefore, nearer to the reign of Antoninus Pius than any other writers on whom we have now to rely. They alone give the length of his reign with any precision. If we follow their text as it now stands, we arrive at the middle of February, A.D. 160, as the time of his death; and this shows clearly, that the consulship of that year, which modern critics have suppressed, is absolutely necessary to the accurate calculation of his reign. Its length could not have been twenty-four years, as Xiphilinus has asserted; for then his death would have taken place in the consulship of the two Augusti, that is, *after the associate reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus had begun.* Julius Capitolinus, in his life of Marcus Aurelius, expressly says, that "*After the death of Pius*, Lucius Aurelius Verus Commodus became the partner of Marcus in the empire, and that then, for the first time, the Roman empire began to have two Augusti," or, in other words, "two emperors."[1]

On the other hand, the death of Antoninus Pius could not have occurred in the consulship of Bradua and Varus; for then he would have reigned less than twenty-two years, contrary to the whole current of authority, with the exception of Cassiodorus, who, most inaccurately, makes his reign twenty-one, and his age seventy-seven, years. His mistake is occasioned by placing the death of Hadrian too late in the consulship of Rufinus and Quadratus, and by other inaccuracies in the series of consuls, which will be best seen by comparing his list with the corrected list.

The reign of Antoninus Pius being considered as terminating on the 6th of March, A.J.P. 4873, A.D. 160, and his birth having been on the 19th of September, in the consulship of Domitian XII. and Dolabella, or A.J.P. 4798, A.D. 85, the difference of those dates gives his age, at the time of his death, as follows:

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[1] Post excessum divi Pii a Senatu coactus regimen publicum capere, fratrem sibi participem in imperio designavit; quem Lucium Aurelium Verum Commodum appellavit, Cæsaremque atque Augustum dixit, atque ex eo pariter cœperunt rempublicam agere. Tuncque primum Romanum Imperium duos Augustos habere cœpit.—Hist. Aug. Scriptores, ed. Salmas, 1620, p. 25.

	4872	2	6	or March 6, A.J.P. 4873
	4797	8	18	or September 18, 4798
age when he died,	74	5	18	
	22	7	27	
age when he began to reign,	51	9	22	

MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS.

There is only a difference of one day in the statements of St. Theophilus of Antioch, St. Clemens Alexandrinus, and Xiphilinus, as to the length of this emperor's reign. The narrative of Dion, not extant in the former reign, was found and abridged, as to this, by Xiphilinus. He states, therefore, on the authority of Dion, that Marcus died on the 17th of March (xvi. kal. April.); that he reigned, after the death of Antoninus, nineteen years and eleven days; and that he lived fifty-eight years, ten months, and twenty-two days.[1] He was born at Rome, according to Julius Capitolinus, on the 26th of April (vi. kal. Maias), when Annius Verus II. and Augur were consuls,[2] *i.e.* A.J.P. 4833, A.D. 120. This agrees perfectly with the computation of Dion Cassius; for A.J.P. 4832. 3m. 25d. + 58. 10m. 22d. = 4891. 2m. 17d. or March 17th, A.J.P. 4892, A.D. 179, as the day on which Marcus Aurelius died. This date being obtained, by subtracting the length of his reign from it, we learn the date of the death of Antoninus Pius. Thus 4891. 2m. 17d. — 19. 0m. 11d. = 4872. 2m. 6d. or March 6th, A.J.P. 4873, A.D. 160, the date of his death assumed in the computation of his reign.

The length of the reign of Marcus Aurelius, as arranged by consulships, is as follows:

A.J.P.	A.D.	CONSULS.	TIME.	Y.	M.	D.
4873	160	Anton. Pius, Imp. Aug. v. & M. Aurel. Cæs. III.	Mar. 7 to Dec. 31	0	9	25
4874	161	The two Augusti, or M. Aurelius Antoninus, Imp. IV. and L. Ælius Verus, Imp. II.	one year	1	0	0
4875	162	... Rusticus and ... Aquilinus	"	1	0	0
4876	163	L. Ælianus and ... Pastor	"	1	0	0
4877	164	... Macrinus and ... Celsus	"	1	0	0
4878	165	... Orfitus and ... Pudens	"	1	0	0
4879	166	Servilius Pudens and ... Pollio	"	1	0	0
4880	167	L. Aurelius Verus III. and ... Quadratus	"	1	0	0
4881	168	... Apronianus and ... Paulus	"	1	0	0
			Carried over	8	9	25

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[1] Lib. lxxi. 33, 34.

[2] Avo suo iterum et Augure Coss.

			Brought over	8	9	25
4882	169	. . Priscus and ... Apollinaris	one year	1	0	0
4883	170	... Cethegus and ... Clarus	„	1	0	0
4884	171	... Severus and ... Herennianus	„	1	0	0
4885	172	... Orfitus and ... Maximus	„	1	0	0
4886	173	... Severus II. and ... Pompeianus	„	1	0	0
4887	174	... Gallus and ... Flaccus	„	1	0	0
4888	175	... Piso and ... Julianus	„	1	0	0
4889	176	... Pollio and ... Aper	„	1	0	0
4890	177	... Commodus and ... Quinctillus	„	1	0	0
4891	178	... Orfitus and ... Rufus	„	1	0	0
4892	179	... Commodus II. and Verus II.	from Jan. 1 to Mar. 17	0	2	17
				19	0	11

Eutropius and Julius Capitolinus say that Marcus Aurelius died in the eighteenth year of his reign and the sixty-first year of his life. It is impossible to reconcile these conflicting dates; for Julius Capitolinus having himself given the time of this Emperor's birth, April 26, A.D. 120, if he lived to the sixty-first year of his age, the sixtieth year would have terminated April 25th, A.D. 180, and his reign would have been, not eighteen, but more than twenty years.

ANTONINUS COMMODUS.

A passage in Lampridius incidentally throws light upon our chronology; Commodus, he says, "was born at Lanuvium, with his twin brother, thence called Antoninus Geminus, on the thirty-first day of August, in the year in which *his father and his uncle were consuls*."[1] What consulship could this be, but that of the two Augusti, M. Aurelius Antoninus IV. and L. Aurelius Verus II. A.J.P. 4874, A.D. 161?—when Rome for the first time saw two equal partners of empire, both holding at the same time the consular dignity? According to Dion,[2] Commodus was nineteen years old when his father died. He was poisoned and then suffocated, on the last day of the year, when he was thirty-one years and four months old, and when he had reigned twelve years, nine months, and fourteen days.[3] If then we take from his age the length of his reign, as stated by Dion or Xiphilinus (31y. 4m. 0d—12y. 9m. 14d.) it will give as his age when his father died, 18y.

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[1] Ipse autem natus est apud Lanuvium, cum fratre Antonino Gemino, pridie Cal. Septemb. PATRE PATRUOQUE Coss.—Hist. Aug. SS. p. 45, B.

[2] Lib. lxxii. 1.

[3] Ib. lib. lxxii. c. 22.

6m. 17d. But there is an evident mistake here of one year. Marcus Aurelius died March 17th, A.J.P. 4892, A.D. 179; and Commodus was born August 31, A.D. 161. The time before his birth, taken from the time of his father's death, will show his exact age.

4891	2	17
— 4873	7	30
17	6	17

He was, therefore, in his eighteenth, not in his nineteenth year. Dion's account of the length of his life and the day of his death is correct. For if, to the time before his birth, we add the length of his life, it will show that he died the last day of December: 4873y. 7m. 30d. + 31y. 4m. = 4904y. 11m. 30d, or one day short of completing A.J.P. 4905, A.D. 192.

We proceed now to show the same results from the list of consuls.

A.J.P.	A.D.	CONSULS.	TIME.	Y.	M.	D.
4892	179	Commodus II. and Verus II.	from Mar. 18 to Dec. 31	0	9	14
4893	180	Bruttius Præsens II. and Quintilius Condianus	one year	1	0	0
4894	181	Commodus III. and Byrrhus	"	1	0	0
4895	182	Mamertinus and Rufus	"	1	0	0
4896	183	Commodus IV. and Victorinus	"	1	0	0
4897	184	Marullus and Ælianus	"	1	0	0
4898	185	Maternus and Bradua	"	1	0	0
4899	186	Commodus V. and Glabrio	"	1	0	0
4900	187	Crispinus and Ælianus	"	1	0	0
4901	188	Fuscianus and Silanus	"	1	0	0
4902	189	Junius Silanus and Servilius Silanus	"	1	0	0
4903	190	Commodus VI. and Septimianus	"	1	0	0
4904	191	Apronianus and Bradua	"	1	0	0
4905	192	Commodus VII. and Pertinax	from Jan. 1 to Dec. 30	0	11	30
				13	9	13

If, then, to his age at the time of his father's death,	17	6	17
we add the length of his reign, as obtained by the list of consuls,	13	9	13
it gives precisely the length of life stated by Dion,	31	4	0

I do not see how there can be any error in this computation; and yet all the old chronologers have fallen into Dion's error. Eutropius makes the reign of Commodus, 12y. 8m.; St. Clemens Alexandrinus, who ends with his reign, 12y. 9m. 14d.; Aurelius Victor and Cassiodorus, thirteen years, and the Chronicon Paschale, twelve years. It is certain that if Commodus died on the last day of December, it must have been A.D. 192, because on the first of January of that year he was consul for the seventh time, having for his colleague Pertinax, who became his successor in the empire.

PUBLIUS HELVIUS PERTINAX, and DIDIUS JULIANUS.

As both were killed in the course of the next year, A.J.P. 4906, A.D. 193, Q. Sossius Falco and C. Erucius Clarus, consuls, we have only to determine the exact length of their reigns.

PERTINAX was informed of the death of Commodus in the night; was reluctantly proclaimed by the Prætorian guard, through the influence of Lætus, their præfect, who was one of the conspirators; and was subsequently elected by the senate. Dion, who was a member of that body at the time, says that he came into the senate while the night was not yet passed, and expressed his reluctance to accept the government. Whereupon, he adds, we heartily applauded him, and gave him our votes; for his soul was excellent and his body robust.[1] His reign commenced, therefore, on the first of January.

Pertinax was born, says Julius Capitolinus, on the first of August, in the year when Verus and Bibulus were consuls. He was slain on the 28th. of March, when Falco and Clarus were consuls. He lived sixty years, seven months, and twenty-six days, He reigned two months and twenty-five days.[2] Dion, or Xiphilinus says, on the contrary, that he lived sixty-seven years and four months, wanting three days. He reigned eighty-seven days.[3]

The text of Julius Capitolinus must here again be corrupt, as to the number of years which Pertinax lived; and from the dates which Capitolinus himself has furnished it may be corrected. The consulship of M. Annius Verus III. and L. Varius Ambibulus, called by our author Bibulus, coincided with A.J.P. 4838, A.D. 125. That of Q. Sossius Falco and C. Julius Erucius Clarus was A.J.P. 4906, A.D. 193. The age of Pertinax, therefore, at the time of his death, March 28th of that year, may be obtained by subtracting the time previous to his birth.

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[1] Lib. lxxiii. 1.

[2] Natus autem Cal. Augustis, Vero et Bibulo Coss. Interfectus autem est v. kal. Aprilis, Falcone et Claro Coss. Vixit annis lx. mensibus vii. diebus xxvi. Imperavit mensibus ii. diebus xxv.—Hist. Aug. SS. p. 59, ed. Paris, 1620.

[3] Lib. lxxiii. c. 10.

4905	2	28
4837	7	0
67	7	28

The text of Dion is correct as to the years and days, but incorrect as to the months; while that of Julius Capitolinus is nearly correct as to the months and days; but for LX. it should read LXVII. years. The reign of Pertinax was eighty-seven days, as stated by Dion, and not eighty-four days, as stated by Capitolinus. This is evident from the latter historian's own testimony; for he says that Pertinax was made emperor the last day of December (prid. cal. Januarias),[1] and he was slain (v. cal. Aprilis) on the 28th of March. His text, therefore should read, "Mensibus ii. diebus xxviii," A.D. 193 not being bissextile, January 31 + February 28+ March 28=87 days, as stated by Dion.

Ælius Spartianus, who wrote the life of DIDIUS JULIANUS, the successor of Pertinax, says that he lived fifty-six years and four months, and reigned two months and five days.[2] Dion says that he lived sixty years four months and four days, of which he reigned sixty-six days.[3] If we include in this computation the day on which Pertinax was slain, Spartian and Dion are in perfect harmony as to the length of his reign; for

From March 28 to 31 is	4 days.
The first month April	30
The second month May	31
And the fifth day, June 1st,	1
	66 days

Didius Julianus was slain, therefore, on the 1st of June A.D. 193.

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.

Spartian says, that when Didius Julianus was slain, Severus, a native of Africa, obtained the empire. He was born on the 8th of April, in the year when Erucius Clarus, the second time, and Severus, were consuls.[4] The same author says that he died at York in Britain, after subduing the hostile tribes, in the eighteenth year of his reign, at an advanced age, and of a painful disease.[5] Dion says that his disease was the gout; that he died on the 4th day of February; that he lived sixty-five years nine months and twenty-five days, having been born on the 11th of April; and that he reigned seventeen years eight months and three days.[1] It must be remembered that Dion was his contemporary, while Spartian wrote in the reign of Diocletian. About the tenth year of his reign, Dion retired from Rome to Capua, as he himself tells us, to write his history.[2] The general accuracy of this historian, leads us to place greater reliance on his testimony; and therefore, although a difference of three days is not very material, there is greater reason to believe that Severus was born on the 11th, than on the 8th of April. The consulship of Erucius Clarus II. and Severus, coincided with A.J.P. 4858, A.D. 145.

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[1] Hist. Aug. SS. p. 55.

[2] Didius Julianus vixit annis quinquaginta sex, mensibus quatuor: imperavit mensibus duobus, diebus quinque.—Hist. Aug. SS. p. 63, E.

[3] Lib. lxxiii. 17.

[4] Interfecto Didio Juliano, Severus Africa oriundus imperium obtinuit. Ipse natus est Erucio Claro bis et Severo Coss. vi. idus Aprilis.—Hist. Aug. SS. p. 64, B.

[5] Periit Eboraci in Britannia; subactis gentibus quæ Britanniæ videbantur in-

The time, therefore, before his birth was	4857	3	10	
To this add the length of his life acc. to Dion	65	9	25	
And it gives the date of his death	4923	1	4	or Feb. 4, 4924
From this subtract the length of his reign	17	8	3	
And it gives the date of his accession	4905	5	1	or June 2, 4906.

This, it will be seen, agrees with the date already established, of the death of Didius Julianus; and it proves also that his reign was computed from the death of Julianus. Spartian, indeed, says, that when the German legions had heard that Commodus was slain, and that Julianus reigned, though hated by all, Severus was saluted emperor by the exhortation of many, but against his own will, at Carnutum (a town on the Danube, not far below Vienna), on the 13th of August.[3] This was seven months and fourteen days after the death of Commodus; and it may possibly account in some measure for the errors of Eutropius, Aurelius Victor, Cassiodorus, and the Chronicon Paschale, who reckon the interval from Commodus to Severus as from six to nearly ten months. Be that as it may, the reign of Severus must be reckoned, on the best testimony, from the 2nd of June A.J.P. 4906, A.D. 193. The computation by consuls is as follows:

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festæ, anno imperii decimo octavo, morbo gravissimo extinctus jam senex.—Ibid. p. 71.

[1] Lib. lxxvi. 15, 17.

[2] Lib. lxxvi. 2.

[3] Dehinc a Germanicis legionibus, ubi auditum est Commodum occisum, Julianum autem cum odio cunctorum imperare, multis hortantibus repugnans, imperator est appellatus apud Carnutum, Idibus Augustis.—Hist. Aug. SS. p. 65.

A.J.P.	A.D.	CONSULS.	TIME.	Y.	M.	D.
4906	193	Sossius Falco and Erucius Clarus	from June 2 to Dec. 31	0	6	29
4907	194	Sept. Severus Imp. II. and Albinus	one year	1	0	0
4908	195	Tertullus and Clemens	"	1	0	0
4909	196	Dexter and Priscus	"	1	0	0
4910	197	Lateranus and Rufinus	"	1	0	0
4911	198	Saturninus and Gallus	"	1	0	0
4912	199	Annulinus and Fronto	"	1	0	0
4913	200	Severus Imp. Aug. III. and Victorinus	"	1	0	0
4914	201	Mucianus and Fabianus	"	1	0	0
4915	202	Severus Imp. Aug. IV. and Antoninus	"	1	0	0
4916	203	Plautianus II. and Geta	"	1	0	0
4917	204	Cilo and Libo	"	1	0	0
4918	205	Antoninus II. and Geta II.	"	1	0	0
4919	206	Albinus and Æmilianus	"	1	0	0
4920	207	Aper and Maximus	"	1	0	0
4921	208	Antoninus III. and Geta III.	"	1	0	0
4922	209	Pompeianus and Avitus	"	1	0	0
4923	210	Faustinus and Rufinus	"	1	0	0
4924	211	Gentianus and Bassus	from Jan. 1 to Feb. 4	0	1	4
				17	8	3

AURELIUS ANTONINUS BASSIANUS, surnamed CARACALLA, was killed, according to Spartian, on his birth-day, the 6th of April, during the Megalensian games, by the arts of Macrinus, the præfect of the Prætorian guards, who usurped the empire.[1] The same author adds, that Bassianus lived forty-three years, and reigned six years, leaving a son, who was afterwards called M. Antoninus Heliogabalus.[2]

According to Dion, Antoninus, surnamed Caracalla, the son of Septimius Severus, was slain by Macrinus on the 8th of April, as he was descending from his horse. Such was the end of Antoninus when he had lived twenty-nine years and four days (for he was born on the 4th day of April), and had reigned six years two months and two days.[3]

Eutropius says that he reigned six years and two months; Aurelius Victor, six years; Cassiodorus and the Chronicon Paschale, seven years; Orosius, not full seven years. Victor says that he lived about thirty years. Eutropius and Eusebius agree with

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[1] Die natalis sui viii. Idus Aprilis, ipsis Megalensibus quum ad requisita naturæ discessisset, insidiis a Macrino præfecto prætorii positis, qui post eum invasit imperium, interemptus est.—Hist. Aug. SS. p. 87, B.

[2] Vixit autem Bassianus annis xliii. imperavit annis vi. Filium reliquit, qui postea et ipse M. Antoninus Heliogabalus est dictus.—Ibid. p. 88, E.

[3] Lib. lxxviii. 5, 6.

Spartian in giving him forty-three years, and the Chronicon Paschale even gives him sixty years!

It is impossible to reconcile these accounts; but, happily, they do not affect the chronology, which must be computed only by the length of his reign. The computation by consuls is as follows:

A.J.P.	A.D.	CONSULS.	TIME.	Y.	M.	D.
4924	211	Gentianus and Bassus	from Feb. 5 to Dec. 31	0	10	24
4925	212	The two Aspri	one year	1	0	0
4926	213	Antoninus Imp. IV. and Balbinus	"	1	0	0
4927	214	Messalla and Sabinus	"	1	0	0
4928	215	Lætus and Cærealis	"	1	0	0
4929	216	C. Atius Sabinus II. and Cornelius Anulinus	"	1	0	0
4930	217	C. Bruttius Præsens and T. Messius Extricatus	Jan. 1 to Apr. 8	0	3	8
				6	2	2

As Dion was a contemporary, I am inclined to receive his testimony; to place the death of Caracalla on the 8th of April; and consequently to make his reign six years two months and two days.

OPILIUS MACRINUS

seized the throne on the 9th of April A.J.P. 4930, A.D. 217. He gave the name of Antoninus to his son Diadumenus. Both, according to Lampridius, were slain in the fourteenth month of their government.[1] Eutropius and Aurelius Victor give them fourteen full months; Cassiodorus and the Chronicon Paschale, one year.

From the fragments of the seventy-eighth book of Dion's history, it appears that Macrinus having been defeated by the forces of Heliogabalus, on the 8th of June, sent his son to Artabanus, king of the Parthians, while he himself went to Antioch. Thence he fled by night, and in disguise, into the upper provinces of Asia Minor, along the Black Sea, with a view of embarking for Rome. Being discovered, however, he was seized at Chalcedon, and his son having also been made prisoner, both were soon afterwards slain in Cappadocia. He wanted from three to five days, says Dion, of being fifty-four years old. He adds, that computing the time to the battle in which he was defeated, that is, till the 8th of June, he reigned one year and two months wanting three days.[2]

The computation by consuls is as follows:

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[1] Hist. Aug. SS. p. 100, A.

[2] Lib. lxxviii. c. 39, 40, 41.

A.J.P.	A.D.	CONSULS.	TIME.	Y.	M.	D.
4930	217	C. Bruttius Præsens and T. Messius Extricatus	Apr. 9 to Dec. 31	0	8	22
4931	218	Antoninus and Adventus	Jan. 1 to June 7	0	5	7
				1	1	29

The time from the death of Caracalla, to the battle in which Heliogabalus was victorious, was exactly fourteen months. Yet Dion, a contemporary, a man of consular dignity, and a historian of great accuracy, computes the reign of Macrinus as being three days short of one year and two months. If two days intervened between the death of Caracalla and the beginning of the reign of Macrinus, that cannot affect our chronology, as those days must all be reckoned. I, therefore, compute the time as one year one month and twenty-nine days, or fourteen months wanting one day.

Before we leave this reign, it must be observed, that all the ancient lists agree in naming the consuls of A.D. 218, Antoninus and Adventus. The moderns substitute Opilius Macrinus for Antoninus; but Opilius gave the name of Antoninus to his son Diadumenus. May we not believe, then, that Diadumenus was this consul, under the name of Antoninus? What evidence is there that Macrinus assumed that name himself? Lampridius, in his life of Antoninus Diadumenus, has preserved two discourses pronounced by the father and son, from which it appears that Macrinus reigned only in the name of his son.[1]

M. ANTONINUS HELIOGABALUS.

We have seen that Spartian, in the life of Caracalla, speaks of Heliogabalus as being really his son. Lamprinus says that "Macrinus and his son Diadumenus being slain, the empire was conferred on *Varius Heliogabalus, because he was said to be the son of Bassianus.*[2] Dion constantly speaks of him as an impostor, calling him Avitus, the pretended Antoninus, Tarantus, the Assyrian, Sardanapalus, and Tiberinus, because his body was cast into the Tiber.[3]

Authors are very discordant as to the length of his reign. Eutropius and Aurelius Victor make it two years and eight months; Ælius Lampridius expresses surprise that for *nearly three years* (prope triennio) no one could be found who would remove him from the helm of Roman majesty.[1] Cassiodorus and the Chronicon Paschale call his reign four years; Dion, with his usual precision, three years, nine months and four days.[2] He was the last who bore the name of Antoninus.

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[1] Hist. Aug. SS. p. 97.

[2] Hist. Aug. SS. p. 101. c.

[3] Lib. lxxix. 1.

The day after the victory over Macrinus, that is on the 9th of June, A.D. 218, he entered Antioch in triumph, and sent letters to the senate and people of Rome, in which he gave himself the titles of Emperor, Cæsar the son of Antoninus, and grandson of Severus, Pius, Felix, Augustus, proconsul, and tribune of the people; "usurping these names," says Dion, "before they were decreed to him. The senate, struck with fear, decreed that Macrinus was to be accounted a public enemy, loaded him and his son with reproaches, and applauded Tarantus (Heliogabalus), whom they had often wished to denounce as an enemy, expressing the hope that *his son forsooth might be like his father!*" Having thus exposed the servility of the senate, the indignant historian proceeds to say that the abominable impurities of this wretch "prospered for three years, nine months, and four days, during which he reigned, reckoning from the battle in which he obtained his complete victory."[3] We may then compute the reign of Heliogabalus as beginning on the 8th and not on the 9th of June; in which case the time from the death of Caracalla to the 7th of June inclusive, would be one day short of fourteen months, and so would come within two days of the length assigned by Dion to the reign of Macrinus. Reckoning, therefore, from the 8th of June, A.J.P. 4931, A.D. 218, the result of Dion's computation will be as follows: 4930y. 5m. 7d. + 3y. 9m. 4d. = 4934y. 2m. 11d. or the 11th of March, A.J.P. 4935, A.D. 222, as the day when Heliogabalus was slain. The arrangement by consulships is as follows;

A.J.P.	A.D.	CONSULS.	TIME.	Y.	M.	D.
4931	218	Antoninus [Diadumenus?] and Adventus	June 8 to Dec. 31	0	6	23
4932	219	M. Antoninus Heliogabalus and Sacerdos	one year	1	0	0
4933	220	M. Antoninus Heliogabalus II. and Comazon	"	1	0	0
4934	221	Gratus Sabinianus and Seleucus	"	1	0	0
4935	222	M. Aur. Anton. Elagabalus III. and M. Aur. Severus Alexander Cæs.	Jan. 1 to Mar. 11	0	2	11
				3	9	4

With regard to these consuls, the Antoninus of A.D. 218 could not be the Antoninus of A.D. 219. It cannot be imagined that Heliogabalus, who probably was unknown at Rome until after the victory of June 8th, could have been the Antoninus of January 1st, A.D. 218: nor, on the other hand, that Antoninus Diadumenus who was slain in A.D. 218, could be the Antoninus of A.D. 219. Yet the ancient lists of consuls evidently confound them, and suppose Heliogabalus, or Elagabalus as sometimes written, to have been consul four times. This mistake the above list has rectified. The name of Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander was given by Heliogabalus to his cousin Bassianus, when he introduced him to the senate and adopted him as his son. Dion, who gives us this account, adds that afterwards Heliogabalus became jealous of Alexander and endeavoured treacherously to destroy him; but the soldiers were attached to him on account of his excellent qualities, and because he was really and truly descended from the family of Severus; and in the tumult Heliogabalus was slain, at the age of eighteen.[1] As Alexander was made consul on the 1st of January, A.D. 222, it is probable that he was adopted and received the title of Cæsar A.D. 221.

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[1] Hist. Aug. SS. p. 113.

[2] Lib. lxxix. 3.

[3] Lib. lxxix. 1, 2, 3.

M. Aurelius Alexander Severus.

Varius Heliogabalus being slain on the 11th of March, A.D. 222, his cousin succeeded peaceably to the throne. Ælius Lampridius, who gives a delightful picture of this virtuous prince, says that he was slain in Gaul, as he was on his way to Britain, having reigned thirteen years and nine days, and lived twenty-nine years, three months, and seven days.[2] Eutropius says that he reigned thirteen years and eight days; Aurelius Victor, Cassiodorus, and the Chronicon Paschale, simply thirteen years.

An illustrious monument exists at Rome, to which we shall hereafter have frequent occasion to refer, and which proves, by astronomical computations, that the first year of Alexander Severus coincided with the year 222 of the common Christian æra. It is the statue of St. Hippolitus, the author of the Paschal Cycle which bears his name. On the sides of the chair in which the bishop is seated, his calendar is inscribed; and it is there asserted, that in the first year of the reign of the emperor Alexander, the fourteenth day of the paschal moon fell on Saturday, the thirteenth day of April. Now this is found by computation to have happened in that year. The lunar cycle was 14; the solar, 7; and the Sunday letter F. Any one who will take the pains to calculate by these data, will find that they could not apply to any supposable year but the one now indicated.

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[1] Dion. lib. lxvix. 17—20.

[2] Imperavit annis xiii. diebus ix. Vixit annis xxix, mensibus iii. diebus vii.—Hist. Aug. SS. p. 135. B.

The date of the death of Heliogabalus being ascertained by adding to it the reign of Alexander Severus, we shall have the date of his death; and by deducting from that result his age, as mentioned by Lampridius, we ascertain the time of his birth. Thus A.J.P. 4934y. 2m. 11d. + 13y. 0m. 9d. = 4947y. 2m. 20d., or March 20th, A.J.P. 4948, A.D. 235, as the day when he was killed in Gaul; and 4947y. 2m. 20d. — 29y. 3m. 7d. = 4917y. 11m. 13d., or December 13, A.J.P. 4918, A.D. 205, Antoninus II. Geta II. in the reign of Septimius Severus, as the day of his birth. His reign by consuls is as follows:

A.J.P.	A.D.	CONSULS.	TIME.	Y.	M.	D.
4935	222	Antoninus Elagabalus and Alex. Severus	Mar. 12 to Dec. 31	0	9	20
4936	223	Maximus II. and Ælianus	one year	1	0	0
4937	224	Julianus and Crispinus	„	1	0	0
4938	225	Fuscus and Dexter	„	1	0	0
4939	226	M. Aur. Sev. Alex. Imp. II. & Marcellus Quinctilianus	„	1	0	0
4940	227	Albinus and Maximus	„	1	0	0
4941	228	Modestus and Probus	„	1	0	0
4942	229	M. Aur. Sev. Alex. Imp. III. and Dion Cassius II.	„	1	0	0
4943	230	Agricola and Sex. Catius Clementinus	„	1	0	0
4944	231	Pompeianus and Pelignianus	„	1	0	0
4945	232	Lupus and Maximus	„	1	0	0
4946	233	Maximus and Paternus	„	1	0	0
4947	234	Maximus II. and Urbanus	„	1	0	0
4948	235	Severus and Quinctianus	from Jan. 1 to March 20	0	2	20
				13	0	9

THE TWO MAXIMINI.

It is uncertain whether the elder Maximinus had any thing to do with the murder of Alexander Severus; but as he was at the head of the legion of Tyrones by whom the emperor was slain, and immediately, without any decree of the senate, was proclaimed by the army in Gaul, and saluted by the name of Augustus, he was justly suspected of the crime. His son was associated with him in the empire by the army.[1] His reign was only a succession of cruelties; and finally the senate raised to the imperial purple, the proconsul of Africa, Gordianus, and his son. The letter of the senate by which the two Gordiani were proclaimed and Maximinus and his son denounced as enemies of their country, is preserved by Julius Capitolinus.[1] The two Gordiani were killed in Africa; the son in battle, the father by his own hand. The senate then created Maximus Pupienus and Clodius Balbinus emperors; to whom, at the instance of the soldiers and people, the young grandson of Gordianus was added and proclaimed Cæsar.[2]

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[1] Hist. Aug. SS. p. 140.

The republic was now supported in the struggle against Maximinus by three emperors. The tyrant advanced against, and besieged Aquileia at the head of the Adriatic; but there his own troops finally killed both him and his son as they were reposing in their tents. Their heads were carried in triumph to Rome, and wherever they passed were received with exultation. The messenger sent from Aquileia to announce the tidings, went with such haste, says Capitolinus, by changing horses, that he arrived in Rome in four days. Nothing could exceed the joy of the senate and people. They decreed that for the then present year the name of Maximinus should be erased from the list of consuls; that Balbinus should be consul; and that the young Gordianus should be substituted for Maximinus.[3]

The date of the tyrant's death is not given by Julius Capitolinus; but the same author, in his lives of the three Gordiani, says that the two elder, slain in Africa, reigned one year and six months. On the news of the death of the Gordiani, and the coming of Maximinus towards Rome, the senate assembled on the 26th of May (vii. cal. Junii) during the Apollinarian games,[4] and appointed Maximus Pupienus and Balbinus emperors. The people, not being pleased with the appointment of Maximus, demanded Gordianus, who was thereupon made Cæsar, at the age of fourteen. Maximus and Balbinus were both slain by the army, and the third Gordianus saluted emperor and Augustus. Julius Capitolinus observes that there was great uncertainty and contradiction in the several histories he consulted; nor is he himself consistent; for in one place he says that Maximus and Balbinus were slain in a military sedition when they had reigned two years,[1] in another, one year, since Maximinus and his son reigned; some say three and others two years.[2] Eutropius asserts that Maximinus reigned three years and a few days.[3] Aurelius Victor and the Chronicon Paschale count his reign in round numbers three years. Orosius says he was killed in the third year of his reign. Cassiodorus also computes his reign as being three years, and says that he was killed at Aquileia in the consulship of Pius and Proculus, the same consulship as we have seen, with the Ulpius and Pontianus of Censorinus. Considering then the exact date of the death of Maximinus as uncertain, we shall count his reign as three years. The death of Alexander Severus took place on the 20th of March, A.J.P. 4948, A.D. 235. Therefore 4947y. 2m. 20d. +3y. 0m. 0d.=4950y. 2m. 20d, or March 20th, A.J.P. 4951, A.D. 238. As Eutropius says that Maximinus reigned a few days over three years, his death must have taken place at the latest before the end of that month. Censorinus evidently wrote after the 25th of June in the same year; for he says that the first of the Egyptian month Thoth WAS in *this* year the 25th of June.[4] He flourished, therefore, at the beginning of the reign of the younger Gordian.

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[1] Hist. Aug. SS. p. 143.

[2] Ib. p. 145.

[3] Balbine Auguste, Dii te servent, præsentem annum coss. vos ornetis. In locum Maximini Gordianus sufficiatur.—Hist. Aug. SS. p. 147.

[4] There must be a mistake in the text here; for the Apollinarian games were celebrated from the day before the nones to the day before the ides of July. Perhaps the author wrote vii. Idus Julii, or the ninth of July, instead of vii. cal. Junii, or the 26th of May.

The consuls during the reign of Maximinus were as follows:

A.J.P.	A.D.	CONSULS.	TIME.	Y.	M.	D.
4948	235	Severus and Quinctianus	from Mar. 21 to Dec. 31	0	9	11
4949	236	C. Jul. Maximinus, Imp. Aug. and Jul. Africanus	one year	1	0	0
4950	237	— Perpetuus and — Cornelianus	”	1	0	0
4951	238	M. Ulpius Crinitus and Proculus Pontianus	Jan. 1. to Mar. 20	0	2	20
				3	0	0

The third year of the Maximini, whatever may have been the date of their death, ended the twentieth of March, A.J.P. 4951, A.D. 238, Ref. Cal. of Jul. Cæsar 283, and one month before the beginning of A.U.C. 991. The death of Tiberius, following the computation of Suetonius, took place March 16th, A.J.P. 4749, Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæs. 81, A.D. 36, and one month and five days before the beginning of A.U.C. 789. The time between these two events was, therefore, 4950y. 2m. 20d.—4748y. 2m. 16d.=202y. 0m. 4d. The following table will show the reader at one view the several accounts referred to in the course of this chapter, and also the corrected amount of the years, months, and days of each reign, obtained by careful comparison of testimony and arithmetical computation. On summing up the whole, the total in the column of days is found to be 280. As the period of time from Tiberius to the Maximini began and ended with the month of March, 275 days are taken as equivalent to the descending series of nine months. These being deducted, there remain five days to be set down in that column. Adding nine to the column of months, we find the whole 108, or precisely nine years. Adding these to the column of years, we find the whole 202. There is, therefore, a difference of only one day between the general and the special computation of time; and even that difference may be avoided by stating the general computation thus: 4950y. 2m. 21d.—4748y. 2m. 16d.=202y. 0m. 5d, or, in other words, from March 16th, A.D. 36, to March 21, A.D. 238. There can, therefore, be no reasonable doubt that the problem is solved with regard to the adjustment of the ancient and modern computations of time. By means of the Holy Scriptures, connected as they are, by the Canon of Ptolemy, with the æra of Nabonassar, we may calculate, with unerring certainty, from the birth of Abraham to the year 238 of the common Christian æra.[1]

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[1] Hist. Aug. p. 160.

[2] Ibid. p. 171.

[3] Lib. ix. 1.

[4] A primo die mensis—cui apud Ægyptios nomen est Thoth: quique *hoc anno* FUIT ante diem vii. kal. Jul.—De die natali, c. xxi.

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[1] For additional proof of the connexion of the æra of Nabonassar with the dates of the Holy Scriptures, and with the modern computations of time, the author begs leave to refer the reader to the appendix of his smaller work, published at New York by James A. Sparks, entitled "Two discourses on Prophecy, with an appendix, in which Mr. Miller's scheme, concerning our Lord's Second Advent, is considered and refuted," pp. 182, 12mo.

SUCCESSION OF ROMAN EMPERORS.	S. Theoph. Antioch.			S. Clemens Alexandr.			Dion Cassius, and Xiphilinus.			Eutropius.			Sextus Aurelius Victor.			Cassiodorus.			Chronicon Paschale.			Years of each Reign corrected.		
	Y.	M.	D.	Y.	M.	D.	Y.	M.	D.	Y.	M.	D.	Y.	M.	D.	Y.	M.	D.	Y.	M.	D.	Y.	M.	D.
Caius Cæsar Caligula	3	8	7	3	10	8	3	9	28	3	10	8	4	0	0	3	10	0	4	0	0	3	10	8
Tib. Claudius Cæsar	23	8	24	13	8	28	13	8	20	14	0	0	14	0	0	13	8	28	14	0	0	13	8	20
Nero Claudius Cæsar	13	6	28	13	8	28	13	8	0	14	0	0	13	0	0	13	7	28	...	...		13	7	27
Servius Sulpicius Galba	2	7	6	0	7	6	1	0	22	0	7	0	0	7	7	0	7	0	0	7	0	1	0	22
M. Salvius Otho	0	3	5	0	5	1				0	0	95	0	3	0	0	3	5	0	6	0			
Aulus Vitellius	0	6	22	0	7	1				0	8	1	0	8	0	0	8	1	0	10	0			
T. Flavius Vespasianus	9	11	22	11	11	22	9	11	24	9	0	7	10	0	0	9	11	22	9	0	0	9	11	23
Titus Flavius Vespasianus	2	0	22	2	2	0	2	2	20	2	8	20	2	2	20	2	2	0	2	0	0	2	2	20
T. Flavius Domitianus	15	5	6	15	8	5	15	0	5	15	0	0	15	0	0	15	5	0	16	0	0	15	0	5
M. Cocceius Nerva	1	4	10	1	4	10	1	4	9	1	4	8	1	4	10	1	4	0	1	0	0	1	4	9
M. Ulpius Trajanus	19	6	16	19	7	15	19	6	15	19	6	15	20	0	0	19	6	15	19	0	0	19	6	15
Ælius Hadrianus	20	10	28	20	10	28	20	11	0	21	10	29	22	0	0	20	10	19	21	0	0	20	11	0
T. Aurel. Antoninus Pius	22	7	6	22	3	7	24	0	0	23	0	0	23	0	0	21	0	0	23	0	0	22	7	27
Marcus Aurelius Antoninus	19	0	10	19	0	11	19	0	11	18	0	0	18	0	0	19	0	0	19	0	0	19	0	11
Antoninus Commodus	...	...		12	9	14	12	9	14	12	8	0	13	0	0	13	0	0	12	0	0	13	9	13
Publius Helvius Pertinax	...	...		...	...		0	0	87	0	0	80	0	0	85	0	6	0	0	2	0	0	2	28
Didius Julianus	...	...		...	...		0	0	66	0	7	0	0	7	0	...	...		0	7	0	0	2	5
Septimius Severus	...	...		...	...		17	8	3	16	3	0	18	0	0	18	0	0	19	0	0	17	8	3
Aur. Antoninus Caracalla	...	...		...	...		6	2	2	6	2	0	6	0	0	7	0	0	7	0	0	6	2	2
Opilius Macrinus and his son, Antoninus Diadumenus	...	...		...	...		1	1	27	1	2	0	1	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	29
M. Antoninus Heliogabalus	...	...		...	...		3	9	4	2	8	0	2	8	0	4	0	0	4	0	0	3	9	4
M. Aurel. Alexand. Severus	...	...		...	...		...	...		13	0	8	13	0	0	13	0	0	13	0	0	13	0	9
The two Maximini	...	...		...	...		...	...		3	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0
																						202	0	5

PART II.

APPERTAINING TO THE PERSONAL HISTORY OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.

CHAPTER I.

THE REIGN OF HEROD THE GREAT.

Prefatory remarks.—Division of the subject.—SECTION I. On the beginning of Herod's reign.—Rise of his father Antipater, A.J.P. 4644, and history of him and his sons till he was poisoned, A.J.P. 4671.—Herod becomes the friend of Antony, who makes him tetrarch.—Inroad of the Parthians.—They deprive Hyrcanus of the high priesthood, and give it to Antigonus.—Flight of Herod.—His arrival in Rome.—Made king by the Senate, probably in July A.J.P. 4673.—History traced till he becomes king de facto, by the capture of Jerusalem and the death of Antigonus early in June A.J.P. 4676.——SECTION II. On the end of Herod's reign.—No uncertainty as to the year.—The month and day to be arrived at by induction.—Eclipse of the moon mentioned by Josephus.—Lunations of the year by the tables.—Calculation of the eclipse.—Consequent calculation of the passover.—Herod dead and buried, and Archelaus proclaimed king before the passover.—By examination of the history, the probable date of Herod's death determined.—The whole question as to the date of our Saviour's birth now confined within three years; from the shutting of the temple of Janus, March 30, A.J.P. 4707, to Herod's death, March 21, A.J.P. 4710.

IN the first part of this work, the author has been exclusively occupied in settling questions which pertain to ancient history in general; and no notice has been taken of the personal history of our Lord, the chief object at which we aim, excepting only that in determining the year in which Augustus shut the temple of Janus the third time, in token of universal peace, the earliest limit has been determined, within which the birth of our Saviour could have taken place. For the testimony of all antiquity is perfectly uniform and consistent, that he was born in the latter part of the reign of Augustus, when the empire was in a state of entire repose. Coming now to the consideration of our principal subject, it is proposed, in the first place, to examine the reign of Herod the Great; because the date of his death must, of necessity, be the latest limit of that period, within which the Incarnation of our Saviour could have taken place.

The question concerning Herod's reign resolves itself into two;

first, when it began, and secondly, when it ended. And the first of these is also two-fold; for there are two dates from which Josephus computes the beginning of Herod's reign: the first, when he was declared king of Judæa by the unanimous vote of the Roman senate; the second, when he became king *de facto,* by the conquest of Jerusalem and the subversion of the Asmonæan dynasty. These two dates will be considered in the first Section.

§ I. Josephus states that Herod was the second son of an Idumæan, named Antipater; a man of mean extraction, but of great abilities. Antipater was the friend of the Jewish high-priest Hyrcanus, in the war between him and his rival brother, Aristobulus. Hyrcanus began his high-priesthood, in the third year of the hundred and seventy-seventh Olympiad, when Quintus Hortensius and Quintus Metellus Creticus were consuls; that is, in the latter half of the sixth year before the consulship of Cicero and Antonius, or between the months of July and December A.J.P. 4644.[1]

The war between Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, led to the intervention of the Roman arms; and Jerusalem was taken by Pompey the Great, on the day of the fast in the third month; that is, as we have before seen, on the twenty-third of Sivan, corresponding, according to the Nicene or Julian methods of computing the lunations, with the 19th or 20th of June, in the one hundred and seventy-ninth Olympiad, when Caius Antonius and Marcus Tullius Cicero were consuls. That event, therefore, took place in the year of the Julian period 4650, about three months before the birth of Augustus.[2]

After the death of Pompey, Antipater made himself very useful to Cæsar in the war against Egypt; and it was on this account that Cæsar confirmed Hyrcanus in the high-priesthood, and made Antipater procurator of Judæa. He also gave permission to Hyrcanus to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, which had been demolished by Pompey.[3]

The date of this permission, it is not difficult to ascertain. The death of Pompey took place after Midsummer A.J.P. 4665, and Cæsar remained in Alexandria till May or June in the following year. During that period he was assisted by Antipater. In the month of August or September he arrived at Rome, and in October embarked for Africa. After this he never went into Asia.* It follows of necessity, therefore, that he confirmed Hyrcanus in the high-priesthood, made Antipater procurator of Judæa, and gave permission to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, between Midsummer A.J.P. 4665, and August or September A.J.P. 4666. We may even narrow the period to the three months between May or June and August or September A.J.P. 4666, A.U.C. 706 *after* Cæsar's return from Parthia, whither he had marched from Egypt, and his arrival in Syria *before* his departure for Rome.†

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[1] Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. xiv. c. 1, § 2.

[2] Antiq. Jud. lib. xiv. c. 4, § 3. See part I. of this work, at the close of the sixth chapter, on the succession of consuls from the birth of Augustus to the death of Tiberius, from p. 183 to p. 188.

[3] Antiq. Jud. lib. xiv. c. 8, § 1, 3, 5.

Antipater lost no time, but began to build the walls as soon as Cæsar's permission was given: somewhere, therefore, about Midsummer A.J.P. 4666. "And seeing," says Josephus, "that Hyrcanus was slow and indolent, he appointed Phasaël, his eldest son, commander of Jerusalem, and parts adjacent; and to Herod, his next son, being a youth of only fifteen years of age, he committed the charge of Galilee."[1]

The commentators on Josephus observe, that here is evidently a mistake; because Herod died forty-four years after this event, and was then, according to the historian, nearly seventy years of age. But this will be rendered more apparent hereafter. It is probable that Josephus wrote κε or 25, and not ιε or 15; though all the copies extant read the latter number. If Herod had completed twenty-five, and was in his twenty-sixth year, about Midsummer A.J.P. 4666, he had completed his tenth, and was in his eleventh year, when Augustus was born, and consequently, was himself born before Midsummer A.J.P. 4640, though in what month is uncertain.

After the death of Julius Cæsar, and the formation of the Triumvirate, Brutus went into Macedonia, and Cassius into Syria, in order to attach those provinces to their interests. This took place when L. Munatius Plancus, and M. Æmilius Lepidus the second time, were consuls, A.J.P. 4671, A.U.C. 710-11.[2] Cassius, without difficulty, secured the greater part of the troops in Syria;[1] and, according to Josephus, whose narrative agrees perfectly with that of Dio, he received Herod with great favour. The army raised was entrusted to Herod, with the entire command of Cœle-Syria; and Cassius promised, that, after the termination of the war now begun with Antony and the young Cæsar, he would make him king of Judæa.[2] These honours, bestowed upon Herod, proved fatal to his father; for Malichus, the artful rival of Antipater in the favour of Hyrcanus, being alarmed at the growing prosperity of his family, had him secretly poisoned.

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* For proofs of these dates, the reader is again referred to part I. c. 6, on the succession of consuls, testimony of historians, p. 171-2.

† Hyrcanus afterwards sent ambassadors to Rome, to obtain the formal ratification of Cæsar's promises; and this gave occasion to the decrees which Josephus has preserved. One of them runs thus: "Caius Cæsar Consul the fifth time hath decreed that the Jews shall possess and build the walls of the city of Jerusalem, and that Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, retain it as he hath desired." &c.—Antiq. Jud. lib. xiv. c. 10, § 5.

[1] Jos. Antiq. Jud. lib. xiv. c. 9, § 1, 2.

[2] Dion. H. R. lib. xlvii. c. 21.

After the battle of Philippi, which took place that same year, Octavianus Cæsar returned to Italy, and Antony went into Asia.[3] It was late in the autumn; for Plutarch mentions (in Bruto) that "the autumnal rains had fallen heavy after the battle, and the tents of Cæsar and Antony were filled with mire and water, which from the coldness of the weather immediately froze." We are thus brought to the close of the year 4671 of the Julian period, A.U.C. 710-11.

The next year (L. Antonius Pietas, P. Servilius Isauricus II. Coss.) was spent by Antony in Syria and Egypt. He had formerly been the friend of Antipater, and he became so now of his sons. He confirmed both Phasaël and Herod in their authority as tetrarchs; but his servile passion for Cleopatra leading him to abandon himself to his pleasures, he departed into Egypt: the army in Asia being left under the command of Plancus, and the army in Syria under that of Saxa. This conduct gave occasion to many commotions. The Parthians, under the command of Labienus, a partizan of Brutus and Cassius, who had taken refuge among them, and of Pacorus, a son of their king Orodes, rose against the Romans. By the persuasion of Labienus, they made an irruption into Syria, during which Saxa was defeated and killed, and the whole province, Tyre excepted, reduced under their dominion. This being done, Pacorus invaded Palestine, deprived Hyrcanus of his government, and gave it to Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus.[4]

These transactions took place, according to Josephus, "in the second year," that is, two years after the arrival of Antony. Dio, in perfect harmony with Josephus, places them under the consulship of C. Asinius Pollio, and Cn. Domitius Calvinus II.; that is, in the year of the Julian period 4673, A.U.C. 712-13. And Josephus enables us, with tolerable precision, to fix the month. He states, that Pacorus and the Parthians, with Antigonus and the Jews of his party, came unexpectedly upon Jerusalem by a sudden inroad; that they had daily skirmishes with the party of Hyrcanus, Phasaël, and Herod; and that they lengthened out the contest, until the multitude, from whom they expected aid, should come out of the country to the feast of Pentecost, *which was then near at hand.*[1]

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[1] Dion. H. R. lib. xlvii. c. 28.

[2] Jos. Antiq. Jud. lib. xiv. c. 11, § 1-4.

[3] Dion. H. R. lib. xlviii. c. 2 and 24, p. 358, B, 371, B. Appian de Bel. Civil. lib. v. c. 1.

[4] Dion. H. R. lib. xlviii. c. 26, p. 373, compared with Jos. Antiq. Jud. lib. xiv. c. 13, § 3; and de Bel. Jud. lib. i. c. 13, § 1.

Now, if the year 4673, of the Julian period, be divided by 19, the remainder, 18, will be the golden number of that year, according to the Nicene computation; and as it was the fifth year of the reformed calendar of Julius Cæsar, the golden number of his cycle was 5. Let the reader turn then to the two calendars as they are placed together in the chapter on the Roman year, and the lunations will be found for A.J.P. 4673, Ref. cal. Julius Cæsar 5, as follows:

Jewish Months.		Nicene Calendar.		Calendar of Julius Cæsar.	
Shebet	30 d.	January	16	January	17
Adar	29	February	14	February	15
Nisan	30	March ..	16	March ..	17
Jyar	29	April....	14	April....	15
Sivan	30	May	14+5=19	May	15+5=20
Tammuz ..	29	June	12	June	13
Ab........	30	July	12	July	13
Elul	29	August ..	10	August	11
Tisri	30	September	9	September	10
Marchesvan	29	October..	8	October ..	9
Casleu	30	November	7	November	8
Tebeth	29	December	6	December	7

It will, therefore, be seen, that in this year, as well as in A.J.P.4650, whether we use one or the other of these cycles, there is only the difference of a single day in computing the new moons. There cannot, consequently, be any great error; and we may safely assert, that the first day of Nisan fell on the 16th or 17th of March, the Paschal full moon, March 29 or 30; and the fifteenth of Nisan, or the first day of unleavened bread, March 30th or 31st. As Pentecost is usually calculated from the morrow after the first day of unleavened bread, which makes it fall on the sixth of Sivan, the earliest date, this year must have been the 19th or 20th of May. Hyrcanus and Phasaël having been treacherously seized by the Parthians, Herod owed his safety to flight. The circumstances of the narrative show, that his flight must have taken place about, or soon after, the feast of Pentecost. He proceeded through Arabia into Egypt, sailed from Alexandria for Pamphylia, was driven by a storm upon the Island of Rhodes, and having remained there till he could equip a trireme or three-decked galley, sailed with two of his friends for Italy. At Rome he was received most courteously by Antony, on account of their former friendship; and by Octavianus Cæsar, on account of the services rendered to Julius Cæsar by Antipater. Cæsar assembled the senate, and Herod was presented to the conscript fathers by Messalla and Atratinus, who gave them a full account of the merits of his father, and his own good will to the Romans.

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[1] Jos. Ant. Jud. lib. xiv. c. 13, § 3, 4; and de Bel Jud. lib. i. c. 13, § 1 3.

They further expatiated upon the hostility of Antigonus, as evinced by his alliance with the Parthians; and this so irritated the Senate, that when Antony entered, and proposed to make Herod king of Judæa, a decree to that effect was passed by a unanimous vote. *Thus did Herod obtain a kingdom, contrary to all his expectations, and was enabled to depart from Italy in the short space of seven days after his arrival in it.* This great event, by which the sceptre departed from Judah, took place, according to Josephus, "in the one hundred and eighty-fourth olympiad, when Domitius Calvinus the second time, and Caius Asinius Pollio, were consuls."[1]

The flight of Herod cannot be placed earlier, nor much later, than the season of Pentecost A.J.P. 4673; and allowing two months for the various events which have been enumerated between that and his appointment by the Roman senate,—an allowance abundantly sufficient, when we consider his perseverance and indomitable energy,—we cannot be far from the truth if we place about the twentieth day of July, the important decree by which he became king of Judæa.

Nothing can more excite the admiration of a devout mind, or lead to a more profound adoration of the Divine government of the world, than the ease and rapidity with which the most mighty events are accomplished, or the most subtle schemes of human contrivance frustrated.

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[1] Jos. Antiq. Jud. lib. xiv. c. 14, § 5.

In the mean time, Antigonus had carried on the siege of the fortress of Massada, in which Herod had left his family, with about eight hundred soldiers, under the command of his brother Joseph. They had all other necessaries to sustain the siege but water; the want of which was so great, that Joseph had determined to make his escape, with about two hundred men, to the Arabians. This shows that it was in the summer season, and affords circumstantial evidence as to the accuracy of the foregoing computation. In the night preceding the projected escape, they were relieved by a seasonable rain, which filled all their cisterns. Herod, on his return from Italy, landed at Ptolemais, now St. Jean d'Acre, and immediately began to collect an army of Jews and strangers, with which he marched through Galilee against Antigonus. These preparations consumed the remainder of that year.

Early in the consulship of L. Marcius Censorinus and C. Calvisius Sabinus (A.J.P. 4774, A.U.C. 713-14), the short reconciliation took place between Sextus, the son of the great Pompey, on the one part, and the triumvirate on the other;[1] immediately after which, as Plutarch states, Antony sent Ventidius into Asia, to stop the progress of the Parthians. So rapid were the movements of that able general, that he took Labienus by surprise, and utterly routed him, before he could form a junction with the main body of the Parthians. In a second engagement, Pharnapates, the legate of Pacorus, was slain, and the Parthians were finally expelled from Syria. Ventidius then occupied Palestine, and Antigonus, frightened into submission, was obliged to purchase peace with large sums of money.[2] Antony wintered this year, according to Plutarch, with his wife Octavia, at Athens, and there learned the successes of Ventidius.

In the consulship of Appius Claudius Pulcher and C. Norbanus Flaccus (A.J.P. 4675, A.U.C. 714-15), while Antony was still at Athens, a decisive battle was gained by Ventidius over the Parthians, who had again invaded Syria; in which battle, Pacorus, with the greater part of his army, was slain. This put an end to their power; and

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[1] Dion. H. R. lib. xlviii. c. 36, p. 378.

[2] Ib. lib. xlviii. c. 39-41, p. 380, &c.

Ventidius was able to turn his arms against the insurgents. In the meantime, Herod had prosecuted the war with Antigonus and his party, had taken Joppa, liberated his family from the fortress of Massada, and reduced to his allegiance the greater part of Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee.[1] Josephus informs us, that Ventidius and his lieutenant Silo were bribed by Antigonus, so that the war was lengthened out by unnecessary delays. On the arrival of Antony, whose jealousy was excited by the successes of Ventidius, and who therefore reassumed the command, the affairs of Herod were greatly improved. Sossius was ordered to give him efficient aid; and thus encouraged, he commenced the siege of Jerusalem. Their united forces consisted of 30,000 men, commanded by Herod; and eleven legions and 6000 horsemen, with other auxiliaries, under Sossius. Even with this formidable force, it appears from another passage of Josephus, that the siege lasted six months. In a speech made by the historian, exhorting his countrymen to be at peace with the Romans, he enumerated the calamities they had suffered from war, and among the rest, the siege by Herod and Sossius: "Herod, the son of Antipater, brought Sosius, and Sosius brought the Roman army. They were then encompassed and *besieged for six months*, until, as a punishment for their sins, they were taken and plundered by the enemy."[2]

The siege began in the winter: "as the winter was ceasing or becoming milder," says Josephus.[3] According to Dr. Russell, the climate of Aleppo resembles very much that of Judæa; and he says, "that the natives reckon the severity of the winter ...... to last *but forty days*, beginning from the 12th of December and ending the 20th of January; and that this computation comes, in fact, very near the truth."......"The narcissus is in flower during the whole of this weather, and hyacinths and violets, at the latest, appear before it is quite over."[4] It was the third year since Herod was made king at Rome, as Josephus, in both passages of the Antiquities and the Wars last quoted, expressly states; and the siege continued till the following summer. The city was at length taken by storm. Antigonus surrendered himself to Sosius; was treated with the greatest insult and ignominy; carried in chains to Antony—scourged—bound to a cross (which no other king had suffered from the Romans)—and finally beheaded.[1] "This disaster," says Josephus, "happened to the city of Jerusalem while Marcus Agrippa and Caninius Gallus were consuls at Rome, in the 185th olympiad, in the third month, on the fast day, as if it were a periodical return of the calamity inflicted on the Jews by Pompey; for it was taken by him on the very same day, seven-and-twenty years before."[2]

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[1] Jos. Antiq. lib. xiv. c. 15, de Bel. Jud. lib. i. c. 15.

[2] Jos. de Bel. Jud. lib. v. c. 9, § 4. But in lib. i. c. 18, § 2, he says they endured the siege *five months.*

[3] λήξαντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος.—Antiq. Jud. lib. xiv. c. 15, § 14. λωφήσαντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος.—Bel. Jud. lib. i. c. 17, § 8.

[4] Harmer's Observations, edited by Adam Clarke, American edition, vol. i. p. 132.

In A.J.P. 4650, when Pompey took the city, in the consulship of Cicero and Antonius, the fast of the third month corresponded, as we have seen, with June 19 or 20. But in A.J.P. 4676, which was the consulship of M. Vipsanius Agrippa and L. Caninius Gallus, Sivan came earlier, because it was not an intercalary year. By turning to the tables,[3] the reader will see that it was the eighth year of Julius Cæsar's reformed calendar. Consequently the golden number in his cycle was eight. Whereas, A.J.P. 4676 divided by 19, leaves two as the remainder or golden number, according to the Nicene computation. The comparative calendar in the chapter on the Roman year,[4] exhibits the following lunations, according to both cycles; and these are here connected with the Jewish arrangement of months:

Jewish months.		Nicene ☽ 2.		Julius Cæsar ☽ 8.	
Shebet	30	January	12	January	14
Adar	29	February	10	February	12
Nisan	30	March	12	March	14
Jyar	29	April	10	April	12
Sivan	30	May	10	May	12
Tammuz	29	June	8	June	10
Ab.	30	July	8	July	10
Elul	29	August	6	August	8
Tisri	30	September	5	September	7
Marchesvan	29	October	4	October	6
Casleu	30	November	3	November	5
Tebeth	29	December	2	December	4

According to the Nicene computation, the new moon of Sivan fell on the *tenth* of May; and, according to Cæsar's cycle, on the *twelfth* of May. Hence the fast of the third month, or the 23rd of Sivan, fell, according to these different computations, the former on the 1st, the latter on the 3rd of June. If, then, we date the beginning of the siege as early as the 1st of January, it must have continued nearly six Jewish months, or five full Roman months; and, by the capture of Jerusalem on the 1st or 3rd of June, A.J.P. 4676, Herod became king of Judæa, *de facto*, in the third year after his appointment by the Roman senate. That appointment could not have been earlier than the 1st or 3rd of June; for, if it had, the capture would have been in the *fourth*, not in the *third* year after it. We have before seen that, in all probability, he must have been appointed by the senate not later than about the 20th of July; and we now see, that it must have been after the 1st or 3rd of June. We have, therefore, by a comparison of the several dates of this accurate historian, given oftentimes incidentally in both his narratives, ascertained the commencement of Herod's reign within two months; and this, in the absence of positive and direct testimony, is a degree of success which could hardly have been anticipated. We proceed now to ascertain the date of his death.

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[1] Comp. Dion. H. R. lib. xlix. c. 22, p. 405, with Jos. Antiq. lib. xiv. c. 16, de Bel. Jud. lib. i. c. 18.

[2] Jos. Antiq. lib. xiv. c. 16, § 4.

[3] Part I. chap. 5, p. 140.

[4] Part I. c. 3, of the Roman year, p. 87-92.

§ II. Josephus, after giving an account of Herod's last will and testament, adds: "Having done these things, on the fifth day after he had killed his son Antipater, he died, having reigned, from the time when he destroyed Antigonus, four-and-thirty years; and, from the time when he was proclaimed king by the Romans, seven-and-thirty." The same account is given, with a few verbal alterations, in his narrative of the Jewish war.[1]

In both, also, the age of the king is mentioned. "Despairing of recovery, for he was about seventy years of age, he raged with the most unmitigated wrath and bitterness on all occasions."[2]...... "His disorder now grew worse and worse, his maladies being aggravated by old age and sorrow; for he was almost seventy years old, and he was so dejected in spirit, by the calamities brought on him by his children, that, even if he had been well, he could have had no enjoyment."[3]

As he was now "almost seventy," he must have been, at least, in the thirty-third year of his age, "when he was proclaimed king by the Romans, seven-and-thirty" years before. Consequently, when his father gave him the government of Galilee, seven years earlier, he must have completed his twenty-fifth, and not his fifteenth year, as the Greek copies now read. I have already mentioned this in its proper place, and it is now mentioned again, to show that the remarks of the commentators are well-founded, who account for the mistake by the accidental substitution of the Greek numeral . or 10, for κ̄ or 20.

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[1] Jos. Antiq. Jud. lib. xvii. c. 8, § 1, comp. with de Bel. Jud. lib. i. c. 33, § 8.

[2] Antiq. lib. xviii. c. 6, § 1.

[3] De Bel. Jud. lib. i. c. 33, § 1.

As to the year of Herod's death, there can be no uncertainty.

He was made king by the Romans about July 20, A.J.P.	4673
From that time 37 complete years being added - -	37
We arrive at July 20 as the latest possible date in A.J.P.	4710

But the month in which he died not being expressly mentioned, we can arrive at it only by induction.

During his last illness, and evidently but a short time before his death, a sedition was excited by two of the Jewish rabbins, named Judas and Matthias, whose pupils, at their instigation, cut down the golden eagle erected by Herod over the great gate of the temple. The king ordered these two rabbins, and those who had actually committed the outrage, to be burned alive. This punishment was inflicted on the same day in which Matthias the high priest was deprived of his office; and that very night there was an eclipse of the moon. This eclipse, being in the thirty-seventh year of Herod's reign, occurred between the two extremes, viz. July 20, A.J.P. 4709, and July 20, A.J.P. 4710. We need not trouble ourselves about the lunations in A.J.P. 4709, because it is evident, from the circumstances of the narrative, that the eclipse occurred in the spring, before the passover. We need, therefore, only to examine those of the first months in A.J.P. 4710. That year was the forty-second of the reformed calendar of Julius Cæsar. Its astronomical marks were, therefore, according to that cycle, solar 14, lunar 4, epact 3; while, according to the Nicene computation, they were, solar 6, lunar 17, epact 26. The result of both cycles, compared with the Jewish months, is as follows:

A.J.P. 4710, A.U.C. 749-50, L. Cornelius Lentulus, M. Valerius Messalinus Cotta Coss.

JEWISH MONTHS.	DAYS.	NICENE CALENDAR.		CALENDAR OF JULIUS CÆSAR.	
		New Moons.	Full Moons.	New Moons.	Full Moons.
Shebet	30	Jan. 27	Feb. 9–10	Jan. 28	Feb. 10–11
Adar	29	Feb. 25	Mar. 10–11	Feb. 26	Mar. 11–12
Nisan	30	Mar. 27	Apr. 9–10	Mar. 28	Apr. 10–11
Jyar	29	Apr. 25	May 8—9	Apr. 26	May 9-10
Sivan	30	May 25	June 7—8	May 26	June 8—9
Tammuz	29	June 23	July 6—7	June 24	July 7—8
Ab	30	July 23	———	July 24	———

The following calculation of the eclipse is given by Petavius:[1]

Golden Number XVII., Solar Cycle VI., Sund. Letter G. A. Jul. Per. 4710.

Mean opposition took place at Paris on the twelfth of March, in the thirteenth hour, after midnight; at Jerusalem 15h. 48′, at which time the equal motions are thus gathered:—

☉ Longit.	☉ Anomaly.	☽ Anomaly.	Motion of Lat.
11s. 17° 55′ 51″	9s. 9° 42′ 8″	1s. 11° 44′ 4″	6s. 5° 43′ 26″

☉ Equation + 2° 0′ 15″ }
☽ Equation — 3° 14′ 40″ } Sum 5° 14′ 55″ | Time + 10h. 19′

☉ Anomaly 9s. 10° 7′ 33″ | Equation + 2° 0′ 2″ }
☽ Anomaly 1s. 17° 21′ 2″ | Equation—3° 35′ 24″ } Sum 5° 35′ 26″ | Time + 11h. 0

True full moon, March 13th, 2h. 48′ after midnight.

Sun's mean place in the time of the true opposition - - 11s. 18° 22′ 58″
Sun's true place - - - - - - - 11s. 20° 23′ 0″

Therefore subtract, on account of the equation of days, from the time of the true full moon, scruples 3′ 10″, that it may agree with 2h. 45′.

The mean motion of latitude in the time of the true opposition - 6s. 11° 47′ 15″
The true motion of latitude - - - - - - 6s. 8° 11′ 51′
Latitude - - - - - - - - - 42′ 31″

Semidiameter of the moon 16′ 17″ }
Semidiameter of the umbra 42′ 58″ } Sum 59′ 18″ (59′ 15″?)

From the sum of the semidiameters, the latitude being subtracted, there remain 16′ 45″ (16′ 44″?)

Therefore a little more than VI. digits were eclipsed.

The square of the sum of the semidiameters = 12,659,364″
The square of the latitude - - - = 6,507,601″
Difference 6,151,763

The root of the difference = 2478″ = 41′ 18″ which are the scruples of incidence and emersion; by which, from the true horary motion, the time is obtained by conversion 1h. 28′.

The beginning of the eclipse at Jerusalem	1h. 17′
Middle	2h. 45′
End, after midnight	4h. 13′
Whole duration	2h. 56′

Sun's mean place,	11s. 18° 22′ 58″	Moon's mean distance +	6s. 5° 35′ 26″
Moon's mean place,	5s. 23° 58′ 24″	Moon's equation	— 0s. 2° 35′ 24″
Moon's true place,	5s. 20° 23′ 0″	Sun's true place	—11s. 20° 23′ 0″
		Remainder,	6s. 0° 0′ 0″.

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[1] De Doctrina Temporum, Antv. 1705, fol. tom. i. p. 514-15.

By this calculation, it appears that the eclipse recorded by Josephus, took place in the night of the 12th and 13th of March, A.J.P. 4710, in the fourth year of the 193rd olympiad, being before the parilia, or 21st of April, A.U.C. 749, the forty-second year of the reformed calendar of Julius Cæsar, the twenty-eighth year after the battle of Actium, the twentieth year of the tribunicial power of Augustus, in the consulship of Lucius Cornelius Lentulus and Marcus Valerius Messalinus Cotta, and in the 744th year of the æra of Nabonassar.

If, according to this calculation, the true full moon took place at Jerusalem 2h. 48′ after midnight, on the morning of the 13th of March, the next new moon would follow the vernal equinox, and, consequently, would be the beginning of Nisan, the first month of the Jewish ecclesiastical year. The full moon following, in the night between the 14th and 15th of Nisan, would be the passover, or paschal full moon. If, then, to the true full moon at the time of the eclipse, we add one lunation, it will give us the date of the passover that year as follows:

	D.	H.	
True full moon in March	12	2	48
+ one lunation, containing	29	12	44
Sum from midnight of the last day of February	41	15	32
From which take the month of March	31	0	0
And the remainder is the true paschal full moon in April	10	15	32 aft. midnight.

That is, the moon fulled at 32′ after 3 o'clock p.m. on the 11th of April; and, consequently, the paschal feast would commence that evening at the going down of the sun, and the 12th of April would be celebrated as the first day of the feast.

Now it appears, from the narrative of Josephus, that Herod was dead and buried, and Archelaus proclaimed king, before the passover. This will be rendered evident, by the induction of the following facts; for a more detailed account of which, the reader is referred to Josephus:

Antipater, the eldest son of Herod, was then in prison, convicted of an attempt to poison his father; and ambassadors had been sent to Rome, to obtain the advice and consent of the emperor as to his punishment. In the mean time, Herod went to the baths of Callirhoë, whence he returned to Jericho, despairing of recovery. With a malignant fury, hardly conceivable, he commanded all the principal men of the Jewish nation to assemble there, on pain of death. A large number came, and were confined in the Hippodrome. He then exacted a promise from his sister Salome, as he was about to die, that she would cause them all to be massacred, so that the whole nation might observe a great and solemn mourning at his funeral.

While he was giving these commands, letters arrived from his ambassadors at Rome, informing him that Cæsar left the punishment of Antipater to be decided by himself. This pleased, and, for a time, seemed to give him bodily relief. But a new paroxysm was so painful, that he attempted to stab himself; and the tumult this occasioned, led to a report of his death. Antipater, believing it, attempted to bribe his jailer, in order to obtain his liberty; and Herod, being immediately informed of the attempt, ordered his guards without delay to put Antipater to death. "The fifth day after he had thus killed his son, he himself died" at Jericho. The prisoners in the Hippodrome were immediately liberated, and Archelaus was proclaimed king. Herod was buried at Herodium, about sixty stadia from Jerusalem, and two hundred stadia from Jericho; that is, about seven and a half miles from the one, and twenty-five miles from the other.[1]

In the description of the funeral ceremonies, Josephus states in one place, that the procession "went towards Herodium *eight* stadia; for there, according to his own command, he was buried;"[2] whereas in another he says, describing the same procession, "the body was carried *two hundred* stadia to Herodium, where, according to his commands, he was buried."[3] Whiston attempts to reconcile the two statements, by supposing that they went eight stadia, or furlongs, a day, and consequently that the funeral took up no less than twenty-five days. But this supposition appears to me incredible; for, according to Reland, two hundred and ten stadia were an ordinary day's journey;[4] and eight stadia, or two thousand cubits, constituted, according to the same author, a sabbath-day's journey.[5] I am inclined to think, therefore, that they were obliged to hurry the interment, and consequently began their procession on the sabbath-day. Certain it is, that Archelaus had returned to Jerusalem before the passover, which, as we have seen, was celebrated on the twelfth of April. For during that festival, as Josephus expressly states, that is between the twelfth and nineteenth, which was its octave, occurred the sedition, occasioned by the irritated feelings of the multitude, on account of those who on the thirteenth of March had been burned alive by the orders of Herod. During the conflict on this occasion between the people and the soldiery of Archelaus, three thousand men were killed. "Then," says Josephus, "did Archelaus make proclamation that all should depart to their own homes; and thus, abandoning the festival, they departed."[1] This shows that the paschal week was not yet ended. If then we take into account that, after the funeral, Archelaus continued the public mourning seven days; that the rejoicings at the accession of Archelaus then commenced; that the religious rites on that occasion, the receiving of petitions, the redress of grievances, the largesses bestowed upon the multitude, and other acts of munificence usual at the beginning of a new reign, would consume several days,—it will not be deemed an unreasonable allowance to place the conclusion of the funeral ceremonies about the end of March. And this being admitted, the following adjustment of dates will be considered as probable:

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[1] Jos. Antiq. Jud. lib. xiv. c. 13, § 9; de Bel. Jud. lib. i. c. 33, § 9. Dr. Robinson has shown very satisfactorily, in his learned work on Palestine, that the spot called the Frank Mountain "is the site of the fortress and city Herodium, erected by Herod the Great." "To the same place apparently," he adds, "the body of Herod was brought for burial two hundred stadia from Jericho, where he died."—Bib. Res. vol. ii. p. 173. It is laid down in his map at about north latitude 31° 40′, and longitude east from Greenwich 35° 12′.

[2] Ἤεσαν δὲ επὶ Ἡρωδίου ϛαδια ὀκτώ.—Antiq. lib. xvii. c. 8, § 3.

[3] De Bell. Jud. lib. i. c. 33, § 9.

[4] Palæstina, tom. i. p. 442.

[5] Ib. p. 397.

A.J.P. 4710, A.U.C. 749, Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæs. 42, Herod's reign, 37.

The execution of Judas, Matthias, and their companions, took place the day preceding the night of the eclipse	March 12
The death of Antipater may be placed about	„ 16
The death of Herod on the fifth day after	„ 21
The ceremonies of the funeral, the interment, and the return of Archelaus to Jerusalem, may well be included within the space of ten days from March 22 to 31	„ 22-31
The mourning for seven days from	April 1
would end on the	„ 7
Sacrifices and religious solemnities	„ 8
Public rejoicings for the accession of Archelaus for three days	„ 9-11
The Passover, being just one month after the execution of Judas, Matthias, and others, would naturally excite the feelings of the people	„ 12
These led to seditions and tumults, terminated by the slaughter of about 3,000 of the people	„ 15
People, by proclamation, ordered to disperse	„ 16
Paschal week ended	„ 18
Immediately after the Paschal week, Archelaus sets out for Rome, to be confirmed in his kingdom by the emperor Augustus.	

It is evident, from the narrative of the Evangelists, that our

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[1] Jos. Antiq. lib. xvii. c. 9, § 3.

Lord Jesus Christ "was born in the days of Herod the king;" that he was "two years old, or under," when the massacre of the innocents took place at Bethlehem; that, previous to the massacre, he had been carried into Egypt; and that he returned, yet a small child, after Herod's death.[1] By ascertaining the date of Herod's death, therefore, we have arrived at the *latest* limit of that period in which his birth could have taken place. We had previously ascertained, in the first part of the present work,[2] the *earliest* limit of the same period, by determining in what year Augustus shut for the third time the gates of the temple of Janus. The whole question now ranges between the spring of the year 4707, and the spring of the year 4710 of the Julian period, corresponding with the Julian years 39, 40, 41, and 42, or from the seventh to the fourth before the common Christian æra. We might proceed to consider such circumstantial evidence as would have weight in narrowing the limits of that interval still more. But the full force of such evidence will be much better perceived at a later stage of our inquiry.

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[1] St. Matth. ii. 1, 14, 15, 16, 19-23.

[2] Part I. chap. ix.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE DATE OF PILATE'S ADMINISTRATION.

Reasons why the exact date of our Lord's death should be examined first.—He suffered under Pontius Pilate.—The first step, therefore, is to fix the limits of Pilate's administration.—Herod died March 21, A.J.P. 4710.—Archelaus banished probably in June A.J.P. 4719.—Coponius governor of the Jews.—Returns to Rome probably in May or June A.J.P. 4720, and Ambivius succeeds him.—He is followed by Annius Rufus, who was in office when Augustus died, Aug. 19, A.J.P. 4726.—In his stead, Tiberius immediately sends Valerius Gratus.—His administration of eleven years ends at the beginning of the twelfth year of Tiberius Cæsar, or after August 19, A.J.P. 4737.—Pontius Pilate his successor.—Pilate's administration continued ten years, and therefore ended after August 19, A.J.P. 4747.—Deprived by Vitellius, who sent Marcellus in his stead.—Vitellius himself goes to Jerusalem at the Passover. Question what Passover this could have been. Reasons for believing it to be that of A.J.P. 4748, which fell on the 9th or 10th of April.—Vitellius not only sends away Pilate, but deposes Caïaphas from the high priesthood.—Reflections.—Tiberius dies before the Passover of A.J.P. 4749.—Pilate arrives in Rome after his death. Leads probably a life of insignificance, and perhaps remorse, and finally kills himself in the third year of Caligula, or A.J.P. 4751, A.D. 38.

In the nature of things the death of Christ would be a subject of more notoriety than his birth. It was, therefore, an event at the precise date of which we can arrive with much greater ease; and when it is ascertained, we can compute backward to the time of his birth with far greater certainty than if we should attempt to reverse the process. Accordingly, such has been the usual method taken in previous investigations. For this purpose then, agreeably to the plan hitherto pursued, the first object will be to determine the extreme limits within which our Lord's death could have happened, and then, by accumulation of evidence, to approximate, as nearly as the nature of that evidence will permit, towards an unerring result.

That our Lord "suffered under Pontius Pilate," is certain. The first step, therefore, must be to fix the date of his administration, by ascertaining when it began and when it ended.

After the death of Herod, which took place, as we have seen in the last chapter, on or about the 21st of March, A.J.P. 4710, Archelaus went to Rome to be confirmed in his kingdom by the emperor Augustus. Here he met with very considerable opposition, but was finally appointed by Augustus, *ethnarch* of one half of his father Herod's dominions; the other half being divided into two parts, and given, under the name of Tetrarchies, to his brothers, Herod Philip, and Herod Antipas. His *ethnarchy* included Judæa, Samaria, and Idumæa; and it was given to him on the condition that if he reigned virtuously, he should receive the royal dignity.[1] But the Jews having frequently petitioned to be annexed to Syria, and ruled over by its presidents as a Roman province, and fresh complaints having been made by the principal men of Judæa and Samaria, of the barbarous and tyrannical conduct of Archelaus, the emperor first sent for him to Rome, and finally banished him to Vienna in Gaul, the modern Vienne. This occurred, according to Josephus, in the tenth year of his reign.[2]

Computing the reign of Archelaus from the death of Herod, March 21, A.J.P. 4710, nine years would be fully ended, and the tenth would begin March 21, A.J.P. 4719. Cyrenius, or Quirinius, the governor of Syria (the same person mentioned by St. Luke, ch. ii. v. 2) was commissioned to confiscate the property of Archelaus, and to impose a tax upon the nation. For this purpose Coponius, a Roman knight, was sent with him as governor of the Jews; and this sale of the goods of Archelaus and completion of the census "took place," says Josephus, "*in the thirty-seventh year*," after the victory over Antony at Actium.[3]

Now the battle of Actium, as we have seen,[4] was fought on the second of September, A.J.P. 4682; and consequently the thirty-seventh year from that victory *ended* on the first of September, A.J.P. 4719. As, therefore, the summons of Archelaus to Rome took place in the tenth year of his reign, which *began* March 21, A.J.P. 4719, and the confiscation of his property in the thirty-seventh year after the battle of Actium, which *ended* September, A.J.P. 4719, it is evident that the banishment of Archelaus, the sale of his effects, and the levying of a tax on the nation, all took place within the space of five months.

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[1] Jos. Ant. lib. xvii. c. 11, § 4.

[2] Ib. lib. xvii. c. 13, § 2.

[3] Jos. Antiq. xviii. c. 1, § 1, comp. with c. 2, § 1.

[4] See part I. chap. vii. p. 197.

Archelaus had a remarkable dream, in which he saw ten full ears of wheat devoured by oxen, the interpretation of which was that his government would end at the tenth harvest. Within five days after this vision he was summoned to Rome.[1] I assign this event, therefore, to the month of June, soon after the wheat harvest, which in Judea generally occurs in that month, leaving time enough before the beginning of September for the acts of administration assigned to Cyrenius.* The banishment of Archelaus, therefore, must, in all probability, have taken place in June, in the consulship of Aulus Licinius Nerva Silianus, and Quintus Cæcilius Metellus Creticus, A.U.C. 759, at the end of the first year of the 196th olympiad, in the 51st year of Cæsar's reformed calendar, and the 753rd year of Nabonassar.

I infer from the narrative of Josephus, that Coponius was not an efficient governor, and was, therefore, unacceptable to the nation; for after mentioning in connexion with his name a very remarkable act of sacrilege committed by the Samaritans at the passover, the historian adds, that not long after Coponius returned to Rome, and Marcus Ambivius came as his successor in the government of Judæa.[2] This must have been the passover following the banishment of Archelaus and the confiscation of his effects; and as in A.J.P. 4720 there were thirteen lunations, and the paschal full moon fell on the eighteenth or nineteenth of April, we may place the succession of Ambivius in May or June of that year.†

To Ambivius succeeded Annius Rufus, during whose administration, says Josephus, occurred the death of Augustus, and the succession of Tiberius; that is, his succession to sole and unlimited authority, August 19th, A.J.P. 4726. During the life-time of Augustus, the deep dissimulation of Tiberius caused him to smother the resentments occasioned by the evident unwillingness of the former to trust him. But no sooner was all restraint and fear removed, than he hastened to show his hatred by reversing the appointments of his predecessor. Hence Valerius Gratus was sent by him to replace Annius Rufus in the government of Judæa. Gratus, having spent eleven years in Judæa, returned to Rome, and "Pontius Pilate," says Josephus, "came as his successor."[1] If then we add eleven complete years, we shall be brought to August 19th, A.J.P. 4737, the beginning of the twelfth year of the sole reign of Tiberius, as the earliest possible date of Pilate's administration. This computation accords with the view which Eusebius took of the same passage; for he says in one place that Pilate was appointed procurator of Judæa by Tiberius in the twelfth year of his reign; and in another that the fifteenth year of Tiberius was the fourth of the government of Pilate. He must, therefore, have considered the first of Pilate and the twelfth of Tiberius as beginning about the same time.[2]

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[1] Jos. Ant. lib. xvii. c. 13, § 3.

* For the time of wheat harvest in Judæa, I refer to Dr. Robinson's Biblical Researches, as one of the most accurate and consequently most valuable works on the Holy Land.

[2] Jos. Ant. Jud. lib. xviii. c. 2, § 2.

† The reader can easily make the calculations, by means of the golden numbers in the cycles of Cæsar's calendar, or of the Nicene. According to the former, the Golden Number was XIV; according to the latter, VIII.

This is all that we do or can know as to the *beginning* of Pilate's administration, Josephus being the only authority appealed to by the early Christian writers. Its *termination* is related by the same historian in the following manner:

"This tumult being quelled, the Senate of the Samaritans sent to Vitellius, a man of consular dignity who held the government of Syria, and accused Pilate for the slaughter of those who had perished; because they had gone to Tirathaba, not to revolt from the Romans, but to escape from the outrage of Pilate. Whereupon Vitellius sent his friend Marcellus to take charge of the affairs of the Jews, and ordered Pilate to go to Rome, and give an account to the emperor concerning the things of which the Jews accused him. Wherefore Pilate, *when he had remained over Judæa ten years*, departed for Rome in obedience to the commands of Vitellius, which he dared not resist. But before he arrived in Rome Tiberius was dead."[3]

We have seen that the earliest possible date of the beginning of Pilate's administration was Aug. 19, A.J.P. 4737. Consequently, ten complete years being added, the earliest date at which Vitellius could have sent Marcellus was after the 19th of August, A.J.P. 4747, the beginning of the twenty-second year of Tiberius.

But Josephus says that Pilate had not yet arrived in Rome when Tiberius died; and his death occurred[4] March 16th, A.J.P. 4749. The period of time, therefore, which elapsed between the dismissal of Pilate from office and his arrival in Rome, must have been, at least, nearly one year and seven months. Josephus says that he dared not resist the commands of Vitellius; and his administration had been so odious to the Jews that he would not willingly remain among them as a private man. The difficulty then is, how to account for so long a period of time between the deposition of Pilate and his arrival in Rome.

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[1] Jos. Antiq. lib. xviii. c. 2, § 2.

[2] Euseb. H. E. lib. i. c. 2, comp. c. 10.

[3] Jos. Antiq. lib. xviii. c. 4, § 2.

[4] See part I. chap. xi. p. 265.

It is, in the first place, to be remarked, that because Josephus connects the arrival of Pilate in Rome after the death of Tiberius, with the end of his administration in Judæa, we have no right to infer that the one event speedily succeeded the other. It is no uncommon thing for an historian, when he is about to dismiss a subject of inferior interest, to say at once all he has to say about it, without reference to time; and it is very probable that the motive of Josephus, in mentioning the fact of Pilate's arrival after the death of Tiberius, was merely to intimate that he thereby escaped the punishment due to his nefarious conduct.

In the second place, it must be observed that extortion and cruelty were not such crimes, in the estimation of Roman governors, as would lead them to punish an offender with great severity. There is not the least evidence that Pilate was sent as a prisoner to Rome, or that Vitellius was disposed to become his accuser. The presumption is quite to the contrary; and, although, from political motives, he might think it expedient to humour so turbulent a people by removing an obnoxious procurator, we have no reason to suppose that he treated Pilate with any personal severity. He would give him time enough to arrange his affairs, to secure his witnesses, and to prepare his defence against any accusations which the Jews might bring against him before the emperor. All this, I think, may be fairly inferred from the subsequent narrative.

In the next section after the passage I have quoted, Josephus immediately adds, that "Vitellius, departing from Judæa, came up to Jerusalem in the time of their feast, which is called the Passover, and being received with great pomp and ceremony, he remitted to the whole inhabitants the tax upon provisions, and allowed the priests to have the care of the pontifical garments and ornaments laid up in the temple as they formerly had;" a privilege of which they had been deprived by Herod. To gratify the nation, he also removed Joseph, surnamed Caïaphas, from the high-priesthood, and substituted for him Jonathan, the son of Ananus.[1]

It is hardly possible not to interrupt the narrative here, for the purpose of remarking the visible signs of Divine retribution thus falling, at the same time, upon the iniquitous Roman governor and the wicked high-priest under whose administration our Lord was condemned to death. The cry, "Thou art not Cæsar's friend," impelled Pilate to sin against the convictions of his own conscience; and "We have no king but Cæsar," was the false exclamation of the high-priest to glut the purposes of his revenge. And now, by the authority of that same Cæsar, both are degraded from their dignity.

Josephus proceeds to state that Vitellius, having returned to Antioch, received letters from Tiberius, commanding him to enter into friendly relations with Artabanus, king of the Parthians; but while these letters were sent to Vitellius, Tiberius was secretly endeavouring, by bribes, to excite the kings of the Iberians and the Albanians to make war upon Artabanus. The hostilities occasioned by these intrigues terminated in favour of Artabanus; and Tiberius, having heard the result, thought proper to make new overtures of friendship to Artabanus. This led to an interview between Vitellius and the king; and not long after, the latter sent his son Darius as a hostage to Tiberius.[2]

It is unnecessary to pursue this history further, because what has now been said is sufficient to show at what passover Vitellius went to Jerusalem.

Marcellus, as we have seen, was sent by him to supersede Pilate after the nineteenth of August, A.J.P. 4747; and Tiberius died March 16th, A.J.P. 4749. Now if the reader will take the pains to reckon the lunations of A.J.P. 4748 and 4749, by means of the tables given in Part I. chapters iii. and iv. he will find that the paschal full-moon for A.J.P. 4748 fell on the 9th or 10th of April, and the paschal full-moon for A.J.P. 4749 fell on the 29th or 30th of March, a fortnight after the death of Tiberius. When, therefore, we take into account all the proceedings respecting Artabanus which *followed* the visit of Vitellius at Jerusalem, and *preceded* the death of Tiberius, we cannot fail to be convinced that it was the passover of A.J.P. 4748. Consequently, as the feast of the passover continued eight days, Vitellius would not leave Jerusalem on his return to Antioch till after the 17th or 18th of April. We may, therefore, place the departure of Pilate at the same time with that of Vitellius, not far from the beginning of May, A.J.P. 4748, at the beginning of A.U.C. 788, and in the 35th year of the common Christian æra.

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[1] Jos. Antiq. Jud. lib. xviii. c. 4, § 3.

[2] Ib. ut sup, § 4, 5, compare with § 3.

Where he spent the next eleven months it is in vain to conjecture. In reviewing the life of Tiberius, we have seen that his health had begun to decline before this period, and that, in the year of which we are now speaking, he roamed from place to place, like a wild beast tormented and furious. Pilate could not but be aware of the emperor's condition, and that, in all probability, his death was not far remote. As to his own personal safety, everything was to be gained, and nothing lost, by delay. He, therefore, contrived to lengthen out the time of his journey in every possible way, and did not arrive in Rome till Caligula was seated on the throne. He seems then to have remained in obscurity, unknown or disregarded, until at length, being weary of life, and perhaps tormented by the reproaches of his own conscience, in the second year of Caligula, according to Orosius, or the third, according to Eusebius, he laid violent hands upon himself.[1] The third year of Caligula began on the 16th of March, A.J.P. 4751, in the 38th year of the vulgar æra. Such was the end of Pilate!

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[1] Anno tertio Caii Caligulæ, Pontius Pilatus, in multas incidens calamitates, propria se manu interficit.—Euseb. Chron.

CHAPTER III.

TESTIMONY OF THE LATIN CHURCH AS TO THE DATE OF OUR SAVIOUR'S DEATH.

Reason for first examining the testimony of the Latins.—Care of the Romans about their archives.—Chain of testimony.—Public libraries—Resort of literary men.—Public records there preserved.—Not destroyed certainly till the fifth century.—Among these archives the acts of Pilate.—Testimony of Tertullian.—His character, and value of his testimony.—His statement as to the time of our Saviour's crucifixion.—Lactantius; character and testimony.—St. Augustine.—Sulpicius Severus.—Orosius.—Victorius of Aquitaine.—Liber Pontificalis.

THE testimony of the Latin church should first be examined, because in Rome, and in Rome only, could such documents be found and consulted, as would establish facts and dates beyond contradiction.

It is well known that no nation was ever more careful than the Romans, as to monuments of all kinds commemorative of their own greatness. "Many," says Josephus, "disbelieve what is written concerning us by the Persians and Macedonians, because they are not deposited everywhere in places of public resort, but are kept more privately among us and some others of the barbarians. The decrees of the Romans, however, cannot be contested, since they are deposited in the most public places of their cities, and to this day are inscribed in the Capitol and also on pillars of brass."[1] The pride and vanity of the nation were specially interested in the preservation of these monuments, and in rendering them easy of access. Hence they were kept with great vigilance in the places set apart for that purpose, but could be freely visited and consulted by all classes of persons. Here then was the common centre; and even if we had no special and positive evidence, we might infer, from the usual order of things, that the best information, concerning the affairs of the provinces, was to be obtained at the metropolis of the Roman world. But fortunately we have a chain of testimony remaining, with regard to the existence of these documents, and the places where they were preserved, for more than four hundred years, which in itself is extremely curious, and is especially important to our present purpose.

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[1] Jos. Antiq. Jud. lib. xiv. c. 10, § 1.

According to the topography of Publius Victor, there were twenty-nine public libraries in Rome, of which the Palatine and the Ulpian were the principal.* Both Dio and Suetonius speak particularly of the foundation of the Palatine library by Augustus. The modern word palace is derived from the Palatine, because that mount was occupied principally by the residence of the Cæsars. A portion of that residence having been struck by lightning, the haruspices declared that it was a sign from Heaven of the will of Apollo, that a temple should be erected there to his honour.[1] This was done by Augustus, and the new structure was called the Apollineum.[2] With it he connected a library, in which, when he was old, he often held the meetings of the senate, and convened for revision the judicial courts. He completed and dedicated this temple with the area around it, and *the library* in his sixth consulship with Agrippa II. (A.J.P. 4685, A.U.C. 724-5), the 29th year before the common Christian æra.[3] So early as in the time of Julius Cæsar, Varro was charged to collect and arrange as many Latin and Greek books as he could; and Augustus in like manner gave it in charge to Pompeius Macer to arrange his libraries.[4] Such was the Palatine library; and that it continued to be improved and embellished by Tiberius, appears from a remark of Suetonius concerning the statue of Apollo Temenetes, which had been brought at the close of his reign from Syracuse to be placed

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* Of this writer I can find no satisfactory notice; but he appears to have described Rome as it was before the ravages committed by the Goths under Alaric, A.D. 410. I found it in the collection of Boissard. The passage here referred to is as follows: Bibliothecæ undetriginta publicæ; ex iis præcipuæ duæ, Palatina, et Ulpia.—P. Vict. de Region. Urb. Rom. ap. Boissardi Antiq. Roman. tom. i.

[1] Templum Apollinis in ea parte Palatinæ domus excitavit, quam fulmine ictam desiderari a deo haruspices pronuntiarunt. Addidit porticus, cum bibliotheca Latina Græcaque; quo loco jam senior sæpe etiam senatum habuit, decuriasque judicum recognovit.—Sueton. Octavianus, c. 29, ed. Wolfii, Lips. 1802, tom. i. p. 145-6.

[2] Templum Apollinis, says Suetonius. Απολλονειον, says Dion, lib. liii. c. 1, p. 496, D.

[3] Dion. H.R. ut sup.

[4] Sueton. Jul. Cæsar. c. 44 and 56, ed. Wolfii, tom. i. pp. 61, 67.

"*in the library of the new temple.*"[1] There was another library in the Campus Martius, built five years earlier with the spoils of the Dalmatians, in the consulship of Octavius Cæsar II. and Volcatius Tullus, or A.J.P. 4680, A.U.C. 719-20, *thirty-four* years before A.D. 1. It was called Octaviana, in honour of Octavia, the sister of Augustus; and was entirely consumed, *with its books*, as Dion carefully informs us, in the consulship of Titus VIII. and Domitian VII., or A.D. 79, one hundred and fourteen years after its foundation.[2] The ruins, if I mistake not, still exist, in the Jews' quarter in Rome.

The Ulpian library was founded by Trajan, as is proved by his coins, in the consulship of Trajan VI. and Africanus, A.D. 111. For all these references I am indebted to the learned editor of Dion Cassius.

That these libraries were places of resort for literary persons, is rendered evident by occasional remarks of Aulus Gellius. "As we happened to be sitting *in the library of Trajan's temple*, and were searching for something else, the edicts of the old prætors fell into our hands, and we were allowed to read and study them."[3] And in another place he says, "While Sulpicius Apollinaris and myself were sitting with some others, either his or my friends, *in the library of the house of Tiberius*," &c.[4]

Aulus Gellius lived in the second century, was a cotemporary of Justin Martyr, and a little older than Tertullian; for he died at the beginning of the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

That the public records relating to the reigns of the several emperors were connected with these libraries, appears from various incidental notices, at various epochs. We have already seen that Aulus Gellius, in searching for some other documents, found the edicts of the old prætors. These were, in fact, the decisions of the judges; and from what Suetonius says, in the passage already cited, that Augustus, when he was old, held the sessions of the senate and convened for revision the judicial courts (decurias judicum recognovit), in the library of the Apollineum, it is probable

[1] In bibliotheca novi Templi.—Sueton. Tiber. c. 74, ed. Wolfii, tom. i. p. 324.

[2] Dion. C. lib. xlix. 43, compared with lib. lxvi. 24.

[3] Edicta veterum prætorum, *sedentibus forte nobis in bibliotheca templi Trajani*, et aliud quid requirentibus, quum in manus incidissent, legere atque cognoscere libitum est.—Aulus Gellius Noct. Att. lib. xi. 17.

[4] Quum *in domus Tiberianæ bibliotheca sederemus*, ego, et Apollinaris Sulpicius et quidem alii mihi aut illi familiares, &c.—Ibid. lib. xiii. c. 19.

that the public records of the empire were then deposited there for his convenience, were afterwards removed, in consequence, perhaps, of the great fire in Nero's reign, and in the time of Gellius were in the Ulpian library connected with the Temple of Trajan, in the forum which bore his name.

Vopiscus, who flourished early in the fourth century, under Diocletian and Constantius Chlorus, mentions the offer of Junius Tiberianus to furnish him with the journals and other documents relating to the reign of Aurelian which were *in the Ulpian library.*[1]

The same author, in his life of the emperor Probus, tells his friend Celsus, that he had chiefly used the books from *the Ulpian library,* and also from *the house of Tiberius*; both which collections were, in his time, deposited *in the baths of Diocletian.*[2] We may, I think, infer from these passages, that after Diocletian had finished the magnificent fabric which went under the name of his Thermæ,—but which, in reality, brought together all that the arts and sciences could furnish,—the different libraries and collections of records were arranged there, under their ancient names, as the Ulpian library, the library of the house of Tiberius, &c. &c.

We now arrive at the question, When were these records destroyed? And here may properly be introduced an important observation of Suetonius. He relates, that Domitian repaired the libraries which had suffered by conflagration, collected books from all quarters, and sent persons to Alexandria, to copy anew, or mend, those which had been consumed or injured. He adds, however, that Domitian himself paid no attention to history, or poetry, or other literature, and read nothing frequently, excepting *the Commentaries and Acts of Tiberius Cæsar.*[3]

The fire here referred to, was probably that of which mention has already been made, as having taken place in the reign of Titus,

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[1] Ephemeridas illius viri scriptas habemus, etiam bella, charactere historico digesta, quæ velim accipias, et per ordinem scribas, additis quæ ad vitam pertinent. Quæ omnia ex libris linteis, in quibus ipse quotidiana sua scribi præceperat, pro tua sedulitate condisces. Curabo autem ut tibi *ex Ulpia bibliotheca* et libri lintei proferantur.—Vopisci Aurelianus, ap. Hist. Aug. Scriptores, ed. Salmas, Paris, 1620.

[2] Usus autem sum, ne in aliquo fallam charissimam mihi familiaritatem tuam, præcipue libris *ex bibliotheca Ulpia, ætate mea, thermis Diocletianis, item ex domo Tiberiana.*—Hist. Aug. Scriptores, ut supra, p. 233.

[3] Liberalia studia imperii initio neglexit, quamquam bibliothecas incendio absumptas impensissime reparare curasset, exemplaribus undique petitis, missisque Alexandriam qui describerent emendarentque. Numquam tamen aut historiæ carminibusve noscendis, operam illam aut stilo vel necessario dedit. Præter *Commentarios et Acta Tiberii Cæsaris* nihil lectitabat.—Sueton. Domitian. c. 20, ed. Wolfii, tom. ii. p. 299.

A.D. 79, by which the Octavian library was consumed. Dio, in his account of the calamities which befel the city of Rome, particularly notices all the fires, and what they consumed; but he records none, before the great fire of Nero, which could have affected the public records. An ancient inscription, preserved by Gruter, mentions that conflagration as having continued nine days; and Dion says, that the whole of the Palatine was burned.[1] But the public archives would have been the first to be removed to a place of safety; and the passage from Suetonius last cited, proves to us that *the Commentaries and acts of Tiberius Cæsar* were saved. The library, also, of the house of Tiberius, was seen, not only by Gellius, but also, at a much later period, by Vopiscus. In the reign of Commodus, the temple of Peace was burned; but, while Dio mentions the loss of much merchandize, he says nothing of books.[2] These he certainly would have mentioned, if any had been lost; much more would he have mentioned public records. His silence is the strongest evidence that no such calamity took place. Vopiscus also lived long after the time of Commodus.

The incidental notices now given, the more convincing because they are incidental, appear to me to prove clearly that the public records of the Roman empire were laid up in public buildings, as public records are at the present day; that these buildings were libraries, like the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris, or the British Museum in London; that, as Rome had, and dreaded, no rival, all persons could freely go thither, to consult and take extracts from the archives; that these consisted of diaries of events, collections of law, decisions of courts, acts of administration, letters, accounts, reports from the provinces, registers of every kind, and, in a word, all that pertained to the government of that mighty empire. There is also, as I think, the strongest presumptive evidence that they were guarded with the utmost care; that they were not allowed to be destroyed by any of the great conflagrations by which the city was occasionally visited; and, consequently, that, so long as Rome was safe from foreign foes, and independent of foreign masters, that is, until the conquest of the Goths, and other northern nations, or the fifth century of the Christian æra, they were in perfect preservation.

With these preliminary observations, I pass on to consider the testimony which has descended to us from the early Christian writers of the Latin Church, in defending the truths of the Gospel, against the attacks of their Heathen and Jewish adversaries. The limits of our subject, confine us to evidence concerning the time of our Saviour's birth and death.

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[1] Quando urbs per novem dies arsit Neronianis temporibus.—Gruter, lxi. 3. Dion. Cassius, lxii. 18.

[2] Dion. C. lib. lxxii. 24.

That Pontius Pilate transmitted to Rome an accurate account of that event, there can be no reasonable doubt. All the presidents and procurators of the Roman provinces, were required to report their proceedings annually. If, therefore, there were no direct testimony, the fact would be credible, that Pilate, in relating the events of that year, could not have omitted an occurrence so remarkable, and in which he himself had so eminent a share, as that of the crucifixion of Jesus.

But we have the direct testimony of Tertullian, that Pilate did transmit such an account; and, from the manner in which Tertullian gives this testimony, we may fairly infer, not only that this document still existed, but that it had been *actually seen by him* in the Roman Archives. For in his defence of Christianity against heathenism, written about the year 198, and addressed to the rulers of the Roman Empire, (Romani Imperii Antistites), he says: "As to his [Christ's] doctrine, by which the rulers and chief men of the Jews were convicted, they were so exasperated, chiefly because a great multitude had become his followers, that finally, when he was brought before Pontius Pilate, who, in behalf of the Romans was then a procurator of Syria, they, by the violence of their clamours, extorted that he should be delivered up to them to be crucified. He himself had predicted that they would do thus. But this would have had little weight, if the prophets had not before predicted the same thing. And yet, when crucified, he voluntarily gave up his spirit with a word, thereby anticipating the office of the executioner. At the same moment the meridian light was withdrawn, the sun hiding his orb. They who did not know that this was predicted concerning the Christ, thought that it was an eclipse; and, reason not comprehending this, they denied it, *although you have in your Archives the relation of that phenomenon.*"[1]

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[1] Ad doctrinam verò ejus quâ revincebantur magistri, primoresque Judæorum, ita exasperabantur, maximè quòd ad eum ingens multitudo deflecteret, ut postremò oblatum Pontio Pilato Syriam tunc ex parte Romana procuranti, violentia suffragiorum in crucem dedi sibi extorserint. Prædixerat et ipse ita facturos. Parum hoc, si non et prophetæ retro. Et tamen suffixus, spiritum cum verbo sponte di-

Tertullian then proceeds to narrate the caution of the Jews, in placing a guard over the sepulchre, the resurrection of our Lord, the subsequent reports among the Jews that the body had been stolen by the disciples, and other events, ending with his commission to the apostles, and his ascension into heaven. After which he adds: "*All these things concerning Christ, Pilate, who was already in his own conscience a Christian, then announced to Tiberius Cæsar.*"[1]

To estimate properly the value of this testimony, it is important to consider the character of the witness. Tertullian is the earliest Christian writer among the Latins whose works have reached our times. He was probably born about the year 160 of the common Christian æra; and was, therefore, not far from thirty-eight years old when he wrote the work from which the above extract is made. He speaks of himself in it as having been once a derider of the Christian faith.[2]

As there were in those times of persecution no worldly motives for becoming Christians, but, on the contrary, every worldly motive to deter men from it, we can have no doubt that he acted from the fullest conviction and the purest motives. Was he then a man who would be easily swayed? On the contrary, his character was inflexible, even to obstinacy. Was he ignorant and disposed blindly to adopt either systems of opinion or matters of fact? So far from this, Eusebius tells us that he was a man most profoundly and accurately learned in the laws of the Romans, on other subjects eminent, and among the most illustrious at Rome.[3]

"What Origen was among the Greeks," says Vincent of Lerins, "such was Tertullian among the Latins, acknowledged by common consent as the chief of our writers. What could exceed the learning of this man, or what greater experience than his in things divine and human?"[4]

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misit, prævento carnificis officio. Eodem momento, dies media orbem signante sole subducta est. Deliquium utique putaverunt, qui id quoque super Christo prædicatum non scierunt; ratione non deprehensa, negaverunt, *et tamen eum mundi casum relatum in arcanis* [some read *archivis*] *vestris habetis.*

[1] *Ea omnia super Christo Pilatus, et ipse jam pro sua conscientia Christianus Cæsari tum Tiberio nunciavit.*—Apologeticus adversus Gentes, c. 21, Opera, ed. Rigaltii, 1641, p. 22; ed. Semleri, tom. v. 58-60; ed. Havercamp. 1718, p. 207-8, 210 11.

[2] Hæc et nos risimus aliquando. De vestris fuimus. Fiunt, non nascuntur Christiani.—c. xviii.

[3] *Τερτουλλιανος τοὺς Ῥωμαίων νόμους ἠκριϐωκὼς, ἀνὴρ, τά τε ἄλλα ἔνδοξος, καὶ τῶν μάλιστα ἐπὶ Ῥώμης λαμπρῶν.*—Ec. Hist. lib. ii. c. 2, ed. Reading. tom. i. p. 47.

[4] Sicut ille apud Græcos, ita hic apud Latinos nostrorum omnium facile princeps judicandus est. Quid enim hoc viro doctius, quid in divinis atque humanis rebus exercitatius?—Commonitorium, ed. Baluzii, 1669, p. 345.

The ancients generally speak of him with admiration, as a man of wonderful abilities, possessed of great acuteness and vigour of thought, astonishing powers of memory, and the most profound and varied erudition. Such a man would not become a convert to the faith he once derided without the most patient and laborious investigation. What then were his means and facilities for investigation? Though his father was not of very high rank, being only a proconsular centurion, yet being thus connected with the army, his son could not fail to have free access to all sources of information concentrated in the capital of the world; of course he could have access to the Roman archives. It is somewhat doubtful whom he addressed under the title of Antistites of the Roman empire, whether they were the senate or officers appointed by the Emperor. Severus was then absent on his expedition against the Parthians; and that, in all probability, was the reason why Tertullian, in writing an apology for the Christians, employed this unusual mode of address. But, whoever these persons in authority may have been, he would never have ventured to appeal to the Roman archives, or to assert that Pilate gave an account to Tiberius of the particulars he enumerates, unless he had himself examined the archives, and read this original document.

What, then, is the amount of his testimony? It is, that the extraordinary darkness which took place at the Crucifixion, and which some took to be an eclipse, till their reason taught them, that at the full moon there could be no solar eclipse, was contained in a narrative laid up in the Roman archives. And further, that all the particulars respecting the crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension, of our Saviour, were communicated to the emperor Tiberius by Pontius Pilate, who was, in his conscience, convinced of their truth. It is almost a necessary inference, that the document thus spoken of, was the identical document laid up in the Roman archives, and confidently appealed to by Tertullian, because he himself had seen and examined it.

And now let us proceed to examine what Tertullian himself states as to the time of our Saviour's crucifixion.

Speaking of the times predicted by Daniel, and commenting particularly on the seventy weeks, and the expression, "after three-score and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off" (exterminabitur Unctio), he says, "The Messiah, in that passage, was cut off after the passion of Christ. For it had been foretold that the Messiah there should be cut off, as in the psalms of the prophets, They pierced my hands and my feet;* which passion of this piercing (hujus exterminii), was finished within the times of the seventy weeks, under Tiberius Cæsar, Rubellius Geminus and Fufius Geminus being consuls, in the month of March, in the season of the Passover, on the eighth day before the calends of April (March 25th), on the first day of unleavened bread, in which it had been commanded by Moses that at evening they should kill the lamb."[1]

The next Latin writer in the order of time, who was led by his subject to mention the date of our Saviour's death, and whose writings have come down to us, is Lactantius. His parents were heathens; but as he himself studied rhetoric under Arnobius, it is very probable that by him he was converted to the Christian faith. From the beauty of his style, he is called the Christian Cicero. The emperor Diocletian having made Nicomedia his capital, was desirous to attract learned men thither, and among others, appointed Lactantius to the chair of Latin eloquence. While he was there, the persecution of the Christians began, by the demolition of their church, on the 23d of February in the year 303 of the common æra; and it continued with the most frightful violence till the year 312. Lactantius appears to have remained at Nicomedia through the whole; for in his work "On the deaths of the Persecutors," he speaks as if he had been a spectator of the outrages committed by Diocletian. In his old age, he was appointed by Constantine to superintend the education of his son Crispus Cæsar. He was, therefore, held in high estimation, and undoubtedly could have easy access, by his connexion with the court, to all sources of information.

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* It is somewhat difficult to convey to the English reader the full force of Tertullian's reasoning, on account of the various modes of interpretation in ancient and modern versions of different passages of Scripture. The ancient Latin version which Tertullian used, was, generally speaking, taken from the Septuagint, and differed from the version of St. Jerome now used by the Latin Church. In the 26th verse of the 9th chapter of Daniel, where our translation reads, "Messiah shall be cut off," and the modern vulgate "occidetur Christus," the Septuagint reads ἐξολοθρευθήσεται Χρίσμα, and the ancient Latin version "exterminabitur Unctio." So in the 22nd Psalm, where our translation reads, "They pierced my hands and my feet;" and St. Jerome's version, "Foderunt manus meas et pedes meos," Tertullian read, "Exterminaverunt manus meas et pedes." In this reading, however, he was not constant, for he elsewhere quotes the same text thus: "Foderunt manus meas et pedes." Modern readers are in danger of not doing justice to the reasoning of the Fathers, by not adverting to these differences of translation. What may appear to the English reader a non sequitur, was truly logical reasoning, when the premises are considered from which the inferences were drawn.

[1] Nam et Unctio illic exterminata est post passionem Christi. Erat enim prædictum, exterminari illic Unctionem, sicut est in psalmis prophetarum: *Exterminaverunt manus meas et pedes.* Quæ passio hujus exterminii intra tempora LXX. hebdomadarum perfecta est sub Tiberio Cæsare coss. Rubellio Gemino et Rufio [I. Fufio] Gemino, mense Martio, temporibus paschæ, die VIII. Calendarum Aprilium, die prima azymorum, quo agnum ut occiderent ad vesperam, a Moyse fuerat præceptum.—Tert. adversus Judæos Liber, c. 8; Opera ed. Rigalt. 1641, p. 215, D; ed. Semleri, vol. ii. p. 300.

In the treatise De Mortibus Persecutorum, to which we have already referred, he thus speaks of our Saviour's death: "*In writings which we have read it is recorded,* that late in the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, our Lord Jesus Christ was crucified by the Jews after the tenth day of the calends of April, the two Gemini being consuls.[1] Lactantius here appeals to some written account which he had read. What that was we can only conjecture. It may have been the original account of Pilate, which, as he wrote in Nicomedia, he may have quoted from memory, and therefore have quoted incorrectly.*

In the fourth book of his Divine Institutes, speaking of the Jews after their restoration from the captivity, Lactantius says, "Thenceforward they had tetrarchs until Herod, [i.e. Herod Antipas], who was under the empire of Tiberius Cæsar; in whose fifteenth year, that is the two Gemini being consuls, the seventh day before the calends of April, the Jews affixed Christ to the cross."[2]

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[1] Extremis temporibus Tiberii Cæsaris ut scriptum legimus, Dominus noster Jesus Christus a Judæis cruciatus est post diem decimum kalendarum Aprilis (some editions read *Aprilium*), duobus Geminis consulibus.—De Mort. Persec. apud Baluzii Miscellanea, tom. i. p. 2; Lactantii Opera, ed. Walchii, p. 1059; ed. Du Fresnoy Lut. Par. 1748, 4to, tom. ii. p. 183.

* The unusual expression *post diem* x. *kal. Apr.* has occasioned the critics much trouble. Some have supposed that it meant the tenth day *after* the calends of April, and others, the tenth day *before* the calends of April. My own impression is, that it means "after the tenth day before the calends of April, that is, after the the 23rd of March." This accords better with the Roman mode of computing time, and would naturally be used by a person quoting from memory, who had forgotten the exact day of the month.

[2] Exinde Tetrachas habuerunt usque ad Herodem qui fuit sub imperio Tiberii Cæsaris; cujus anno quinto decimo, id est duobus Geminis consulibus, ante diem septimam calendarum Aprilium Judæi Christum cruci affixerunt.—Lact. de vera Sapientia, c. 10; Opera ed. Walchii, p. 435; ed. Du Fresnoy, Opera, tom. i. p. 295.

For reasons which will be stated more fully hereafter, I have followed the Aldine Lactantius of 1515, and the correct edition of Walchius of 1715, in reading "ante diem septimam." Du Fresnoy, indeed, on the authority of forty manuscripts, and four printed editions, reads "ante diem decimam." He then endeavours to show, that "*ante* diem decimam," in this place, and "*post* diem decimum," in the passage before cited, both mean the same thing, viz. the tenth day before the calends ot April, or, according to our computation, the 23rd of March. The reasons he assigns were not satisfactory to himself; for he admits that it is difficult to reconcile these two modes of expression. He enumerates more than ninety manuscripts, and eighty-six printed editions, as having been collated in the formation of his edition. It is to be presumed, therefore, from his own statement, that more than fifty manuscripts, and all the printed editions, except the four he has quoted, read "ante

St. Augustine, the great doctor of the Latin church, was born at Tagaste, now Tajelt, a small town in Africa, on the thirteenth of November, A.D. 354 according to the common æra. He pursued his studies at Carthage, and afterwards at Rome, and was finally called to take the professorship of rhetoric at Milan. Here he received baptism from the hands of St. Ambrose in the thirty-third year of his age, returned that same year (A.D. 387) to Rome, and during the summer of the following year to Africa. In 390, he was ordained presbyter by Valerius, the aged bishop of Hippo, in 395 was consecrated bishop-coadjutor with that prelate; and at his death in 396 became his successor. He died August 28, A.D. 430, aged nearly 76 years.[1] In many parts of his voluminous works he speaks of the date of our Saviour's birth and death, not as a subject of doubt or controversy, but as being well known. Of these I proceed to give a few examples.

"It is evident under what consul and on what day the Virgin Mary brought forth Christ conceived of the Holy Ghost."[2]

Here it is asserted that the year and day of Christ's conception and birth were both evident.

"When, therefore, Herod was reigning in Judæa, and among the Romans, the state of the republic being changed, Augustus Cæsar was emperor, and by him the world was made peaceful, Christ was born."[3]

Here the birth of Christ is spoken of as having occurred in a time of universal peace effected by Augustus Cæsar; evidently alluding to the time when the temple of Janus was shut the third time by that emperor.

"That Christ was conceived and that he suffered in the same month, is shown by the observance of Easter, and the day of his nativity most certainly known by the churches. For he who was born on the eighth day before the calends of January (December 25th) in the ninth month, was conceived surely about the eighth day before the calends of April (March 25th) in the first month, which was also the time of his passion."[4]

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diem septimam," As Lactantus wrote his institutes in Nicomedia, and probably quoted from memory, it is not difficult to account for these variations in his phraseology.

[1] Tillemont Hist. Eccl. tom. xiii. Morcelli Africa Christiana, tom. ii. p. 320-324.

[2] Apparet quo die conceptum de Spiritu Sancto Virgo Maria peperit Christum.—In Joh. Ev. c. vi. Tract xxiv. ed. Bened. Antuerp. tom. iii. pars. 2, p. 348, D.

[3] Regnante ergo Herode in Judæa, apud Romanos autem jam mutato reipublicæ statu, imperante Cæsare Augusto, et per eum orbe pacato, natus est Christus..—De Civit. Dei, lib. xviii. c.46, Opera, ed. Bened. tom. viii. p. 400, E.

[4] Illo autem mense conceptum et passum

Many passages to the same effect might be adduced; but as they all concur in stating that the conception and passion of Christ took place on the same day, the 25th of March, and his birth on the 25th of December, I shall confine myself to one only, which occurs in his celebrated work on the city of God.

He is confuting an absurd falsehood of the pagans, that the Christian religion was to endure only 365 years. What better proof, he asks, can be sought for of its falsity than that the 365 years are already past? Not to place the beginning at his nativity, because a child has no disciples, and because St. Paul says to the Athenians that God has assured all men of the appointed day of judgment by the resurrection of Christ from the dead,[1] let us go on to the period of his passion and resurrection; more especially because the Holy Ghost was given, and the new law went forth from Zion and Jerusalem,[2] as the old law had proceeded from Sinai. Wherefore Christ himself appointed "that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem."[3] In Jerusalem, therefore, arose the worship of this name, and the necessity of belief in Christ Jesus, who had been crucified and had risen again. There this faith produced such a wonderful conversion of several thousands that they sacrificed their property and their lives. Now if this was done without any magic arts, why hesitate to believe that the same power can in like manner convert the whole world? But if it was by the magic arts of Peter that in Jerusalem the very same multitude who had taken and crucified Christ, and derided him on the cross, were excited to worship the name of Christ, even then we must from that year begin the inquiry when the 365 years may be completed. He then proceeds in the following remarkable words: "Christ died, therefore, when the two Gemini were consuls, the eighth day before the calends of April (March 25th). He rose the third day, as the Apostles proved even by their own senses. Then, forty days after, he ascended into Heaven, and ten days after, that is, on the fiftieth day after his resurrection, he sent the Holy Ghost. Then, at the preaching of the Apostles,

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esse Christum, et Paschæ observatio, et dies ecclesiis notissimus nativitatis ejus ostendit. Qui enim mense nono natus est octavo kalendas Januarias, profecto mense primo conceptus est circa octavum kalendas Aprilis, quod tempus etiam passionis ejus fuit.—Quæstiones in Exod. lib. ii. Opera, tom. iii. p. 337, D, quæst. xc.

[1] Acts. xvii. 31.

[2] Isai. ii. 3.

[3] S. Luke xxiv. 47.

three thousand men believed on him. Then also arose the worship of that name, by the power of the Holy Ghost, as we have believed, and as it was in truth, but as an impious vanity hath feigned or imagined, by the magic arts of Peter. A little while after, by the working of a signal miracle, when at the word of the same Peter a certain beggar, so lame from his mother's womb as to be carried by others and laid at the temple gate to ask alms, leapt up whole in the name of Jesus Christ, five thousand men believed; and thenceforward the Church grew by one accession of believers after another. And by this is collected the very day from which that year took its beginning, viz. when the Holy Ghost was sent, that is on the ides of May (May 15th). From that time, by the enumeration of the consuls, three hundred and sixty-five years are found to have been completed at the same ides (May 15th) in the consulship of Honorius and Eutychianus [A.D. 398.] Moreover, in the following year, when Manlius Theodorus was consul, A.D. 399], when, according to that oracle of devils and figment of men, there ought to be no Christian religion, (what may have been done in other parts of the earth it may not be necessary perhaps to inquire, but what we ourselves in the mean time know), in that most noted and eminent city of Carthage in Africa, Gaudentius and Jovius, counts of the emperor Honorius, on the fourteenth before the calends of April, (March 19th), overturned the temples of the false gods, and broke down their images. From that time to the present, being almost thirty years, who does not see how much the worship of the name of Christ has increased? Especially after many of those had become Christians who had been deterred from the faith by that divination, as if it had been true, and who saw, when the number of years was completed, that the same was empty and ridiculous? We, therefore, who are called, and are Christians, do not believe in Peter, but in Him in whom Peter believed. We are edified by the discourses of Peter concerning Christ, not poisoned by his incantations. We are not deceived by his evil practices, but we are aided by his good deeds. The same Christ who was the master and teacher of Peter, is also our master and teacher, in that doctrine which leadeth unto everlasting life."[1]

Sulpicius Severus, a native of Aquitaine, a man of high connexions and noble birth, flourished about the year 401 of the common æra, and wrote an abridgment of sacred history, with so much purity, that he has been called the Christian Sallust. In his second book, he speaks thus: "Then Herod, a foreigner, the son of Antipater the Ascalonite, sought and received from the Senate and people of Rome, the kingdom of Judæa. He was the first foreign monarch whom the Jews had; for as Christ was now about to come, it was necessary, according to the predictions of the prophets, that they should be deprived of their leaders, so that they might no longer expect Christ. Under this Herod, in the three-and-thirtieth year of his reign, Christ was born, Sabinus and Rufinus being consuls, on the eighth day before the calends of January," (December 25th.)

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[1] Mortuus est ergo Christus duobus Geminis consulibus. octavo kalendas Aprilis. Resurrexit tertia die, sicut Apostoli suis etiam sensibus probaverunt. Deinde

Excusing himself from pursuing the rest of our Lord's history, he adds: "Herod, after the nativity of the Lord, reigned four years; for the whole time of his reign was seven-and-thirty years. After him Archelaus was tetrarch nine years, and Herod, twenty-four years. In the eighteenth year of his reign, the Lord was crucified, when Fufius Geminus and Rubellius Geminus were consuls; from which time to the consul Stilicho [A.D. 400] are 372 years."[1] We are at present concerned with the testimony of Se-

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post quadraginta dies adscendit in cœlum: post decem dies, id est, quinquagesimo post suam resurrectionem die misit Spiritum sanctum. Tunc tria millia hominum Apostolis eum prædicantibus crediderunt. Tunc itaque nominis illius cultus exorsus est, sicut nos credimus, et veritas habet, efficacia Spiritus-sancti; sicut autem finxit vanitas impia vel putavit, magicis artibus Petri. Paulo post etiam signo mirabili facto, quando ad verbum ipsius Petri quidam mendicus ab utero matris ita claudus, ut ab aliis portaretur, et ad portam templi, ubi stipem peteret, poneretur, in nomine Jesu Christi salvus exsilivit, quinque millia hominum crediderunt: ac deinde aliis atque aliis accessibus credentium crevit Ecclesia. Ac per hoc colligitur etiam dies, ex quo annus ipse sumsit initium, scilicet quando missus est Spiritus-sanctus, id est, per Idus Maias. Numeratis proinde consulibus trecenti-sexaginta-quinque anni reperiuntur impleti per easdem Idus consulatu Honorii et Eutychiani. Porro sequenti anno, consule Manlio Theodoro, quando jam secundum illud oraculum dæmonum aut figmentum hominum nulla esse debuit religio Christiana, quid per alias terrarum partes forsitan factum sit, non fuit necesse perquirere. Interim quod scimus, in civitate notissima et eminentissima Carthagine Africæ Gaudentius et Jovius comites Imperatoris Honorii, quartodecimo kalendas Aprilis falsorum deorum templa everterunt, et simulacra fregerunt. Ex quo usque ad hoc tempus per triginta ferme annos quis non videat quantum creverit cultus nominis Christi, præsertim postea quàm multi eorum Christiani facti sunt, qui tamquam vera illa divinatione revocabantur à fide, eamque completo eodem annorum numero inanem ridendamque viderunt? Nos ergo qui sumus vocamurque Christiani, non in Petrum credimus, sed in quem credidit Petrus: Petri de Christo ædificati sermonibus, non carminibus venenati; nec decepti maleficiis, sed beneficiis ejus adjuti. Ille Petri magister Christus in doctrina, quæ ad vitam ducit æternam, ipse est et magister noster.—Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. xviii. c. 54. Op. ed. Bened. tom. vii. 407, 408.

[1] Tum Herodes alienigena, Antipatri Ascalonitæ filius, regnum Judææ a senatu

verus only as to the date of our Saviour's death, in which he agrees with the other writers of the Latin Church. It may be observed, however, in passing, that while he agrees with them in mentioning the 25th of December as the day of our Saviour's birth, his account of the year in which that event took place, is confused and contradictory. Sabinus and Rufinus were consuls in the year 4709 of the Julian period, and Herod died in March A.J.P. 4710. If, therefore, Christ was born in their consulship, on the 25th of December, it was less than three months before Herod's death; whereas, in the very next sentence, Severus says that Herod lived after our Lord's nativity four years. But of this we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

Orosius, who comes next in the order of time, has been already mentioned as generally correct in his statement of facts, but inaccurate as to dates. He is so in the present instance with wonderful inconsistency; for while, as we have seen, he places the closing of the temple of Janus and the birth of Christ so late as the year of the city 752, he speaks in the third chapter of his seventh book, of our Lord's passion and of the earthquake and supernatural darkness, as occuring in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, that is in the year when the two Gemini were consuls.[1]

He agrees, therefore, with the rest of the Latin writers as to the year of our Saviour's death; though, by so doing, according to his hypothesis as to the time of his birth, he contradicts the Scriptures, in making him only twenty-eight years old. This appears to me to increase the value of his testimony as to the true date of Christ's death; for, if it had not been received by common consent so that he could not depart from it, he would have acted as the moderns have done, and adjusted his fact so as to suit his theory.

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et populo Romano petiit, accepitque. Hunc primum Judæi externum regem cœperunt habere; etenim jam adventante Christo necesse erat, secundum vaticinia prophetarum, suis eos ducibus privari, ne quid ultra Christum exspectarent. Sub hoc Herode, anno imperio ejus tertio et xxx, Christus natus est, Sabino et Rufino consulibus, viii. kalendas Januarias. Verum hæc quæ Evangeliis ac deinceps Apostolorum Actibus continentur, attingere non ausus, ne quid forma præcisi operis rerum dignitatibus diminueret, reliqua exsequar. Herodes post nativitatem Domini regnavit annos iiii.; nam omne imperii ejus tempus, vii. et xxx. anni fuerunt, post quem Archelaus tetrarcha annis ix, Herodes annis xx et iiii. Hoc regnante, anno regni octavo et decimo, Dominus crucifixus est, Fufio Gemino et Rubellio Gemino consulibus, a quo tempore usque in Stiliconem consulem sunt anni ccclxxii.—Sul. Sev. Hist. Sacr. lib. ii. c. xxvii. Ed. de Prato Veronæ 1754, 4to, tom. ii..p. 154-8.

[1] Deinde anno ejusdem (sc. Tiberii Cæsaris) xv, cum Dominus Christus Jesus voluntarie quidem se tradidit passioni, &c.

The next author to be mentioned, is Victorius of Aquitaine. Being at Rome, in the year 455 of the common æra, when the question as to the true time of celebrating Easter was much agitated, and being a mathematician of no mean abilities, he was requested by Hilary the archdeacon to rectify the disorder. In the first part of the present work, I have had occasion to refer twice to Victorius; first, in treating of the origin of the Julian period; and, secondly, in giving the inverted list of consuls from A.D. 238 to A.D. 28. Referring the reader to the analysis of his preface in the former, and the observations on his Consular Chronology in the latter of these passages, I proceed now to exhibit the first of the twenty-eight cycles of 19 years contained in his Paschal Canon, as being his testimony concerning the date of our Lord's crucifixion.

Lunar Cycle.	Consuls.	Years of the Period of Victorius.	Bissextile Yrs.	Days of the week on which the calends of January fell.	Age of the Moon on the calends of Jan.	Paschæ Dies, or Easter Day.	Moon's age on Easter Day.	Indictions.	Corrected list of Consuls.
1	CRVCIFIXIO CHRI. Coss duobus GEMINIS Ruffino Rubellio	I	B	Feria V Thursday	XIX	V kal. Aprilis March 28	XVI	I	CRVCIFIXIO CHRI. Coss. duob.Gem.Fufio et Rubellio
2	VINICIO LONGINO	II		Sabbato Saturday	XXX	XV kal. Maii April 17	XVII	II	Vinicio Longino
3	SVLPITIO SYLLA	III		Domin. Sunday	XI	V Idus Aprilis April 9	XX	III	Tiberio V Sejano
4	PRISCO VITELLIO	IV		Feria II Monday	XXII	VIII kal. Aprilis March 25	XVI	IV	Ahenobarbo Scriboniano
5	GALLO NONIANO	V	B	Feria III Tuesday	III	Idibus Aprilis April 13	XVI	V	Sulp. Galba Corn. Sulla
6	GALLIENO PLAVTIANO	VI		Feria V Thursday	XIV	Nonis Aprilis April 5	XIX	VI	Vitellio Persico
7	PROCVLO NIGRINO	VII		Feria VI Friday	XXV	V kal. Aprilis March 28	XXII	VII	Gallo Noniano
8	JULIANO ASPRENATE	VIII		Sabbato Saturday	VI	IV Idus Aprilis April 10	XVI	VIII	Papinio Plautio
9	PUBLICOLA NERVA	IX	B	Domin. Sunday	XVII	kalend Aprilis April 1	XVIII	IX	Proculo Nigrino

Lunar Cycle.	Consuls.	Years of the Period of Victorius.	Bissextile Yrs.	Days of the week on which the calends of January fell.	Age of the Moon on the calends of Jan.	Paschæ Dies, or Easter Day.	Moon's age on Easter Day.	Indictions.	Corrected list of Consuls.
10	CÆSARE JVLIANO	X		Feria III Tuesday	XXVIII	XI kal. Maii April 21	XX	X	Juliano Asprenato
11	CÆSARE II SATVRNINO	XI		Feria IV Wednes.	IX	Idibus Aprilis, April 13, but the Alexandrian, VIII Idus April, April 6	XXII 15	XI	Caligula Cæsiano
12	SECUNDO VENVSTO	XII		Feria V Thursday	XX	IV kal. Aprilis March 29	XVIII	XII	Caligula III
13	TIBERIO GALLO	XIII	B	Feria VI Friday	I	XV kal. Maii April 17	XVIII	XIII	Caligula IV Saturnino
14	CRISPO TAVRO	XIV		Domin. Sunday	XII	V Idus Aprilis April 9	XXI	XIV	Claudio II Largo
15	VINICIO CORNELIO	XV		Feria II Monday	XXIII	VIII kal. Aprilis March 25	XVII	XV	Claudio III Vitellio II
16	ASIATICO SILANO	XVI		Feria III Tuesday	IV Saltus Lun. Moon's leap	XVIII kal. Maii April 14	XVIII	I	Crispino II Tauro
17	TIBERIO II VITELLIO	XVII	B	Feria IV Wednes.	XVI	Nonis Aprilis April 5	XXI	II	Vinicio II Corvino
18	VITELLIO II PVBLICOLA	XVIII		Feria VI Friday	XXVII	XIV kal. Maii, April 18 but the Alexandrians, VII cal. Maii, April 25	XVI 21	III	Asiatico II Silano
19	VERANNIO GALLO	XIX		Sabbato Saturday	VIII	IV Idus Aprilis April 10	XVIII	IV	Claudio IV Vitellio III

As the table itself requires no illustration, I need only observe, that the jesuit Boucher, or Bucherius, the editor of this paschal canon, instead of merely publishing the text, has endeavoured to correct it. He suppresses the consulship of Antoninus Pius v., and M. Aurelius iii., A.D. 160, in order that he may bring down the consulship of the two Gemini to A.D. 29. In this way, he confuses the whole subject, departs from the testimony of the whole ancient Latin Church, and places the passion of our Lord in the fourth year of the period, instead of the first.

I close this testimony of the Latin Church with the following extract from the preface of that ancient catalogue of Roman pontiffs, which goes generally under the name of Anastasius.

This author was librarian of the Vatican, and flourished about the year 870. But, it is evident that the work in question is much older than his time; that it is made up of ancient catalogues, preserved in the archives of the Roman Church; and, that some of the later lives only were written by Anastasius. Without attempting to determine the exact date of the preface, I transcribe only its testimony respecting the date of our Saviour's death. "Our Lord Jesus Christ suffered during the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, the two Gemini being consuls, on the eighth day before the calends of April." (March 25th.)[1]

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[1] Imperante Tiberio Cæsare passus est Dominus noster Jesus Christus, duobus Geminis consulibus, viii. kalendas Aprilis.—Lib. Pontificalis, ed. Vignolii. Romæ, 1724, 4to.

CHAPTER IV.

TESTIMONY OF THE GREEK CHURCH.

Reasons why we cannot expect such accurate testimony from the Greek Christian writers as from the Latin.—Embarrassed by the question as to the duration of our Lord's ministry.—Testimony of Clemens Alexandrinus—of Hippolytus—of an unknown contemporary of Hippolytus—of Julius Africanus—of Origen—of Eusebius—of Epiphanius.

It has been already observed, in speaking of the writers of the Latin Church, that persons residing in, or visiting Rome, would be better able, and consequently more likely, to obtain accurate information concerning the affairs of the provinces, than any others, excepting original witnesses. By such, all questions respecting the history of the empire could be easily solved; because, it is well known that the Roman government was careful in keeping records, and in publicly exhibiting them. We must not expect, therefore, from the early writers of the Greek Church, such accurate information as from those of the Latin. What they did know, they would naturally derive from the Latins; or, from common report in Judæa and the adjacent regions. If, therefore, they acquiesce in, or do not distinctly contradict, the testimony of the Latins, it is all we can reasonably hope to find; and, even if their testimony be contradictory, its value is to be weighed, as in all other cases of conflicting evidence.

One difficulty seems greatly to have embarrassed the Greek writers. St. Luke speaks of the ministry of St. John the Baptist, as beginning in the fifteenth year of Tiberius.[1] But they knew that the fifteenth year of Tiberius, when the two Gemini were consuls, was the year in which, according to the general belief, our Saviour was crucified. They took no account of the fact, that, as far as the provinces were concerned, Tiberius was associated with Augustus for three years and a-half before the death of the latter; and they hastily concluded that the period of our Saviour's ministry was only one year, without considering that this conclusion involved them in greater difficulties than those from which they were attempting to escape. This subject will be resumed when we come to consider the duration of our Saviour's ministry; and, it is adverted to here, only to prevent the reader from being embarrassed by the same difficulties, and to keep constantly in his view the single point at which we now aim, viz.: the testimony as to the date of our Saviour's death.

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[1] St. Luke, iii. 1, 2, 3.

The most learned of the early Greek writers in the Church, was Titus Flavius Clemens of Alexandria; a contemporary of Tertullian, possessed of genius and learning equal to his, and of far greater discretion. St. Jerome says of his writings, that they are full of erudition and eloquence, in profane as well as sacred learning.[1]

In the first book of his Stromata, written about the year 194 of the common æra, commenting on St. Luke iii. verses 1 and 23, he says: "And to prove that he must have preached only one year, it is also thus written: He hath sent me to preach the acceptable year of the Lord.[2] This is said both by the prophet and the Gospel. The fifteenth year of Tiberius, and fifteen of Augustus, make up thirty years, to the time when he suffered. And from the time when he suffered, until the destruction of Jerusalem, are forty-two years and three months. And from the destruction of Jerusalem, until the death of Commodus, are one hundred and twenty-eight years, ten months and three days. From the time, therefore, when the Lord was born, until the death of Commodus, all the years are one hundred and ninety-four, one month, and thirteen days." He then proceeds to say, that some over-curious persons wish to fix, not only the year, but the day, of our Saviour's birth, which they say was in the 28th year of Augustus, on the 25th of the Egyptian month Pachon [May 20th]; and, that the followers of Basilides celebrate the day of his baptism, which they say was in the 15th year of Tiberius, on the 15th day of the month Tybi [January 10th], and some on the 11th of the same month [January 6th.] Discoursing also with great nicety about his passion; some place it on the 25th of Phamenoth [March 21st], in the 16th year of Tiberius Cæsar, and others on the 25th of Pharmuthi [April 20th], and others again, on the 19th of the same month [April 14th]; nay, some of them say, that he was born on the 24th or 25th of Pharmuthi [April 19th or 20th].[3] The sixteenth year of Tiberius began in August, in the year of the Gemini. Inaccurate chronologers might easily, therefore, confound the fifteenth and sixteenth years of his reign. While Clemens speaks slightly of these conjectures, he clearly gives it as his own opinion, that our Lord suffered in the fifteenth year of Tiberius.

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[1] Plena eruditionis et eloquentiæ, tam de Scripturis divinis, quam de sæcularis literaturæ instrumento.

[2] St. Luke iv. 18, 19.

[3] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. i. 340, ed. Potter, tom i. p. 407, 408.

Early in the next century flourished Hippolytus, who is mentioned by Eusebius in connexion with Beryllus, the bishop of Bostra in Arabia.[1] Both he and Jerome confess their ignorance as to the see of which Hippolytus was bishop. Cave follows Le Moyne in supposing it was Aden on the Red Sea.[2] All agree that he suffered martyrdom, but the place where, and the time when, are uncertain. It was known from the account of his writings by Eusebius,[3] that he had composed a paschal canon, consisting of a cycle of sixteen years; but this canon was supposed to be lost, until the year 1551, when, among the rubbish of an ancient church of St. Hippolitus, near Rome,* on the road leading to Tivoli, was found a marble statue, in a sitting posture, on the two sides of the chair of which are inscribed in Greek letters seven cycles, each of sixteen years, beginning with the first year of the reign of Alexander Severus. That year, undoubtedly corresponded with the 222d year of the common æra, and the canon, embracing a period of seven times sixteen, or one hundred and twelve years, extended to the year 333. This statue is now preserved in the Vatican library.

On the right hand side of the chair is the computation of the paschal full moons; on the left, that of the Sundays on which Easter can fall. This canon, being the oldest which has come down to us, has greatly excited the curiosity of the learned, and occasioned many laborious and ingenious dissertations. To enter into these would be foreign to the present object. It is needful only to observe, that Hippolytus counted backward as well as forward; that his calculations extended from the institution of the Passover to the passion of our Lord, and from that event to the year in which he framed his tables. Nor was it his intention to stop within the period of one hundred and twelve years, but to furnish a perpetual canon for the use of the Christian Church. His table extends, in fact, as Bianchini observes, to three periods; the first of $16\times7=112$ years; the second, to $112\times7=784$ years; and the third, to 784×4, or 112× 28+112=3248 years. He adds, that Hippolytus failed in the accomplishment of his object, only because the præcession of the equinoxes had not been discovered in his time, or was believed to be inconsiderable; for in 3248 solid Julian years, the mean motions of the moon, the day of the week, and the day of the Julian year, would be renewed together.[1] With these preliminary remarks, I proceed to exhibit the table of the paschal full moons, which is all that our present subject demands.

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[1] H. E. lib. vi. c. 20.

[2] Hist. Lit. tom. i. p. 102, A.D. 220.

[3] Lib. vi. c. 22.

* Nibby (Itinerario di Roma, tom. ii. p. 719) says that it was found in the catacombs of St. Lorenzo: "En fouillant près de Rome dans les mazures d'une ancienne église de S. Hippolyte restée dans les champs du costé de S. Laurent et sur le chemin de Tivoli," says Tillemont.

ΕΤΟΥΣ Α. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ Η. ΔΙ. ΤΟΥ ΠΑΣΧΑ ΕΙΔΟΙΣ ΑΠΡΕΙΛΙΑΙΣ ΣΑΒΒΑΤΩ ΕΜΒΟΛΙΜΟΥ ΜΗΝΟΣ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΥ. ΕΣΤΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΞΗΣ ΕΤΕΣΙΝ ΚΑΘΩΣ ΥΠΟΤΕΤΑΚΤΑΙ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΠΙΝΑΚΙ. ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΔΕ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΑΡΩΧΗΚΟΣΙΝ ΚΑΘΩΣ ΣΕΣΗΜΕΙΩΤΑΙ. ΑΠΟΝΗΣΤΙΖΕΣΘΑΙ ΔΕ ΔΕΙ ΟΥ ΑΝ ΕΝΠΕΣΗ ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ

ΕΙΔΟΙΣ ΕΜ. ΑΠΡΕΙ.	Ζ	S ΕΣΔΡΑ ΚΑΤΑ ΔΑΝΙΗΛ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΕΡΗΜΩ.	Ε	Δ	Γ	Β	Α
ΠΡΟ Δ ΝΩ ΑΠΡΕΙ.	Δ ΓΕΝΕΣΙΣ ΧΣ.	Γ	Β	Α	Ζ	S	Ε
ΠΡ. ΙΒ. ΠΡ. ΙΑ. ΚΑ SS. ΑΠΡΕΙ.	Α ΕΖΕΚΙΑΣ	Ζ	S ΙΗΣΟΥΣ	Ε	Δ	Γ	Β
ΕΜ. ΠΡΟ Ε. ΕΙ ΑΠΡΕΙ.	Ζ ΙΩΣΕΙΑΣ	S	Ε	Δ	Γ	Β	Α
ΠΡΟ Δ ΚΑ ΑΠΡΕ.	Δ	Γ	Β	Α	Ζ	S	Ε
ΠΡΟ ΙΕ ΚΑ ΑΠΡΕΙ	Α	Ζ ΕΖΕΚΙΑΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΔΑ ΚΑΙ ΙΩΣΕΙΑΣ	S	Ε	Δ	Γ	Β
SS. ΝΩΝΑΙΣ ΕΜ. ΑΠΡΕΙ.	Ζ	S	Ε	Δ ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΚΑ. ΔΑ.	Γ	Β	Α
ΠΡΟ Η. ΚΑ ΑΠΡΕΙ.	Δ	Γ	Π	Α	Ζ	Σ	Ε
ΕΜ. ΕΙΔΟΙΣ ΑΠΡΕΙ.	Γ	Β	Α	Ζ	S	Ε	Δ
ΠΡΟ Δ. ΝΩ ΑΠΡΕΙ.	Ζ	Σ	Ε	Δ	Γ	Β	Α ΕΞΟΔΟΣ
ΠΡ. ΙΒ. ΠΡ. ΙΑ. ΚΑ SS. ΑΠΡΕΙ.	Δ	Γ	Β	Α	Ζ	S	Ε
ΕΜ. ΠΡΟ Ε. ΕΙ ΑΠΡΕΙ.	Γ	Β	Α	Ζ	S	Ε	Δ ΕΝ ΕΡΗΜΩ
ΠΡΟ Δ. ΚΑ ΑΠΡΕΙ.	Ζ	S	Ε	Δ	Γ	Β	Α
ΠΡΟ ΙΕ ΚΑ ΑΠΡΕΙ.	Δ	Γ	Β	Α	Ζ	S	Ε ΕΣΔΡΑ
SS. ΝΩΝΑΙΣ ΕΜ. ΑΠΡΕΙ.	Γ ΕΞΟΔΟΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΔΑΝΗΛ.	Β	Α	Ζ	S	Ε	Δ
ΠΡΟ Η. ΚΑ. ΑΠΡΕΙ.	Ζ	S ΠΑΘΟΣ ΧΣ	Δ	Ε	Γ	Β	Α

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[1] Franc. Blanchinius de Canone Paschali S. Hippolyti, cap. 3, ap. S. Hippol. Opera, ed. Fabricii, Hamburgi, 1716, p. 98.

TRANSLATION OF THE FOREGOING TABLE OF THE PASCHAL FULL MOONS.

IN THE FIRST YEAR OF THE REIGN OF ALEXANDER THE EMPEROR, THE FOURTEENTH OF THE PASSOVER TOOK PLACE ON THE IDES OF APRIL, ON SATURDAY, THE MONTH BEING EMBOLISMIC. IT WILL HAPPEN IN THE FOLLOWING YEARS, AS IT IS ARRANGED IN THE TABLE. BUT IT HAPPENED IN PAST YEARS, AS IS NOTED. THE FAST IS TO BE DISPENSED WITH WHEN IT FALLS ON A SUNDAY.

Em.	Ides of April.	1	G	F Ezra, acc. to Daniel, and in the wilderness	E	D	C	B	A
	IV. Non April.	2	D Birth of Christ.	C	B	A	G	F	E
Biss.	XII. XI. Ka April.	3	A Hezekiah.	G	F Joshua	E	D	C	B
Em.	V. Ides April.	4	G Josiah	F	E	D	C	B	A
	IV. Ka. April.	5	D	C	B	A	G	F	E
	XV. Ka. April.	6	A	G Hezekiah accord. to Daniel & Josiah.	F	E	D	C	B
Biss. Em.	Nones April	7	G	F	E	D Joshua acc. to Daniel.	C	B	A
	VIII. Kal. April.	8	D	C	B	A	G	F	E
Em.	Ides of April.	9	C	B	A	G	F	E	D
	IV. Nones April.	10	G	F	E	D	C	B	A Exodus
Biss.	XII. XI. Kal. II. April.	11	D	C	B	A	G	F	E
Em.	V. Ides April.	12	C	B	A	G	F	E	D In the wilderness.
	IV. Kal. April.	13	G	F	E	D	C	B	A
	XV. Kal. April.	14	D	C	B	A	G	F	E
Biss. Em.	Nones April.	15	C Exodus according to Daniel.	B	A	G	F	E	D Ezra.
	VIII. Kal. April.	16	G	F Passion of Christ.	E	D	C	B	A

This table establishes several particulars of great importance. The inscription, which serves as its preface, states that the paschal full moon took place on the ides, that is, on the 13th day of April, in the first year of the emperor Alexander Severus. Elagabalus was killed on the 11th of March; and the connexion of that year with the 222d of the common Christian æra, is proved in the following way:

The coins struck during the reign of Alexander, exhibit a series of thirteen years; those of Maximinus, three; those of Gordianus Pius, six; and those of Philip till his third consulship, four; making a total of twenty-six years. In the third consulship of Philip, as the medals struck at that time indicate, the secular games of the year one thousand from the building of Rome, were celebrated with extraordinary splendour, at the feast of the Parilia or Palilia, April 21st. By deducting twenty-five solid years, (1000—25=975,) we come to the 21st of April, in the first year of Alexander Severus, as the commencement of the 975th year of Rome; and by deducting from that number, 753 solid years preceding the common Christian æra, according to the computation of Varro, we have as the remainder, A.D. 222. The paschal full moon being on the ides of April, preceded the Parilia eight days; and was, therefore, at the close of the 974th year of Rome, in the year of the Julian period 4935, the first year until the 1st of July of the 250th Olympiad, and the 267th year of the reformed calendar of Julius Cæsar.

By examining the third line of the table, it will be seen that it is marked ϛϛ, translated BISS, because it denotes that it was a bissextile or leap year. This proves, therefore, that the third year of the cycle, or A.D. 224, was a leap year, and consequently furnishes us with a clue, by which we can reckon the leap years, back to the reformation of the calendar. Thus we find that the year of the Julian period 4669, the first of Cæsar's calendar, was a leap year, and every succeeding fourth year ought to have been so reckoned.

The reader will also observe that the seven letters A, B, Γ, &c. in the Greek, and A, B, C, &c. in the translation, are in inverse order, from right to left. The same order occurs in the first, fourth, seventh, tenth, thirteenth, and sixteenth lines. The whole contains two octaëterides or periods of eight years, in which the Greeks, by embolismic months, adjusted their lunar to the solar years. Hence the order with regard to the age of the moon is repeated in the first and ninth, second and tenth, to the eighth and sixteenth lines. The arrangement of the letters, however, is different. But in the sixteenth line, where the paschal full moon is stated to be on the eighth before the calends of April, or March 25th, the same order of the letters occurs as in the first line, when the paschal full moon fell upon the ides of April. If then the letter Z in the Greek, or G in the translation, denoted Saturday, as the inscription leads us to infer, then it must also mean Saturday in the sixteenth line; and S in the Greek table, or F in the translation, must denote Friday. If this inference be just, Hippolytus has noted that the passion of our Saviour took place on Friday the eighth, before the calends of April, or March the 25th. Unhappily the treatise of Hippolytus is lost, which bears the title inscribed on the chair, of "a demonstration of the times of the Passover, as in the table." We cannot, therefore, state the year of the passion on his testimony; but as he agrees with the other ancient writers in naming the 25th of March as the day, we have a right to infer that he agreed with them also in the year.

There is indeed a Latin translation extant, the Greek original of which bears the date in the thirteenth year of Alexander Severus, A.D. 235, and which some have supposed to be the lost work of Hippolytus. It is a chronicle, in the 12th section of which the author attempts to fix the dates of the several passovers mentioned in the table as follows:

> From the Exodus to the crossing of Jordan when Jesus [Joshua] celebrated the passover, are 41 years.
>
> Hezekiah celebrated the passover 464 years afterwards.
>
> Josiah celebrated the passover 114 years after Hezekiah.
>
> Ezra celebrated the passover 108 years after Josiah.
>
> After Ezra, until the birth of Christ, the passover was celebrated 563 years.
>
> From the birth of Christ, thirty years after, the passover was celebrated when the Lord was crucified; for he was the true passover.
>
> From the passion of the Lord to the thirteenth year of the emperor Alexander Cæsar, the passover has been observed 206 years, being observed by us in commemoration of our Lord Jesus Christ.*

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* This ancient chronicle was first published by Canisius, at Ingolstadt. 1602. Afterwards by Philip Labbe, Paris, 1657. From Labbe's edition, it was inserted by Du Fresne Du Cange in the appendix to the Chronicon Paschale, Paris, 1688, p. 413. The passage here quoted occurs in the 418th and 419th pages of that work, but Du Cange did not divide the chronicle into sections. It is reprinted in the works of St. Hippolytus, edited by J. Albert Fabricius, 1716, and is there divided into sections. The passage here quoted is at the top of the 56th page.

As the author places the passion of our Lord in the thirtieth year of his age, he follows the current of Greek writers, in assigning the fifteenth year of Tiberius as the true date of that event. This is also evident from his computation of 206 passovers; since if from 234 solid years we subtract 206, there remain 28 as the year of the passion. Bianchini shows, however, that although this contemporary of Hippolytus agrees with him in the date of our Saviour's passion, he differs from him, and is far less accurate in his chronology of the passovers, especially from Joshua to Hezekiah.[1] But to dwell longer on this subject would be foreign to our purpose, and I therefore proceed to the evidence offered by Julius Africanus.

This writer was a contemporary of St. Hippolytus, and flourished, according to Cave, A.D. 220. Suidas calls him a philosopher of Libya. Eusebius, and after him Photius, say that he wrote a brief history from the Mosaic account of the creation till the coming of Christ, and thence till the reign of the emperor Macrinus (A.D. 217) where he closed his narrative.[2] Eusebius made great use of his writings without giving him due credit. A few fragments remain, preserved chiefly by Syncellus and the Chronicon Paschale. All these fragments, wherever dispersed, have been collected by the care and industry of the learned Dr. Routh, president of Magdalen College, Oxon. in the second volume of his Reliquiæ Sacræ, p. 107—195.

St. Jerome, in his commentary on Daniel, has quoted a long passage from Africanus, respecting the chronology of the seventy weeks. Speaking of the difficulties in that chronology, if we begin to compute from the first year of Cyrus, or from the time when Daniel saw the vision, or from the beginning of the captivity, he proceeds as follows: "For the kingdom of the Persians continued till the beginning of the Macedonian empire, two hundred and thirty years. The Macedonians reigned three hundred years; *and from that time to the fifteenth year of Tiberius when Christ suffered*, are numbered sixty years, making together five hundred and ninety years, being an excess of one hundred years. But from the twentieth year of king Artaxerxes unto Christ, the seventy weeks are completed, according to the lunar computation of the Hebrews, who reckon their months, not according to the course of the sun, but that of the moon. For from the one hundred and fifteenth year of the Persian dominion, when it was the twentieth year of the reign of Artaxerxes, and the fourth year of the eighty-third olympiad, to the second year of the two hundred and second olympiad and the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar, are four hundred and seventy-five years, which make four hundred and ninety Hebrew years, as we have said, according to the lunar months."[1]

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[1] See his Dissertation S. Hipp. Op. p. 115.

[2] Euseb. H. E. vi. c. 31. Photius Bibl. lect. xxxiv. ed. Rothom. p. 20.

Without entering into an examination of the error as to the olympiad, or the opinion of Africanus concerning the computation of the seventy weeks, it is sufficient to observe that he held the prevailing opinion as to the duration of our Saviour's ministry. Whether he held the year of his passion to be the consulship of the two Gemini, or the year following, when Cassius Longinus and Vinicius Quartinus were consuls, depends on our choice of the reading of St. Jerome or that of the Greek copies. Even if we prefer the latter, the crucifixion took place in the fourth year of the two hundred and first, and not in the second year of the two hundred and second olympiad; and if the former, it was in the third year of the two hundred and first olympiad.

Another contemporary of Hippolytus, though somewhat later, was Origen. He was born of Christian parents at Alexandria, in the year of the common æra 186. He studied first under St. Clemens of Alexandria, and afterwards under the philosopher Ammonius, the founder of the new Platonists. He became so renowned for his learning as to attract the attention of the mother of Alexander Severus, who sent for him at Antioch, and, as Eusebius informs us, retained him for some time near her person. He was admitted to the priesthood at the age of forty-three, and died at Tyre, A.D. 254, in the sixty-ninth year of his age.[2]

Origen's opinion on the subject in question is to be gathered only from incidental observations, dispersed through his writings. In his thirty-second homily on St. Luke, which has come down to us only in a Latin translation, he says: "To preach the accepted year of the Lord is, they say, according to its simple meaning, that the Saviour preached the Gospel one year in Judæa."[1] So again, in the series of commentaries on St. Matthew (speaking of chap. xxvi. 15), "They covenanted with him for thirty pieces of silver," he says, according to his favourite method of mystic interpretation, "they agreed to make him as large a gift as the Saviour had sojourned years in this world; for, being baptized at the age of thirty years, he began to preach the Gospel, as Joseph, when he was thirty years old, collected corn for his brethren."[2]

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[1] S. Hieron, Opera ed. Martianay, tom. iii. col. 1110-11, Paris, 1704, fol.

St. Jerome was not quoted among the Latin writers, because in his commentary on Daniel he gives the testimony of Greek authors, not his own. The original of this passage is preserved by Syncellus, and given by Dr. Routh; but I have chosen to give it from St. Jerome's translation, because he reads the fifteenth year of Tiberius, whereas the Greek copy reads the sixteenth. It has been already observed, that the sixteenth year of Tiberius began in August of the year when the Gemini were consuls, and this would easily lead to errors in the copies. The crucifixion being in the Spring, was in the first half of the year, and consequently the fifteenth of Tiberius.

[2] Euseb. H. E. lib. vi. c. 16, 19, 21. Cave. Hist. Lit. tom. i. p. 112.

So again, in his work περὶ ἀρχῶν, he says that our Lord taught about one year and a few months.[3] It is needless to confute the inconsistency of this opinion. All we are concerned with at present is the fact concerning his testimony.

But there are two other passages in the works of Origen where his testimony is still more to our purpose. The first occurs in his answer to Celsus. The philosopher had denied the truth of the assertion that God had punished the Jewish nation for having put Christ to death; to which Origen replies: He might, if he pleased, have charged the assertion with falsehood, if the whole nation of the Jews had not been overthrown within one generation after Jesus had thus suffered; "*for there were but forty-two years, as I suppose, from the time when they crucified Jesus to the destruction of Jerusalem.*"[4]

The second passage occurs in his fourteenth homily upon Jeremiah. Commenting on the Greek translation of Jer. xv. 15, concerning the long suffering of God towards the Jewish nation, until they crucified his Son, he says: "If you search out the times of the passion [of Christ], and of the fall of Jerusalem and ruin of the city, and in what manner God forsook that people when they had slain Christ, you will see that he no longer exercised long suffering towards them. And if you are willing, hearken. From the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar to the destruction of the temple, two-and-forty years were fulfilled; for it was right that some little time should be granted for repentance, chiefly on account of those among the people who would be led to believe by the signs and wonders to be wrought by the apostles."[1]

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[1] Prædicare annum Domini acceptum juxta simplicem intelligentiam aiunt uno anno Salvatorem in Judæa evangelium prædicasse.—Opp. ed. Bened. tom. iii. p. 970, col. 2, c.

[2] Tantam ei donationem constituentes quantos annos Salvator peregrinatus fuerat in hoc mundo. Triginta enim annorum baptizatus cœpit evangelium prædicare, quasi Joseph factus triginta annorum erogaret frumenta fratribus suis.—Opp. tom. iii. p. 895, col. 1, c.

This idea that the age of Joseph was designed to adumbrate the age of our Saviour, appears to have been a favourite with Origen; for in his 28th homily upon St. Luke, he again mentions it thus (c. iii. v. 13): Ipse erat Jesus incipiens quasi annorum triginta. Joseph triginta annorum erat quando dimissus e vinculis et interpretatus somnium Pharaonis Ægypti effectus est princeps, ubertatisque tempore triticum congregavit, ut famis tempore haberet quod distribueret. Ego puto quod triginta anni Joseph, in triginta annorum præcesserint Salvatoris.—Opp. tom. iii. p. 966, col. 1, A.

[3] ἐνιαυτὸν γάρ που καὶ μῆνας ὀλίγους ἐδίδαξεν.—Opp. tom. 1, p. 160.

[4] Origen contra Celsum, lib. iv. c. 22. Opp. tom. 1, p. 515, E.

According to the belief of Origen, the crucifixion took place in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar; and he followed his master St. Clemens in computing forty-two years from the death of Christ to the destruction of Jerusalem,—that is, from A.D. 28 to A.D. 70.

We come now, in the order of time, to the celebrated historian Eusebius. In his Ecclesiastical History, book I. chap. I. he refers to his Chronicon as a work already published, in which he had given an epitome of the history.

It has been already remarked (part I. chap. I. p. 21) in speaking of the olympiads, that the whole of this work had been preserved in the Armenian language, and that two rival translations of it appeared in 1818, one printed at Milan, the other at Venice. Both these editions are now before me. The latinity of Mai is more elegant, but I prefer that of Aucher, which has the Armenian text side by side: and though less polished, is more simple, and evidently more literal. The following extract includes the whole interval from the birth to the death of Christ, according to the computation of our author.

From bdg. the city.		Olympiads.	Years of Abraham.	Rome, Augustus.	Judæa, Herod.	
751	JESUS CHRIST, THE SON OF GOD, is born in Bethlehem of Judah. The whole number of years, from Abraham to the nativity of Christ, are MMXV. (2015.) Caius Cæsar makes peace with the Parthians.		2015	42	32	Quirinus, being sent by a decree of the senate into Judæa, makes a description of possessions and private dwellings (according to Mai's edition, of possessions and persons).
		195	2016	43	33	
	Sextus (Jerome reads Xistus) is acknowledged a Pythagorean philosopher.		2017	44	34	Augustus adopted Tiberius and Agrippa as sons.

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[1] Opp. tom. iii. p. 217, A.

From bdg. the city.		Olympiads.	Years of Abraham.	Rome, Augustus.	Judæa, Herod	
	Herod, being informed of our Lord's nativity, slew the children at Bethlehem.		2018	45	35	Judas the Galilæan, excited the Jews to rebellion.
			2019	46	36	
		196	2020	47	37	Herod, attacked by a severe dropsy, died, his whole body being eaten by worms.
	Augustus constituted tetrarchs Herod, Antipater, Lysanias, and Philip, the brothers of Archelaus.				Archelaus. Yrs. IX	
			2021	48	1	Augustus substituted Archelaus, the son of Herod, as ethnarch of Judæa.
			2022	49	2	Tiberius Cæsar subdued the Dalmatians and Sarmatians.
U.C. 760			2023	50	3	Athenodorus of Tarsus, was acknowledged as a natural philosopher [Physicus. Jerome reads Stoicus].
		197	2024	51	4	
	There was so great a famine at Rome that of bread stuffs (ex cibariis) one modius (about a peck, or 525.696 cub. inches) was sold for 27½ denarii = 17s. 2¼d. ster. or $4\frac{20}{100}$ dlls. (Mai reads quinque modii.)		2025	52	5	
			2026	53	6	
			2027	54	7	Archelaus, king of the Jews, held the ethnarchy nine years, and, being then exiled, was sent to Vienna (Vienne), a city of the Gauls.
		198	2028	55	8	
			2029	56	9	
	The Athenians ceased from the arrogance of making a revolution (res novas moliendi), the authors of the sedition being punished.			Monarch Emp. Tiberius Years XXIII.	Herod Tetrarch Years XXIV.	Sotio the Alexandrian, was acknowledged as a philosopher. Sebastus (sc. Augustus) held the census with Tiberius, and found the population of Rome to be 4,190,117. There was an eclipse of the sun, and Augustus died.
U.C. 770			2030	1	1	
			2031	2	2	
		199	2032	3	3	
	Germanicus Cæsar triumphed over the Parthians.		2033	4	4	Thirteen cities were destroyed by an earthquake, Ephesus, Magnesia, Sardis, Mostene, Ægæ, Hierocæsarea, Philadelphia, Tmolus, Temus, Myrhina, Apollonia, Dia, Hyrcania.
			2034	5	5	
			2035	6	6	
		200	2036	7	7	
	Pompey's theatre burned.		2037	8	8	
			2038	9	9	Tiberius made Drusus his associate in the empire.
	Drusus Cæsar killed by poison.		2039	10	10	Philip the tetrarch, built Pennada (Jerome, Paneas) and Cæsarea, which he called Philippi, and another city Julias.
		201	2040	11	11	
			2041	12	12	Pilate is sent by Tiberius as procurator of Judæa.
			2042	13	13	
			2043	14	14	Herod founded Tiberias and Libias (Livias, Mai).
U.C. 780		202	2044	15	15	

John, the son of Zachariah, preached in the wilderness of the river Jordan, and announces to all that among them is the ANOINTED OF GOD. Jesus also himself, the anointed of God [*Messiah or Christ*] hence begins his saving and evangelical doctrine, proving to the beholders, by his good works and words, the strength of his divine virtue. From the second building of the temple of Jerusalem, which took place in the second year of Darius, king of the Persians, in the sixty-fifth olympiad, to this fifteenth year of Tiberius, the whole number of years are 542. But from Solomon and the first building of the temple, 1064 years. And from Moses and the departure from Egypt, 1540 years. From Abraham and the reign of Ninus and Semiramis, 2044 years. From the Deluge, 2986 years; and from Adam, 5228 years.

From bdg. the city.		Olympiads.	Years of Abraham.	Rome, Tiberius.	Judæa, Her. Tetr.	
	JESUS THE ANOINTED OF GOD, OUR LORD, preached his saving doctrine to all, and performed the several miracles which are recorded.		2045	16	16	JESUS THE ANOINTED OF GOD, OUR LORD, revealed to his disciples the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, and commanded them to preach to all nations, conversion to the God of the whole world, and the conditions of his kingdom.
			2046	17	17	
			2047	18	18	
		203	2048	19	19	

Jesus, the Anointed of God, our Lord, according to the prophecies which had been made concerning him, came to his passion in the nineteenth year of the reign of Tiberius. About which time we have also found it related in other Greek commentaries in these words, that the sun was eclipsed, Bithynia shook by an earthquake, and a great part of Nice destroyed. And in agreement with these, are related the facts which happened at the passion of our Saviour. Phlegon also, who has made a treatise on the olympiads from their very beginning, writes in his thirteenth book in the following words: "In the fourth year," says he, "of the two hundred and third olympiad, there was a great eclipse of the sun, a greater than which no one had ever known, so that it became night at the sixth hour [12 o'clock, M.], and stars were seen in the heavens. There was an earthquake in Bithynia, and a great part of Nice was destroyed." So far the above-named author. This truly is a great argument that our Saviour suffered in that year, according to the testimony of the gospel of John, by which it is shown that there was a period of three years of Christ's doctrine after the fifteenth year of Tiberius. About these times, Josephus also relates that in the days of Pentecost a commotion and noise attracted the attention of the priests, and then a sudden voice was heard from the Holy of Holies, saying, Let us depart hence, Let us depart hence. Josephus also relates another fact, that Pilate, the president at that time, ordered an image of Cæsar to be brought into the temple by night, where it was not lawful, and thus occasioned the beginning among the Jews of great disturbance and sedition, whence numerous misfortunes upon misfortunes happened to the Jewish nation. Flaccus Avilius being sent by Tiberius to Alexandria, as the præfect of Egypt secretly contrived many frauds against the Jewish nation."[1]

This extract, from the Chronicon of Eusebius, is so important from its nature, from the celebrity of its author, and the influence both have had upon succeeding ages, that it must be carefully scrutinized. Even a slight examination of it, by the light of testimony already laid before the reader, will be sufficient to show, that it contains many errors; that its dates cannot all be made to harmonize with the truth of history; and consequently, that the author was governed by his own computations alone, and not by any evidence, since lost, which gave him an advantage over us. But, as my object now is to give only a faithful statement of the testimony of the Greek Church, such as it actually is, on the single point of the time of our Saviour's crucifixion, I shall defer all further remarks, till we come to compare and estimate the value of the whole. I pass on, therefore, to a remarkable extract from Epiphanius, with which I shall close this part of our subject.

This writer is so diffuse and unskilful, that were I to attempt an exact translation, it would occupy much space, and convey but little information. I must attempt, therefore, to condense his narrative.

In the second book of his great work on heresies, when speaking of the Alogi, he defends the Evangelists from the charges of contradiction and absurdity brought by Porphyry, Celsus, and others, against their history of our Lord. This he does by the general position, that the narrative of each is true, but that circumstances omitted by one, are related by another; and he therefore attempts to harmonize the whole, by assigning the dates of the several facts recorded. Thus, St. Matthew, after mentioning the birth of Christ, omits two years, and passes on to the visit of the Magi, the flight into Egypt, and the massacre of the children at Bethlehem. St. Luke speaks of the swathing-bands, the manger, and the cavern, 'because there was no room for them in the inn.' The census and the Emperor's edict, had brought together a crowd which filled the place; but, after the enrolment was completed, each person departed to his accustomed abode; and, space being thus made, when the Magi arrived, they did not find Mary in the cave with its manger, but a star guided them until they came to 'the house' where the child was. That very night, two years after the nativity, the angel appeared, and commanded them to 'flee into Egypt.' Here they remained another two years, and then after the death of Herod, the angel again commanded them to return into 'the land of Israel.'"

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[1] Eusebii Pamph. Chronicon Bipartitum nunc primum ex Armeniaco textu in Latinum conversum.—Opp. J. B. Aucher. Ancyrani. Ven. 1818, 4to, pars. ii. p. 261—267.

He then proceeds thus:[1] "The Lord was born, therefore, in the thirty-third year of Herod. In the thirty-fifth, the Magi came. In the thirty-seventh, Herod died, and was succeeded by his son Archelaus, who reigned nine years. Wherefore Joseph, having heard of Archelaus, went and dwelt at Nazareth, and thence every year went up to Jerusalem. Thenceforward Luke, again resuming the narrative, relates how, at the age of twelve years, He [Jesus] went up to Jerusalem; and then, to give no place to those who maintained that He appeared to the world at once as a perfect man, speaks of His increasing in understanding, until He came to Jordan, unto John, beginning to be about thirty years of age.

Chap. 13.—After the forty days of the temptation, having returned to Nazareth in Galilee, He again came to Jordan, where, John bare testimony that He was the Lamb of God.

Chap. 14, 15.—After this, followed the calling of the apostles, the marriage at Cana, the miracles of Capernaum, the cure of the withered hand, the removal of the fever of Peter's wife's mother, the second return of Jesus to Nazareth, and the establishment of his abode in Capernaum.

Chap. 16.—He was baptized, according to the Egyptians, on the 12th of Athyr (November 8th), the sixth before the Ides of November, that is 60 days before the feast of the Epiphany, when he was born. For such is the testimony of St. Luke: Jesus began to be about thirty years of age. He was twenty-nine years and ten months old when he came to baptism: thirty years old, but not fully. Wherefore, he says, beginning to be about thirty. For beginning thence, and computing forty days for the temptation; a little more than two weeks in Nazareth; the first and second days with John; and again, the first and second days when Andrew and his companions followed him, and then Simon Peter; and the other day, the calling of Philip and Nathanael; and finally, on the third day, the marriage in Cana of Galilee; and the thirty years from his birth are completed. For, on the very same day on which he was born, as it is supposed, he wrought the first miracle.

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[1] Alogi. chap. x.

Passing over the 17th chapter as foreign from our subject, and omitting from the 18th to the 21st inclusive, in which Epiphanius defends the Gospel of St. John from the imputations cast upon it by the Alogi, we proceed to

Chap. 22.—They again accuse the Holy Gospel, saying, that John speaks of two passovers kept by our Saviour, whereas the other Evangelists speak only of one. These ignorant men do not know that the Gospels acknowledge, not only two but three passovers. For immediately from Jordan, as St. Luke says, Jesus was beginning to be about thirty years old. The Saviour was born in the forty-second year of Augustus, Emperor of the Romans, which was the twenty-ninth year of the connexion of the Romans with the Jews; for Augustus reigned thirteen years before Judæa was perfectly connected with the Romans.

This period of 13+29=42, Epiphanius again divides, in utter defiance of all true history, into three other periods of 4+5+33 =42; four years of friendship, five years of tribute, and thirty-three years of the reign of Herod, making the forty-second year of the whole reign of Augustus, the ninth year of the procuratorship of Antipater, the father of Herod. He then attempts to give a list of consuls for thirty years, in order to show the year in which our Saviour was thirty years old. By the side of his list, which I copy exactly, I have placed the true chronological series, that the reader may see at one glance the errors of the author.

A.J.P.	Olymp.	A.U.C.	Correct Series of Consuls.	According to Epiphanius.
4711	CXCIV. 3	751	1 Imp. Cæs. Divi F. Augustus XIII M. Plautius M.F.M.N. Silvanus	1 These things came to pass in the thirteenth Consulship of Octavius Augustus, and the Consul Silanus; which consulship was followed by the consulships hereunder arranged
4712	„ 4	752	2 Cossus Cornelius Cn. F. Lentulus L. Calpurnius Cn. F. Piso	2 Lentulus and Piso the second time
4713	CXCV. 1	753	3 C. Julius Aug. F. Divi N. Cæsar L. Æmilius L.F.M.N. Paullus	3 Lucius Cæsar and Paullus
4714	„ 2	754	4 P. Vinucius M.F.P.N. P. Alfinius P.F. Varus	4 Vinducius and Varus
4715	„ 3	755	5 L. Ælius L.F. Lamia M. Servilius M.F.	5 Lammia and Serujulius Nommius
4716	„ 4	756	6 Sextus Ælius Q.F. Catus C. Sentius C.F.C.N. Saturninus	
4717	CXCVI. 1	757	7 Cn. Corn. L.F.L.N. Cinna Magnus L. Valerius Potiti F.M.N Messalla Volusus	6 Magnus Pompeius and Valerius
4718	„ 2	758	8 M. Æmilius L.F. Lepidus L. Arruntius L.F.L.N.	7 Lepidus and Aruncius
				8 Cæsar and Capito
4719	„ 3	759	9 A. Licinius A.F. Nerva Silianus Q. Cæcilius Q.F.Q.N. Metellus Creticus	9 Creticus and Nerva
4720	„ 4	760	10 M. Furius P.F.P.N. Camillus Sex. Non. L.F.L.N. Quinctilianus	10 Camillus and Quintilianus
4721	CXCVII. 1	761	11 C. Poppæus Q.F.Q.N. Sabinus Q. Sulpicius Q.F.Q.N. Camerinus	11 Camerus and Sabinus
4722	„ 2	762	12 P. Cornelius P.F.P.N. Dolabella C. Junius C.F.M.N. Silanus	12 Dolabella and Silvanus
4723	„ 3	763	13 M. Æmilius Q.F.M.N. Lepidus T. Statilius T.F.T.N. Taurus	13 Lepidus and Taurus
4724	„ 4	764	14 Germanicus Cæsar Ti. F. Aug. N. C. Fontejus C.F.C.N. Capito	
4725	CXCVIII. 1	765	15 C. Silius P.F.P.N L. Munatius L.F.L.N. Plancus	14 Flaccus and Sylvanus
4726	„ 2	766	16 Sextus Pompeius Sex. F. Sextus Appuleius Sex. F.	15 The two Sexti
4727	„ 3	767	17 Drusus Cæsar Tib. F.A.N. C. Norbanus Flaccus	
				16 Pompeius Magnus & Apulejus 17 Brutus and Phlangcus (or Flaccus)
4728	„ 4	768	18 Statilius Sisenna Taurus L. Scribonius Libo	18 Taurus and Libo
4729	CXCIX. 1	769	19 C. Cælius Rufus L. Pomponius Flaccus Græcinus	19 Crassus and Rufus
4730	„ 2	770	20 Cl. Tiberius Nero. Aug. III Germanicus Cæsar II	20 Tiberius Cæsar second time, Drusus Germanus 2nd time
4731	„ 3	771	21 M. Junius Silanus L. Norbanus Flaccus Balbus	21 Silvanus and Balbus
4732	„ 4	772	22 M. Valerius Messalla M. Aurelius Cotta	22 Messala and Gratus
4733	CC. 1	773	23 Cl. Tiberius Nero Augustus IV Drusus Cæsar Tib. fil. II	23 Tiberius Cæsar third time, Drusus Germanus third time

A.J.P.	Olymp.	A.U.C.	Correct Series of Consuls.	According to Epiphanius.
4734	„ 2	774	24 D. Haterius Agrippa C. Sulpicius Galba	24 Agrippa and Balbus
4735	„ 3	775	25 C. Asinius Pollio C. Antistius Vetus	25 Pollio and Vetus
4736	„ 4	776	26 Ser. Cornelius Cethegus L. Visellius Varro	26 Cethegus and Varus
4737	CCI.	777	27 M. Asinius Agrippa Cossus Cornelius Lentulus	27 Agrippa the second time and Lentulus Galbus
4738	„ 1 „ 2	778	28 C. Calvisius Sabinus Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Getulicus	28 Getulicus and Sabinus
4739	„ 3	779	29 M. Licinius Crassus L. Calpurnius Piso	29 Crassus and Piso
4740	„ 4	780	30 App. Junius Silanus Silius Nerva	30 Silanus and Nerva

Chap. 23. — Here you perceive that there is a period of thirty years. I have, therefore, endeavoured carefully and accurately to give a list of the consulships, in order to show that nothing in the sacred doctrine of truth has been asserted contrary to fact. For who, when he reckons up this infallible succession of consuls, will not condemn those, who think that there is any discordance in the number of years stated by the Evangelists? Epiphanius then speaks of the absurdities of those earlier heretics, who called these thirty years thirty æons. After which, he proceeds thus: It is proved, that in the thirty-third year of his incarnation, the only Begotten, being impassible from above, God the word, having taken upon him our flesh, vouchsafed to suffer for us, that he might destroy the handwriting of death, which was contrary to us. For, after that consulship designated in his thirtieth year, there was another consulship, called that of the two Gemini, then another consulship of Rufus and Rubellio;* and thus, another consulship intervening after the consulship of Rubellio, finally came that of Vinicius and Longinus Cassius, so called, in which the Saviour suffered, on the 13th before the calends of April (March 20th). Thus the error of them all is detected, the doctrine according to truth being clearly shown, that a period not only of two, but also of three passovers, is contained in the Gospels.

* If the reader will turn back to the chapter on the succession of consuls, he will see the origin of this gross mistake. The consulship of L. Rubellius Geminus and C. Fufius Geminus, familiarly called that of the two Gemini, and by Tacitus that of Rubellius and Fufius, is called in the Fasti of Idatius, "Rufo et Rubellione," and in the Greek catalogue of the Chronicon Paschale is divided as Epiphanius has divided it, into two successive consulships, the one Geminus and Geminus, the other Rufus and Rubellinus.

Chap 24.—For, as he was born about the month of January, that is eight days before the ides of January (Jan. 6th) which is, according to the Egyptians, the eleventh of Tybi; according to the Syrians and Greeks, the sixth of Audynæus; according to the Cypriots or Salaminians, the fifth day of the fifth month; according to the Paphians, the fourteenth day of Julus; according to the Arabs, the twenty-first of Aleom; according to the Cappadocians, the thirteenth of Atartas; according to the Hebrews, the thirteenth of Tebeth; according to the Athenians, the sixth of Mamacterion; he passed through the aforesaid full twenty-nine consulships; and in the thirtieth consulship, that is to say about the tenth month, he came to John, and was baptized in the river Jordan in the thirtieth year of his birth, in the flesh, that is, according to the Egyptians, the twelfth of Athyr (November 8th), six days before the ides of November, (November 13th); according to the Greeks, the eighth of Dios; according to the Salaminians or Constantians, the sixth of the third Choiak; according to the Paphians, the sixteenth of Apogonistos; according to the Arabs, the twenty-second of Angalthabaith; according to the Macedonians, the sixteenth of Apellæus; according to the Cappadocians, the fifteenth of Aratatas; according to the Athenians, the seventh of Metageitnion; according to the Hebrews, the seventh of Maresvan. As the holy Gospel according to St. Luke bears me witness, when it says, 'Jesus began to be about thirty years of age, being (as was supposed) the son of Joseph.' And beginning from this twelfth of Athyr (November 8th) *he preached the acceptable year of the Lord* as the prophet Isaiah had foretold.[1]

Chap. 25.—For he truly preached the acceptable, that is to say, the ungainsaid year. The first year after the thirtieth year of his coming in the flesh, he preached, and all received him with favour. Neither the Jews, nor the Gentiles, nor the Samaritans, spoke against him, but all heard him gladly. In this year he went up to Jerusalem, after his baptism, and passing through the forty days of his temptation, choosing his disciples, returning from his temptation to Jordan, crossing the sea of Tiberias, and going to Nazareth, he went up openly to Jerusalem, and in the midst of the feast cried, saying, 'If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink.'[2] In this manner he departed to Nazareth, to Judæa, to Samaria, and to the borders of Tyre. When this first year was ended, he again went up to Jerusalem, and now at last they sought to take him at the feast, but were afraid. In respect to this feast it was that he said, 'I go not down to this feast.' He told no falsehood. God forbid! For in the midst of the feast he came, says the Evangelist, and went up to Jerusalem. And they said, Is not this he whom they seek to take? Yet behold he speaketh boldly. Have the priests indeed learned that this is the Christ? But we know whence this man is. They knew not what he said, because he conversed with his brethren mystically and spiritually. For he said to them that he would not go up in that feast into the Temple, nor at that time unto the cross to perfect the economy of his passion and the mystery of salvation, and to arise from the dead and ascend into Heaven. All which things he fulfilled by his own power. After these things, having completed the space of two years from his baptism and his birth, from the month of November and the month of January, or thereabouts, finally in the thirty-third year of his incarnate economy, after he had passed the two consulships of which we have spoken, namely, of the two Gemini, and of Rufus and Rubellio, in the third month of the third consulship, after January and February in the month of March, the Impassible Word completed the mystery of the passion, having suffered in the flesh for us. And yet he remained in his impassibility, as Peter says, Being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the spirit.[1]

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[1] Cap. lxi. 1, 2.

[2] John vii. 37.

Chap. 26.—He suffered on the thirteenth, before the calends of April [March 20th], when they had passed over one evening, that is in the fourteenth midnight of the moon. For they anticipated and ate the passover, as the Gospel saith, and as we have often said, two days before the proper time of eating it, that is on the third day [Tuesday] at evening, whereas it ought to have been on the fifth day [Thursday] at evening. Thus the fifth [Thursday] was the fourteenth day of the moon. But it was taken together on the same third [Tuesday] at evening, which was the eleventh night of the moon, sixteen days before the calends of April. The fourth [Wednesday] was the twelfth night, the fifteenth before the calends of April. The fifth [Thursday] the thirteenth day and the fourteenth night, the fourteenth before the calends of April. The Prosabbaton or Parasceve [Friday] the fourteenth night, the fourteenth [thirteenth?] before the calends of April. The Sabbath [Saturday] the fifteenth day, the twelfth before the calends of April. The dawning towards the Lord's day, the fifteenth night, which was the illumination of Hades and of earth, and of Heaven, and of the night and of day, on account of the fifteenth of the moon and the course of the sun, and because the resurrection and the equinox were on the eleventh before the calends of April. By which (equinox) being deceived, they made a mistake of one day, as I have before said. Now there is a slight calculation of some hours, which in three years amounts to a difference of one day. For after three hundred and fifty-four days, there are added in the course of the moon other four (eight?) hours each year; so that after three years they make one day. Wherefore in fourteen years are completed five embolismic months; because, from the course of the sun of three hundred and sixty-five days and three hours is taken one hour, so that finally, by adding the hours, there are made three hundred and sixty-five days excepting one hour. Hence then fourteen years multiplied by six, make eighty-four years, and in the eighty-fifth year they insert one month. Thus there are thirty-one months in eighty-five years, when, according to accurate calculation, there are thirty-one months, twenty-four days, and three hours.

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[1] 1 Pet. iii. 18.

Chap. 27.—On this account, making then a mistake, they introduced confusion, not only by anticipating the time, and eating the passover two days too soon; but also, passing over one day, they made a mistake in every way. But the economy of the truth acted for our salvation most accurately in all respects. Whence the Saviour himself, having completed the passover, went out to the mountain after he had eaten, having greatly desired it,[1] and there ate the passover of the Jews with his disciples, doing nothing else than what was equally done by others, that he might fulfil, and not destroy the law. Thus, when he had passed over thirty years, when he was baptized, and, after the thirtieth year, had preached, in the fullest manner the acceptable year of the Lord, no one opposing him; and another year, in which he was opposed, and persecuted, and hated; and after another year, exceeding from the the day of his nativity, that is, of the Epiphany, which falls on the 6th of January, the 11th of Tybi, according to the Egyptians, seventy-four days in all, as I before said [Jan. 31—5=26, Feb. 28 March 20=74], unto the 13th before the calends of April, the 25th of Phamenoth, according to the Egyptians [March 20th], he completed thirty-two solid years and seventy-four days from the Epiphany; and rising, according to the Egyptians, on the 26th of Phamenoth [March 22], which was the equinox, the 11th before the calends of April, that all might be found liars who were not the sons of truth.[1]

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[1] St. Luke xxii. 15.

In condensing this testimony of Epiphanius, which, in the edition of Petavius, occupies more than twenty folio pages, I have endeavoured both to do justice to the author, and also to diminish, as much as possible, the weariness of the reader. The passage is in itself so remarkable, that I feared to omit any part even of those calculations in which he appears to have been most inaccurate. I confess that I have not at all times comprehended his meaning. I am not sure, therefore, that my translation is correct, and am more especially doubtful with regard to the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh chapters. They have been, according to the best of my judgment, literally translated; and I have sought to render them more intelligible, by occasionally inserting between brackets, such explanatory words as seemed to me necessary to complete the sense. I cannot but think that some errors have crept into the numbers, which in the original text are represented by letters, from the carelessness, or ignorance, or presumption, of transcribers. This will be made apparent by a slight calculation. Epiphanius makes the solar year to consist of 365 days and three, not six, hours. The lunar, he says, contains 354 days and four, not eight, hours; which four hours, he further says, make, in the course of three years, one day. If he reckons twenty-four hours to the day, the number must be eight, and not four. But, not to dwell on this, if from the solar year, as stated by him, 365 days 3 hours, we deduct the lunar year, which, according to the present text, consists of 354 days 4 hours, there will remain a difference of 10 days 23 hours, or eleven days wanting one hour. This remainder multiplied by fourteen, gives an amount in fourteen years of 153 days and 10 hours. Five embolismic monhts, of thirty days each, according to the Greek mode of intercalation, amount to 150 days, leaving three days and ten hours to be provided for, in order to adjust his lunar to his solar year. In the course of eighty-four years, or 14 × 6, these three days and ten hours amount to twenty days and twelve hours. Add to these, for the eighty-fifth year, ten days and twenty-three hours, and you have thirty-one days and eleven hours. By adding another embolismic month of thirty days in the eighty-fifth year, there still remain one day and eleven hours, in order to adjust the lunar and solar reckoning. Consequently in eighty-five years, there would be, as Epiphanius states, thirty-one embolismic months; but, according to the numbers of the text, as it now stands, there remain thirty-five hours only, and not twenty-four days and three hours, as there stated.

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[1] Epiphan. Adv. Hær. lib. ii. Hær. xxxi. seu li. c. viii.—xxvii. Ed. Petav. Paris, 1622, fol. tom i. pp. 429 to 449.

With these remarks, I leave the subject to the consideration of others better informed than myself. Though in itself curious and interesting to those engaged in astronomical researches, it is not essential to the present inquiry, excepting in so far as it shows that Epiphanius was governed by his own astronomical computations, in his attempt to fix the date of our Lord's passion.

There is one passage more from the writings of this author, which it seems proper to quote. It occurs in the treatise on weights and measures. He is giving a chronological list of the Roman emperors.

"Augustus lvi. years, in whose forty-second year our Lord Jesus Christ was born according to the flesh.

"Tiberius xxiii. years, in whose eighteenth year Christ was crucified."[1]

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[1] Lib. de Ponder. et Mensur. Ed. Petav. tom. ii. p. 169.

CHAPTER V.

CONSIDERATIONS ON THE PRECEDING TESTIMONY.

Why confined to Greek writers.—Their embarrassment as to the duration of our Lord's ministry renders their testimony as to his death more valuable.—Eusebius and Epiphanius the first of the Greek fathers who departed from the received opinion.—Eusebius governed by calculation, not testimony.—His mistakes.—Epiphanius in like manner governed by computation.—Differs from Eusebius.—His errors.—Supernatural darkness at our Saviour's passion.—Phlegon.—The subject reserved for the next chapter.

THE Latin Christian writers being so perfectly accordant in their testimony as to the day, month, and year, of our Saviour's death, and the day and month of his birth; it seems unnecessary to make any further remarks on them. Among the Greek writers, although their means of information were not as great as those of the Latins, there is yet a surprising harmony as to the date of our Lord's passion. They were evidently embarrassed by what they considered as a necessary consequence, that he began and terminated his ministry in the fifteenth year of Tiberius; but this, in fact, renders their testimony the more valuable, because it was a reluctant submission to the traditive testimony of the Church Catholic. With regard to the date of our Saviour's birth, it would seem, from the language of St. Clemens Alexandrinus, that there was more vagueness of opinion; although the Greek Church, from a very early period, appears to have celebrated the nativity, the adoration of the Magi, and the baptism of our Lord, as having all taken place on the 6th of January. Whether the early practice of the Chaldæan, and other eastern Christians, was the same, I am unable to say; but certain it is, that the Greek Church, and the oriental Christians generally, at a later period adopted the practice of the Latins, and celebrated the nativity on the 25th of December. As this is a subject which deserves to be more minutely considered, I reserve it for a separate chapter, and proceed now to consider the testimony of Eusebius and Epiphanius, the first of the Greek fathers who departed from the received opinion, that our Saviour suffered on the 25th of March, in the consulship of the two Gemini.

It has been already observed, that the calculations of Eusebius are evidently erroneous. Without dwelling upon the inaccuracy of dating by years only, without attending to months and days, it is to be observed, in the first place, that the eleventh year of Augustus, and the first of Herod, are made to synchronize. In counting the years of Augustus, Eusebius committed the error of considering the monarchy as established by Julius Cæsar; and, therefore, he computed the reign of Augustus from the death of his uncle. But Julius Cæsar was killed on the 15th of March, in the year of the Julian period 4669, the first year of his reformed calendar, towards the close of the 708th year of Rome, and in the third year of the 183d olympiad. Eusebius places that event in the second year of the 184th olympiad, which would bring it down to March A.J.P. 4672, the 711th year of Rome, and the fourth of Cæsar's reformed calendar. He thus makes the date of that event three years too late.

The first year of the reign of Augustus he makes coëval with the third year of the 184th olympiad, the 710th year of Rome, the 1974th year of Abraham, the eighth of Cleopatra, and the twenty-fifth of the Jewish high-priest Hyrcanus. Without considering the year of Abraham or the reigns of Cleopatra and Hyrcanus, which would lead to investigations remote from our subject, we will examine only the other synchronisms. As to the year of Rome, he is not much out of the way. Though Augustus did not succeed Julius Cæsar in the monarchy, he entered on his first consulship August 19th, A.U.C. 710, in the second year of Cæsar's reformed calendar; but this was at the beginning of the first year of the 184th olympiad, and not at the third, as stated by Eusebius.

Counting from the 19th of August of that year, the eleventh year of Augustus would commence on the 19th of August A.U.C. 720, the twelfth year of Cæsar's reformed calendar, and the 4680th year of the Julian period. This would be in the second month of the third year of the 186th olympiad; whereas, according to Eusebius, it began in the first year of the 187th olympiad.

It has been seen, that the appointment of Herod by the Roman Senate to be king of Judæa, took place about the twentieth day of

July, A.J.P. 4673, A.U.C. 713, just at the beginning of the fourth year of the 184th olympiad; and that he reigned nearly thirty-seven years from that date, having died about the 21st of March, or one month before the close of the 749th year of Rome, A.J.P. 4710, and in the fourth year of the 193d olympiad. But Eusebius places the first year of Herod's reign in the 720th year of Rome and the first year of the 187th Olympiad; and the last year of his reign, in the 756th year of Rome and the first year of the 196th olympiad. He, therefore, has brought down the whole reign of Herod nine or ten years too late on the scale of time. He has given correctly the greatest number of years of Herod's reign stated by Josephus, equally his authority and ours; and yet, with the work of Josephus in his hands, has committed the unaccountable oversight of not distinguishing the two epochs of that reign, so clearly established by the historian; first, from his appointment by the Romans, and secondly, from the capture of Jerusalem and the death of Antigonus. Hence, he has placed the appointment of Ananelus as high-priest in the first year of Herod's reign, and the first year of the 187th olympiad. But Herod never appointed any high-priest, till, by the death of Antigonus, the Asmonæan dynasty became extinct. According to Josephus, Antigonus was put to death in the month of June, A.J.P. 4676, A.U.C. 716, towards the close of the second year of the 185th olympiad;[1] and in the course of a few months after that event, Herod invited Ananelus to come to him from Babylon, and conferred upon him the high-priesthood.[2]

Having thus placed the reign of Herod nine or ten years too late, making its thirty-seventh year to synchronize with the year of Rome 756, and the first year of the 196th olympiad, Eusebius supposes the first year of Archelaus to agree with the second year of the 196th Olympiad and the 757th year of Rome. He, therefore considers all obstacles removed, and places the birth of Christ in the year of Rome 751, which is too late, and in the thirty-second year of Herod, the sixth year before his death, which is too early,

One error in computation leads to another. We shall find, if I mistake not, that this error as to the birth of Christ, proceeded from an error in computing the time of our Saviour's passion.

Augustus died on the 19th day of August, the same day in which he entered on his first consulship; consequently, from August 19th, A.U.C. 710, to August 19th, A.U.C. 766, were exactly fifty-six years, as reckoned by Eusebius. The only inaccuracy is that, in point of fact, the death of Augustus took place at the beginning of the first, and not at the end of the second, year of the 198th olympiad; consequently, the accession of Tiberius took place at the same time, or about two years before the third year of that olympiad with which it is made coeval by Eusebius. The fifteenth year of Tiberius began on the 19th of August, A.U.C. 780, the second month of the third year of the 201st olympiad, and ended the 18th of August, the second month in the fourth year of the same olympiad. In like manner, the nineteenth year of Tiberius, in which Eusebius placed our Lord's passion, began August 19, A.U.C. 784, early in the third year of the 202d olympiad; and, therefore, according to his hypothesis, our Saviour suffered at the Passover in the spring following, that is, towards the close of the year of Rome 784, in the consulship of Sulpicius Galba and Sulla Felix, in the seventy-seventh year of Cæsar's reformed calendar, and the 4745th year of the Julian period. Deduct from this, thirty-four years, and we are brought back to the year 4711 of the Julian period, or the 751st year of Rome after the Parilia, as the date of our Saviour's birth, according to the computation of Eusebius. It is plain, therefore, that Eusebius pursued precisely the same method of computation which we are now pursuing; that is, he established what he conceived to be the year of our Saviour's passion; and this he did, first by counting forward four Passovers from the fifteenth year of Tiberius, because he took St. Luke's account of the year of our Lord's baptism to mean the fifteenth of the sole reign of that emperor, and by comparing the evangelists, he found that his ministry must have embraced three Passovers before that of his passion. He then counted backward thirty years from the beginning of his ministry to the year of his birth.

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[1] Antiq. lib. xiv. c. 16, and lib. xv. c. 1.

[2] Jos. ut sup. lib. xv. c. 2, § 4.

A passage in the tenth chapter of the first book of his ecclesiastical history, shows beyond a doubt that such was his method.

After stating that Jesus, according to the evangelist, was baptized and began his ministry, in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, he quotes the expression of St. Luke, "Annas and Caïaphas being the high-priests,"[1] as a proof that the ministry of our Lord extended from the high-priesthood of Annas to that of Caïaphas, which he makes to be somewhat short of four years. For the ordinances of the law having been abolished, the hereditary succession and preservation of the high-priesthood for life, was done away, and the Roman governors appointed one after another to the high-priesthood, allowing to each not more than one year. He then quotes Josephus, in proof of the fact that there were four high-priests in succession from Annas to Caïaphas. For Valerius Gratus having deprived Ananus (or Annas), Ishmael the son of Baphi was promoted. Soon after Eleazar, the son of the high-priest Ananus, was substituted for him. At the expiration of a year, Simon the son of Camithus received the high-priesthood. He also, not having held the dignity more than one year, was succeeded by Joseph, called Caïaphas. It is manifest, therefore, that the whole time of our Saviour's ministry, was of four high-priests in four years, from Annas to Caïaphas, and that Caïaphas was high-priest in the same year in which our Saviour suffered. The Scripture, therefore, he says, is in harmony with his preceding observations.

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[1] Chap. iii. v. 2.

Such being the origin of the whole scheme of Eusebius, let us now proceed to examine the passage of Josephus on which it is founded. It occurs in the eighteenth book of his Antiquities.

Cyrenius, or Quirinius, having confiscated the treasures of Archelaus, proceeded to depose the high priest Joazar, and to appoint in his stead Ananus, the son of Seth. This took place, Josephus says, in the thirty-seventh year after Cæsar's victory at Actium; and, being after the banishment of Archelaus, must have occurred in the months of July or August; because, with the second of September, began the thirty-eighth from that victory. Ananus continued to hold the office during the remainder of the reign of Augustus, having been deprived of the pontificate by Valerius Gratus, who was appointed procurator of Judæa in the first year of Tiberius. Ananus, therefore, held the office nearly eight years.

In the place of Ananus, Valerius Gratus appointed Ishmael, the son of Phabi; but a short time after deposed him, and appointed in his stead Eleazar, the son of Ananus. He held the office one year, when Valerius deposed him also, and gave the high-priesthood to Simon, the son of Camithus. At the expiration of another year, Simon was deposed, and Joseph, surnamed Caïaphas, appointed. Thus, between the deposition of Ananus, and the appointment of Caïaphas, less than three years intervened; and it is impossible to assign a later date for the appointment of Caïaphas, than the autumn of the year 4730 of the Julian period, the close of the fourth or beginning of the fifth year of Tiberius. Caïaphas continued to hold the office of high-priest during the whole of Pilate's administration; for, it was not until Vitellius had come to Jerusalem at the passover, which immediately preceded the death of Tiberius, that we read the following account in Josephus: "He (Vitellius) removed the high-priest Joseph, who was called Caïaphas from the high-priesthood, and appointed Jonathan, the son of Ananus the former high-priest to succeed him."[1] It is evident, therefore, that Caïaphas held the high-priesthood between eighteen and nineteen years, from the 4730th to the 4748th year of the Julian period, or according to the common Christian æra, from A.D. 17 to A.D. 35. The basis on which the computation of Eusebius rested being thus taken away, the superstructure falls of course.

The passage extracted from the Chronicon of Eusebius, contains a still more remarkable instance of careless quotation from Josephus. After speaking of our Saviour's ministry as extending three years after the fifteenth of Tiberius, so as to bring his crucifixion to the nineteenth year, he says: "About these times, Josephus relates that in the days of Pentecost, a commotion and noise attracted the attention of the priests, and then a sudden voice was heard from the Holy of Holies, saying, Let us depart hence." About what times? Surely not about the times of our Saviour's ministry or crucifixion. The words of Josephus occur in his account of the destruction of the Temple by the Romans.[2] If Eusebius observed this, the passage was irrelevant to his subject; if he did not, and adduced it as a proof that our Saviour suffered in the nineteenth year of Tiberius, he has committed an anachronism of thirty-seven or thirty-eight years; for the prodigies related by Josephus, occurred at the feast of Pentecost, in the second year of Vespasian.

The fame of Eusebius as an ecclesiastical historian, has occasioned great deference to be paid to his authority; but I have had occasion several times to speak of the difference between accuracy of facts and accuracy of dates. In common with other ancient historians, Eusebius has often committed errors, respecting the date of events preceding his own times, from the variety of æras used, and the imperfect state of astronomical and chronological science. In the present case, however, his errors both as to facts and dates, were occasioned not by conflicting authorities, but by erroneous computations. He departed from established authorities, in order to reconcile difficulties; and by choosing a wrong way of doing this, increased the confusion.

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[1] Jos. Antiq. lib. xviii. c. 2, § 1, 2, comp. with c. 4, § 3.

[2] De Bel. Jud. lib. vi. c. 5.

If Eusebius committed mistakes, it can occasion no surprise to persons conversant with the writings of Epiphanius, that he should be entangled in a still more inextricable labyrinth. His learning was greater than his judgment, and his honesty much stronger than his powers of conception or discrimination.

Like Eusebius, he places the birth of Christ in the forty-second year of Augustus, that is in the fifteenth year before the death of that Emperor; but he makes this to be the thirty-third year of Herod, whereas, Eusebius makes it the thirty-second year of that prince. He places the visit of the Magi in the thirty-fifth year of Herod, or two years later, and the return from Egypt two years later still. All this is evidently mere computation from the narrative of St. Matthew. It is liable to the same objections which have been already advanced respecting the computation of Eusebius, and which need not therefore be repeated.

His date of the baptism of our Lord, is, I think, peculiar to him. At least, I know of no Christian writer, before, or after him, who supposes it to have taken place on the eighth of November.

He differs from Eusebius as to the duration of our Lord's ministry, which he makes to have been two years and seventy-four days, comprehending three passovers. The crucifixion, he says, was in the eighteenth year of Tiberius, while Eusebius places it in the nineteenth. His gross mistake as to the consuls, has been already pointed out. Our Lord's passion, he says, occurred on the twentieth of March, in the consulship of Vinicius and Longinus Cassius. But on referring to the tables, it will be seen that Lucius Cassius Longinus, and Marcus Vinicius Quartinus were consuls in the year which immediately followed that of Lucius Rubellius Geminus and Caius Fufius Geminus; and consequently, was in the sixteenth, not the eighteenth year of Tiberius.

He was embarrassed by the argument from prophecy of the older Greek writers, to prove that our Saviour's ministry was only for one year, because that was the acceptable year of the Lord. In order to escape from it, he invented the untenable hypothesis, that in the first year of his ministry no one opposed him; that in the second he was opposed, persecuted and hated; and that after seventy-four days of the third, he was crucified. To maintain this, he violates the testimony of St. John, referring chap. vii. 37 of his Gospel to a feast in the first year, and the 8th, 25th, and 26th verses of the same chapter to a feast in the second year.

His astronomical computations, by which he makes our Saviour rise on the day of the vernal equinox, are so extremely erroneous, that I do not think it necessary to take up the reader's time or my own in refuting them. I pass on, therefore, to speak of the supernatural darkness at the time of our Saviour's passion.

In the extract given from the Chronicon of Eusebius, after speaking of the nineteenth year of Tiberius, as that in which our Lord came to his passion, the historian adds: "About which time, we have also found it related in other Greek commentaries, that the sun was eclipsed." He then quotes a passage from Phlegon, a heathen writer, whose testimony he produces for the purpose of fortifying his computation that our Saviour was crucified in that year. It is important, therefore, that we should consider this testimony; and, as it is attended with some difficulties, it seemed proper not to give it a mere passing notice, but to reserve it to be treated of in a separate chapter.

CHAPTER VI.

PHLEGON THE TRALLIAN.

Who Phlegon was.—His work lost.—Extracts from it by Julius Africanus and Eusebius.—Their works containing these extracts also lost.—All we know is from versions and later writers.—Collation of extracts as given by the Armenian version of the Chronicon of Eusebius, St. Jerome's Latin version, the Chronographia of Syncellus, and the Chronicon Paschale.—Extract by Syncellus from Julius Africanus.—Remarks upon it.—Testimony of Origen concerning Phlegon's account—of John Philoponus—St. Maximus—Malala.—Summary of the whole.—Amount of Phlegon's testimony-not noticed by the learned and voluminous writers of the fourth and fifth centuries, when they speak of the darkness at our Lord's passion.—Dr. Lardner's judgment adopted.

According to Suidas, Phlegon was a freedman of Augustus Cæsar, or, as others say, of Adrian. He wrote the Olympiads in sixteen books, containing an account of transactions everywhere, (or a universal history) down to the 229th olympiad, that is down to the middle of the year 137 of the common Christian æra. Photius says decidedly that he was a freedman of Adrian, and that he brought down his work (as he himself says) to the times of that emperor. Photius adds that he had read to the 177th olympiad, or the first five books.[1] From these expressions it would seem that, even in the time of Photius, the remainder of the work was lost; and now the whole, a few fragments excepted, is no longer extant. Julius Africanus and Eusebius made extracts from these other books; and hence it appears that they must have perished between the fourth and the ninth centuries. The original text both of Julius Africanus and Eusebius have since shared the same fate. All that we know, therefore, is from versions and short extracts made by later writers. These differ materially in their dates; and that the English reader may have a clear view of these discrepancies, and know the precise amount of testimony given, I shall place side by side translations from the Armenian and Latin versions of the Chronicon of Eusebius, and the Greek text as exhibited by Syncellus, and the Chronicon Paschale.

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[1] Biblioth. Art. xcvii. p. 266-7.

From the Armenian Text of the Chronicon of Eusebius.	From the Latin Version of St. Jerom of the Chronicon of Eusebius.	Extract from the Chronicon of Eusebius in the Chronographia of Syncellus.	Account of our Lord's Passion in the Chronicon Paschale.
Phlegon also, who has made a treatise on the olympiads from their very beginning, writes, in his thirteenth book, in the following words: "In the fourth year of the CCIII. olympiad, there was a great eclipse of the sun, a greater than which no one had ever known, so that it became night at the sixth hour, and stars were seen in the heavens. There was an earthquake in Bithynia, and a great part of Nice was destroyed.[1]	Phlegon also writes concerning these things, the excellent calculator of the olympiads, saying thus in his thirteenth book: In the fourth year of the CCII. olympiad, a great eclipse of the sun took place, surpassing all which had happened before it. The day, at the sixth hour, was turned into a very dark night, so that stars were seen in the heavens, and an earthquake in Bithynia overturned many houses in the city of Nice.[2]	Phlegon also, the author [calculator] of the olympiads, writes concerning the same things in his thirteenth book, in these words: In the fourth year of the CCII. olympiad, happened an eclipse of the sun, greater than all which had been known before; and night took place at the sixth hour of the day, so that stars appeared in the heavens. A great earthquake also throughout Bithynia overthrew many parts of Nice. [3]	The sun was darkened through the whole world from the sixth hour; concerning which darkness, Dionysius the Areopagite speaks, &c. And the pagan writers most undoubtedly speak of this year, &c. especially Phlegon the collector of the olympiads. For he says thus in his thirteenth book: In the fourth year of the CCII. olympiad, happened an eclipse of the sun, the greatest which had ever been known. And night took place at the sixth hour of the day, so that the stars appeared in the heavens. A great earthquake also happened in Bithynia, and overturned many parts of Nice.[4]

The Chronicon Paschale does not indeed expressly quote Eusebius as the source from which the above extract is taken, but to any one who compares it with the extract in Syncellus, there can be no doubt of their identity. There is indeed no variation in sense, excepting that the Armenian version reads the fourth year of the two hundred and third olympiad, whereas the Greek text in Syncellus, and the Chronicon Paschale, and St. Jerome's version, all read the fourth year of the two hundred and second olympiad. The latter, therefore, is most probably the true reading.

But on examining other writers, we find the testimony of Phlegon very differently represented.

Syncellus has given an extract from the history of Julius Africanus, "concerning the events which accompanied the passion and resurrection of our Saviour," which I think it important to give somewhat at large, in order to show the connexion of the testimony of Phlegon with his subject, and the use he himself made of it.

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[1] Euseb. Chron. ex Armen. textu, Ven. 1818, tom. ii. p. 265-6.

[2] S. Hieronymi Opera, ed. Vallarsii, tom. viii. par. 1, Eusebii Chronicon.

[3] G. Syncellus Chron. ed. Paris, 1652, p. 324, 325.

[4] Chron. Pasch. ed. Paris, p. 219, also p. 222.

"A fearful darkness overspread the whole world. The rocks were rent by an earthquake, and many places of Judæa, and the rest of that region, were thrown down. This darkness, Thallus, in the third book of his history, calls an eclipse of the sun; but, as it appears to me, without reason. For the Hebrews celebrate the passover on the fourteenth of the moon; and before the first day of the passover [πρὸ δὲ μιᾶς τοῦ πάσχα] the events concerning the Saviour happened. But an eclipse of the sun takes place when the moon passes under the sun. It is impossible, therefore, that it should happen at any other time than between the first day [scil. of the moon] and the day before it, according to this conjunction. How then could it be accounted an eclipse, when the moon was diametrically opposite to the sun? But admitting this, as being by the multitude assumed to be a fact, and that this world's wonder be considered, at least in appearance, as an eclipse of the sun, Phlegon relates that under Tiberius Cæsar, at the full of the moon, a total eclipse of the sun took place from the sixth to the ninth hour. Manifestly this very same. But what communication is there between an earthquake and an eclipse, between the rending of rocks and the resurrection of the dead, and all this movement of the world? In a very long period of time, such a thing is never recorded to have happened. It was rather a darkness appointed of God, because the Lord underwent his suffering; and reason requires that the seventy weeks in the book of Daniel reach down to this time."

Africanus then proceeds to compute the seventy weeks of years as follows: "From Artaxerxes to the time of Christ, the seventy weeks are completed according to the Jewish computation. For from Nehemiah, who was sent by Artaxerxes to govern Jerusalem, in the one hundred and twentieth year of the dominion of the Persians, which was the twentieth year of Artaxerxes and the fourth year of the eighty-third olympiad, to these times, which were the second year of the two hundred and second olympiad, and the sixteenth year of the government of Tiberius Cæsar, are reckoned 475 years, which make 490 Hebrew years, because they compute their years according to the lunar month. This it is easy to show of 29½ days, because the revolution of the solar year, consisting of 365¼ days, exceeds twelve lunar months by 11¼ days. On this account, both Greeks and Jews insert three embolismic months in eight years; for eight times eleven and a quarter make three months. Four hundred and seventy-five years, therefore, make fifty-nine octaëterides and three months [years?]; so that in each octaëteride [or period of eight years] there being three embolismic months, the whole amounts to fifteen years; and these being added to four hundred and seventy-five years, the seventy weeks are obtained."*

After pursuing this train of calculation for some time, he finally sums up the whole as follows: "It appears, therefore, that from the twentieth year of the reign of Artaxerxes, which was, according to the Greeks, the fourth year of the eighty [third] olympiad, to the sixteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar, which was the second year of the two hundred and second olympiad, are summed up the aforesaid four hundred and seventy-five years, which amount, according to the Hebrews, to four hundred and ninety years, that is seventy weeks, as the coming of Christ was foretold by Gabriel to Daniel."[1]

In this passage, Africanus maintains that the darkness at the crucifixion was supernatural, and that the events which accompanied it had not the remotest connexion with an eclipse. But even admitting it to have been an eclipse, you have Phlegon for a witness that it was at the full moon, and lasted three hours. Phlegon, therefore, manifestly wrote of the darkness at our Saviour's passion in the sixteenth year of Tiberius and the second year of the 202d olympiad.

In a former chapter, treating of the testimony of Africanus, the opinion was expressed that St. Jerome's version of this passage, which reads the *fifteenth* and not the *sixteenth* year of Tiberius, was

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* Though the subject of the seventy weeks of Daniel does not come within the scope of our present argument, it may be observed in passing, that the calculation of Africanus seems to be as follows: 59 octaëterides multiplied by three, the number of embolismic months in each, make 177 months. To these he added the three months which, as he says, remained in 475 years over 59 octaëterides, and the sum amounts to 180 months, or 15 years. But this calculation is evidently erroneous. The remainder after dividing 475 years by 8, is three *years*, not three *months*. His position is, that 475 solar years are equal to 490 lunar years. But its incorrectness may be clearly shown in another way. Taking the length of the mean tropical or solar year to be 365d. 5h. 48′ 49″, and the lunar year of 12 months of 29d. 12h. 44′ 3″ = 354d. 8h. 15′ 16″, the difference between 475 solar years and 490 lunar years will be as follows:

490 lunar years are equal to - - -	173,628d. 12h. 40′ 40″
475 solar years are equal to - - - -	173,490d. 1h. 27′ 56″
Showing that 475 solar fall short of 490 lunar years	138d. 11h. 12′ 44″

[1] Syncellus, ed. Par. p. 322-324; Routh's Reliquiæ, vol. ii. p. 183-190

to be preferred to the original text, as represented by Syncellus. To the reasons there given (see p. 395) I must now add, that as in most manuscripts numbers are expressed only in letters, the ignorance or carelessness of transcribers has often occasioned many mistakes and great uncertainty. Where a large number of copies of any work exist, the skilful critic is generally enabled to discover the true reading merely by collating them; but those works of which there are but few copies preserved, often present inextricable difficulties, from which the timid critic shrinks, and through which the bold critic cuts his way.

In the passage under consideration, if, as is most probable, Africanus meant to assert that the testimony of Phlegon coincided with the consulship of the two Gemini, which would bring the eclipse he describes and the passion of our Lord to the spring of the fifteenth year of Tiberius, then he erred in regard to the olympiad. For the months of March or April, in which alone the passion could have taken place, were in the third year of the 201st olympiad. And even if we read the sixteenth year of Tiberius, there is still an insurmountable difficulty in his statement, because the spring of that year would be in the fourth year of the 201st, and not in the second year of the 202nd olympiad.

If the words "at the full of the moon," and "from the sixth to the ninth hour," which Africanus has ascribed to Phlegon, were really his, we should all, I think, come to the conclusion of Africanus, that by his great eclipse of the sun, Phlegon meant the supernatural darkness of the crucifixion. A writer on the universal history of each olympiad, a heathen, writing in the second century of the times of Tiberius Cæsar, and a native of Tralles, a city of Lydia in Asia Minor, would certainly, if he had used such language, be considered as affording most triumphant testimony to the truth of the gospel history. And if his dates were erroneous or uncertain, from the causes which affect those of all ancient writers, we should not hesitate to adjust the dates to the facts recorded. But these words are wanting in the extract made by Eusebius, and are attributed to him only by Africanus. And what is still more to our point,—because it is not merely negative testimony,—Origen expressly asserts that Phlegon said nothing of his eclipse having taken place at the full moon. In his 35th tract on St. Matthew, he comments diffusely on chap. xxvii. 35; but the substance of his observations may be given in a few words. The calumniators of the Gospel deny the credibility of a universal darkness for three hours; first, because there could be no eclipse of the sun at the full of the moon; and, secondly, because it would have been noticed, not only by Christian authors, but by Greeks and barbarians, especially the writers of history. *And even Phlegon himself, who has written in his Chronicles that such an event did take place in the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, did not give us to understand that it took place at the full of the moon.*[1]

To all this, Origen replies, that the evangelists say nothing about an eclipse of the sun, but mention only an extraordinary darkness, and that this darkness, as well as the other prodigies at the time of our Saviour's passion, was over Jerusalem only, or at most, over the land of Judæa. We have not the original Greek, and the Latin translation is obscure and badly written; but it is sufficient to show that Phlegon did not say, as Africanus, on the testimony of Syncellus, asserts, that the eclipse took place at the full of the moon.

If such was the language of Africanus, he must have quoted his author from recollection, and under the strong persuasion that Phlegon meant to speak of the extraordinary darkness of the crucifixion.

I proceed to mention other authors who have quoted this passage of Phlegon.

John Philoponus, a grammarian of Alexandria, who flourished early in the seventh century, says thus of Phlegon, in his work on the eternity of the world: "He [Phlegon] says that in the second year of the 202nd olympiad, there happened an eclipse of the sun greater than all which had been known before; and night took place at the sixth hour of the day, so that stars appeared in the heavens."[3] There is no important difference in the quotation here made, from that in Syncellus, extracted from the Chronicon of Eusebius, except that Philoponus reads the second instead of the fourth year of the 202nd olympiad.*

[1] Et Phlegon quidem in Chronicis suis scripsit, in principatu Tiberii Cæsaris factum, sed non significavit in luna plena hoc factum.—Origen, Op. ed. Ben. t. iii. p. 923.

[3] Philoponus, lib. ii. de Mundi Creatione cap. 21, apud Corderium Annot. on S. Dion Areop. tom. ii. p. 93.

* But Lardner produces another passage from the same author, in which he says that the eclipse happened in the *fourth* year of the 202nd olympiad. Testimonies of ancient heathens, c. xiii. Not having the work of Philoponus which is cited by Fabricius as being on the eternity of the world, I am unable to verify the quotations above given.

St. Maximus, who in the seventh century wrote scholia on the works of the pretended Dionysius the Areopagite, takes the following notice of Phlegon's work: "Phlegon also, the Gentile chronographer, in the thirteenth book of his chronography, at the two hundred and third olympiad, makes mention of this eclipse, saying that it happened in an unusual manner, but does not describe in what manner. Our Africanus also, in the fifth book of his chronographical writings, and Eusebius Pamphilus, in his work, make mention of the same eclipse."[1]

John of Antioch, surnamed Malala, who flourished, according to Cave, early in the seventh century, says in his chronography, "Our Lord Jesus Christ was crucified on the eighth before the calends of April, the 24th [25] of March, the moon being fourteen days old, at the sixth hour of the day, it being the day of preparation [Friday]. The sun was darkened, and darkness was upon the world. Concerning this darkness, the most wise Phlegon, the Athenian, wrote in his own narrative as follows: 'In the eighteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, there happened an eclipse of the sun, greater than any which had before taken place, and it was night at the sixth hour of the day, so that the stars appeared.'"[2]

On this testimony little need be said. Malala took the traditional date of our Lord's passion, the eighth before the calends of April, the twenty-fifth, and not the twenty-fourth, of March. But this belonged to the fifteenth, and not the eighteenth, year of Tiberius. Having rejected the idea of confining our Lord's ministry to one year, he placed his death in the eighteenth year of Tiberius, in the consulship, as he afterwards says, of Sulpicius and Sola. But Sulpicius and Sylla, or Sulla, as the name is differently written, were consuls in the nineteenth, and not in the eighteenth, year of Tiberius. How he could quote Phlegon as saying that his eclipse was in the eighteenth year of Tiberius, is not easy to conceive, unless we suppose that he quoted from recollection; for the consulship of Sulpicius Galba and Sulla Felix was in the fourth year of the two hundred and second olympiad. That he could not have read the work of Phlegon, is, I think, evident from the mistake of calling him an Athenian.

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[1] S. Maximi Scholia in S. Dionys. Areop. epist. vii. Opera, ed. Corderii, tom. ii. p. 97.

[2] Joan. Antioch, cognom. Malalæ Historia Chronica, Oxon, 1691, 8vo. p. 309-10.

Having thus laid before the reader all that is known of Phlegon, I proceed to state in a few words the amount of our information.

From the words of Photius I infer that in his time (cir. A.D. 858) no more of Phlegon's work was extant than to the 177th olympiad. He had read no further; and such a man as he would not have omitted the remainder if he had possessed it. In giving an account of his author, he states that Phlegon brought down his work to the time of Adrian, but cautiously adds "as he himself says," which he would not have done could he have stated the fact on his own knowledge.

All the quotations from Phlegon's thirteenth book, which have come down to us, relative to the eclipse, are by writers of the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, and they have evidently quoted at second hand. Some also have quoted inaccurately.

Even the quotations themselves, from Africanus of the third, and Eusebius of the fourth century, differ as to dates. The former, if I mistake not, meant to apply Phlegon's testimony to the fifteenth year of Tiberius, the latter to the nineteenth. In either case, to make the application correct, the dates of the olympiads must be adjusted. Phlegon must, in the former, have named the third year of the two hundred and first, not the second year of the two hundred and second olympiad, as the time of the supposed eclipse; in the latter, the third year of the two hundred and second olympiad. Yet some of the quotations carry it as low down as the fourth year of the two hundred and third olympiad, the year after that in which Tiberius died.

But what, after all, is the amount of Phlegon's testimony? He says that a very great and extraordinary eclipse of the sun happened at the sixth hour, that is, when the sun was on the meridian of the place in which it was observed. He does not name that place; but from his mentioning the earthquake as having happened in Bithynia, and that Nice, its principal city, suffered greatly, we are led to infer that the observation was made in that province. He mentions no circumstance which might not have taken place in a natural eclipse. In a total, or even annular eclipse, the stars would be visible at mid-day in a clear atmosphere. The earthquake is only mentioned as a coincidence; and, indeed, he does not say expressly that it was a coincidence. The earthquake may have happened before or after it. He does not mention the month or the season in which it happened. He says not a word of Judæa, and it is not reasonable to believe that he spake of its being at the full moon, or that he mentioned the darkness as continuing for three hours.

No notice is taken of Phlegon or his eclipse by any ancient Christian writer, excepting Africanus, Origen, and Eusebius. Neither St. Jerome, excepting in his translation of the Chronicon of Eusebius, nor St. Augustine, even when treating on the subject of the darkness at the crucifixion, nor St. Chrysostom, nor Theodoret, nor any other of the learned and voluminous writers of the fourth and fifth centuries, ever mention him.

I am inclined, therefore, to adopt the judgment of the learned and candid Dr. Lardner. "This silence," he observes, "about Phlegon, in many of the most judicious and learned ancient Christian writers, has induced me to think they did not reckon the passage of Phlegon very material. If it had been reckoned by them clear and important, we should have seen numerous quotations of it, and cogent arguments upon it. Indeed, if it had been clear, it must have been important. But not being, as I suppose, reckoned by them clearly to refer to the darkness in Judæa at the time of our Lord's sufferings, they did not esteem it of much moment, and therefore did not allege it."[1]

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[1] Lardner's works, ed. Kippis, Lond. 1788, vol. vii. p. 385.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PASSION OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.

True date of the passion, March 25, in the fifteenth year of Tiberius.—Objection that this was Thursday considered.—Table for the first six months of that year, constructed from the canon of Victorius.—True full moon shown to be on Friday, from the Parisian tables.—Roman and Hebrew computations of the day different.—Acts of the Roman government arranged according to the Roman, the narrative of the Gospels according to the Hebrew computation.—St. John enables us to fix the dates between the feast of dedication and our Lord's last passover.—Careful analysis of the whole week.—Our Lord arrived at Bethany on Friday evening, and rested on the sabbath at Bethany.—Sunday, March 21, which was the tenth of Nisan, he entered Jerusalem in triumph.—Transactions of that day.—Of Monday, March 22.—Of Tuesday, March 23, when our Lord took leave of the temple.—Wednesday, March 24, spent in retirement.—Thursday, March 25, preparations for the passover, and celebration in the evening.—Institution of the Lord's supper.—Dedication of himself as the great victim.—Commencement of the passion.—Friday, March 26th, the crucifixion.—Considered by the high priests and sanhedrim as the fourteenth day of the paschal moon.—This subject considered.—Diversity of practice allowed, on account of the variations between the apparent and real time of the new and full moon.—Evidence of Divine arrangement, and proves the truth of these calculations.—This apparent design affords a reason why the Christian Church has always celebrated the Lord's supper in the morning.—Fulfilment of promise in a former chapter respecting the testimony of Lactantius.—Sum of the testimony.

We have hitherto been occupied in considering the evidence afforded by the ancient Church, as to the true date of our Saviour's death. We have seen that the eighth day before the calends of April, or the twenty-fifth of March, in the fifteenth year of the sole reign of Tiberius, is stated with great unanimity to have been the day of his sufferings. But, to this an objection has been raised, that by computation the eighth before the calends of April is found to have fallen that year upon Thursday; whereas, the Evangelists with one accord represent the crucifixion as taking place on the Preparation, or day before the Sabbath. This has seemed to present so formidable a difficulty, that some have even postponed the death of our Saviour to the twentieth year of Tiberius, in order to adjust the paschal full-moon to Friday, the sixth day of the week. But, as every departure from the truth renders its subject more intricate, so in this case, the rejection of plain testimony and the reliance upon computation only, have merely shifted the difficulties, and made them still greater. For, as the death of Herod took place in March, in the 4710th year of the Julian period, and the twentieth year of Tiberius began August 19th A.J.P. 4745; our Saviour, according to this computation, must have been at least thirty-six, or thirty-seven years old when he was crucified; which every one must allow to be an inadmissible conclusion.

But the difficulty with regard to the fifteenth year of Tiberius, is more apparent than real; and the fact, instead of weakening, corroborates the Church's testimony. For, in the first place, the ancient writers who have mentioned our Lord's passion as commencing on the eighth before the calends of April, were perfectly aware that in the year of which they spake, it fell upon Thursday; and secondly, this fact, and this only, can explain the difficulty respecting our Lord's eating the passover on Thursday evening.

In reviewing the testimony of the Latin Church, the reader's attention was called to the paschal cycle of Victorius, formed about the year 455 of the common æra, and solemnly adopted by the fourth council of Orange [A.D. 541] as the rule for the computation of Easter. Victorius began his cycle of 532 years with the seventy-third year of the reformed calendar of Julius Cæsar, and commenced his computation of Easter from the passion of our Lord.

An. Jul. Per. 4741, An. Ref. Cal. of Julius Cæsar, 73.

CRUCIFIXION OF CHRIST.	Year of the Period of Victorius	Bissextile years marked by the letter	Days of the cal. of January,	Age of the Moon on the Cal. of January	Paschæ. — Easter day	Age of the Moon on Easter day	Indictions
Consuls, the Two Gemini, Ruffius (l. Fufius) and Rubellius.	I.	B.	Feria v. (Thurs.)	XIX.	v. kal. April (Mar. 28.)	XVI.	I.

In the preface to his computation, Victorius, speaking of the crucifixion of Christ as having taken place in the consulship of the two Gemini, says expressly, that "our Lord Jesus Christ suffered ......on the eighth before the calends of April, in the first month, the fourteenth day of the moon, in the course of the evening ..... on the fifth day of the week [Thursday].[1] And again: "On the first day of unleavened bread, our Lord Jesus Christ being at supper with His disciples, after he had displayed the sacraments [or mysteries] of his body and blood, went, as the Holy Gospels testify, to the Mount of Olives, and there, being betrayed by His disciple, was seized by the Jews. Then, on the following sixth day of the week [Friday], that is on the seventh before the calends of April [March 26th], He was crucified and buried; and on the third day, that is on the Lord's day, the fifth before the calends of April [March 28th], He arose from the dead."[2]

It being plain, therefore, that when Victorius, and consequently, all the other ancient writers whose testimony agrees with his, spoke of the passion of our Lord as commencing on Thursday the twenty-fifth of March, they meant only that it *began* on that day, and was *consummated* by His crucifixion on Friday. That the whole subject may be made perfectly clear, I proceed to lay before the reader a table, constructed on the data afforded by his calculations, and including the first six months of the year 4741 of the Julian period. The months of April, May, and June are included, because with the month of June ended the fourth year of the two hundred and first olympiad, and because with the month of May the Evangelical history is brought down to the day of Pentecost, which may properly be considered as the birth-day of the Christian Church.

The other notes of time are as follows: Being a bissextile year, the Sunday letter, according to the Nicene computation, until the 25th of February was D, and after that day C. It was the 780th year of Rome, until April 21st, and afterwards the 781st; the year of the reformed calendar of Julius Cæsar 73; and of the Dionysian, or vulgar æra 28; of the associate government of Tiberius, until February, 18; and after February, 19; of the sole government of Tiberius, 15; of Pontius Pilate, 4; Coss. Fufius Geminus, and Rubellius Geminus.

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[1] Passum autem Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, &c.....viii. kal. Aprilis, primo mense, luna xiv. vespere procedente ....v. feria.

[2] Primo vero Azymorum die, Dominus Jesus Christus, cœnans cum discipulis suis, postquam sui corporis et sanguinis sacramenta patefecit, ad montem Oliveti, sicut evangelia sancta testantur, progressus, ibique detentus est a Judæis, tradente discipulo. Dehinc sexta feria subsequente, id est vii. kal. Aprilis, crucifixus est, et sepultus, tertia die, hoc est v. kalendas Aprilis, Dominicâ surrexit a mortuis.—Victor. Canon. Pasch. pp. 8-9, ed. Bucherii, Ant. 1634, fol.

THE MODERN COMPARED WITH THE ROMAN AND JEWISH COMPUTATION OF TIME.

Modern Computation.	Roman Comp.		☽ Age	Jewish Computat.
JAN. 1 Thur.	Kal	F. v	19	
2 Frid.	iv	vi	20	
3 Sat.	iii	vii	21	Sab.
D 4 Sun.	Prid	i	22	
5 Mon.	Non	ii	23	
6 Tues.	viii	iii	24	
7 Wed.	vii	iv	25	
8 Thur.	vi	v	26	
9 Frid.	v	vi	27	
10 Sat.	iv	vii	28	Sab.
D 11 Sun.	iii	i	29	
12 Mon.	Prid	ii	½	SHEBET.
13 Tues.	Id.	iii	1	
14 Wed.	xix	iv	2	
15 Thur.	xviii	v	3	
16 Frid.	xvii	vi	4	
17 Sat.	xvi	vii	5	Sab.
D 18 Sun.	xv	i	6	
19 Mon.	xiv	ii	7	
20 Tues.	xiii	iii	8	
21 Wed.	xii	iv	9	
22 Thur.	xi	v	10	
23 Frid.	x	vi	11	
24 Sat.	ix	vii	12	Sab.
D 25 Sun.	viii	i	13	
26 Mon.	vii	ii	14	
27 Tues.	vi	iii	15	
28 Wed.	v	iv	16	
29 Thur.	iv	v	17	
30 Frid.	iii	vi	18	
31 Sat.	Prid	vii	19	Sab.
FEB. 1 Sun.	Kal	i	20	
2 Mon.	iv	ii	21	
3 Tues.	iii	iii	22	
4 Wed.	Prid	iv	23	
5 Thur.	Non	v	24	
6 Frid.	viii	vi	25	
7 Sat.	vii	vii	26	Sab.
D 8 Sun.	vi	i	27	
9 Mon.	v	ii	28	
10 Tues.	iv	iii	29	
11 Wed.	iii	iv	1	ADAR.
12 Thur.	Prid	v	2	
13 Frid.	Id.	vi	3	
14 Sat.	xvi	vii	4	Sab.
D 15 Sun.	xv	i	5	
16 Mon.	xiv	ii	6	
17 Tues.	xiii	iii	7	
18 Wed.	xii	iv	8	
19 Thur.	xi	v	9	
20 Frid.	x	vi	10	
21 Sat.	ix	vii	11	Sab.
D 22 Sun.	viii	i	12	
23 Mon.	vii	ii	13	Est. ix. 1-28
24 Tues.	vi Bis.	iii	14	} PURIM.
25 Wed.	vi	iv	15	
26 Thur.	v	v	16	
27 Frid.	iv	vi	17	
28 Sat.	iii	vii	18	Sab.
C 29 Sun.	Prid	i	19	

	Modern Computation.	Roman Comp.		☽ Age	Jewish Computat.
	MAR. 1 Mon.	Kal	F. ii	20	
	2 Tues.	vi	iii	21	
	3 Wed.	v	iv	22	
	4 Thur.	iv	v	23	
	5 Frid.	iii	vi	24	
	6 Sat.	Prid	vii	25	Sab.
	C 7 Sun.	Non	i	26	
	8 Mon.	viii	ii	27	
	9 Tues.	vii	iii	28	
	10 Wed.	vi	iv	29	
	11 Thur.	v	v	½	NISAN.
	12 Frid.	iv	vi	1	
	13 Sat.	iii	vii	2	Sab.
	C 14 Sun.	Prid	i	3	
	15 Mon.	Id.	ii	4	
	16 Tues.	xvii	iii	5	
	17 Wed	xvi	iv	6	
	18 Thur.	xv	v	7	
	19 Frid.	xiv	vi	8	
	20 Sat.	xiii	vii	9	Sab.
	C 21 Sun.	xii	i	10	
Passion Week	22 Mon.	xi	ii	11	
	23 Tues.	x	iii	12	
	24 Wed.	ix	iv	13	
	25 Thur.	viii	v	14	Passover.
	26 Frid.	vii	vi	15	F. Un. Bd
	27 Sat.	vi	vii	16	Gr. Pas. S.
	C 28 Sun.	v	i	17	Morrow af.
	29 Mon.	iv	ii	18	Sabbath.*
	30 Tues.	iii	iii	19	
	31 Wed.	Prid	iv	20	
	APR. 1 Thur.	Kal	v	21	
	2 Frid.	iv	vi	22	
	3 Sat.	iii	vii	23	Sab. I. aft.
	C 4 Sun.	Prid	i	24	the great
	5 Mon.	Non	ii	25	Paschal
	6 Tues.	viii	iii	26	Sabbath.
	7 Wed.	vii	iv	27	
	8 Thur.	vi	v	28	
	9 Frid.	v	vi	29	
	10 Sat.	iv	vii	1	IYAR. Sab
	C 11 Sun.	iii	i	2	[II.
	12 Mon.	Prid	ii	3	
	13 Tues.	Id.	iii	4	
	14 Wed.	xviii	iv	5	
	15 Thur.	xvii	v	6	
	16 Frid.	xvi	vi	7	
	17 Sat.	xv	vii	8	Sab. III.
	C 18 Sun.	xiv	i	9	
	19 Mon.	xiii	ii	10	
	20 Tues.	xii	iii	11	
	21 Wed.	xi	iv	12	
	22 Thur.	x	v	13	
	23 Frid.	ix	vi	14	
	24 Sat.	viii	vii	15	Sab. IV.
	C 25 Sun.	vii	i	16	
	26 Mon.	vi	ii	17	
	27 Tues.	v	iii	18	
	28 Wed.	iv	iv	19	
	29 Thur.	iii	v	20	
	30 Frid.	Prid	vi	21	

Modern Computation.	Roman Comp.		☽ Age	Jewish Computat.
MAY 1 Sat.	Kal.	F. vii	22	Sab. V.
C 2 Sun	vi	i	23	
3 Mon.	v	ii	24	
4 Tues.	iv	iii	25	
5 Wed.	iii	iv	26	
6 Thur.	Prid	v	27	Ascension.
7 Frid.	Non	vi	28	
8 Sat.	viii	vii	29	Sab. VI.
C 9 Sun.	vii	i	½	SIVAN.
10 Mon.	vi	ii	1	
11 Tues	v	iii	2	
12 Wed.	iv	iv	3	
13 Thur.	iii	v	4	
14 Frid.	Prid	vi	5	
15 Sat.	Id.	vii	6	Sab. VII.
C 16 Sun.	xvii	i	7	Pentecost.
17 Mon.	xvi	ii	8	
18 Tues.	xv	iii	9	
19 Wed.	xiv	iv	10	
20 Thur.	xiii	v	11	
21 Frid.	xii	vi	12	
22 Sat.	xi	vii	13	Sab.
C 23 Sun.	x	i	14	
24 Mon.	ix	ii	15	
25 Tues.	viii	iii	16	
26 Wed.	vii	iv	17	
27 Thur.	vi	v	18	
28 Frid.	v	vi	19	
29 Sat.	iv	vii	20	Sab.
C 30 Sun.	iii	i	21	
31 Mon.	Prid	ii	22	
JUN. 1 Tues.	Kal	iii	23	
2 Wed.	iv	iv	24	
3 Thur.	iii	v	25	
4 Frid.	Prid	vi	26	
5 Sat.	Non	vii	27	Sab.
C 6 Sun.	viii	i	28	
7 Mon.	vii	ii	29	
8 Tues.	vi	iii	1	TAMMUZ.
9 Wed.	v	iv	2	
10 Thur.	iv	v	3	
11 Frid.	iii	vi	4	
12 Sat	Prid	vii	5	Sab.
C 13 Sun.	Id.	i	6	
14 Mon.	xviii	ii	7	
15 Tues.	xvii	iii	8	
16 Wed.	xvi	iv	9	
17 Thur.	xv	v	10	
18 Frid.	xiv	vi	11	
19 Sat.	xiii	vii	12	Sab.
C 20 Sun.	xii	i	13	
21 Mon.	xi	ii	14	
22 Tues.	x	iii	15	
23 Wed.	ix	iv	16	
24 Thur.	viii	v	17	
25 Frid.	vii	vi	18	
26 Sat.	vi	vii	19	Sab.
C 27 Sun.	v	i	20	
28 Mon.	iv	ii	21	
29 Tues.	iii	iii	22	
30 Wed.	Prid	iv	23	

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* By consulting Levit. xxiii. 4-11, the reader will see the explanation of these feasts. Our Lord rose from the dead on the morrow after the great Paschal Sabbath, the day when the first fruits were offered in the temple. Hence the Apostle's beautiful allusion, 1 Cor. xv. 20.

It appears then that the year in which the two Gemini were consuls, the 73rd of Cæsar's reformed calendar, began on Thursday; that the moon's age on that day was 19; and that it was a bissextile or leap year. But it also appears, that if we follow the ordinary method of computing each lunation as 29½ days, or two lunations as 59 days, the fact of its being a bissextile year, makes the new moon in March, with which the first Jewish month Nisan commenced, fall on Thursday, the fifth before the ides, or the eleventh of March; and, consequently, the fourteenth day of the moon, the first day of the passover, would fall on Thursday, the eighth before the calends of April, or the 25th of March. The preparation day (St. John xix. 42), or Friday, the day of the crucifixion, was the seventh before the calends of April, or March 26th; the Paschal Sabbath, the sixth before the calends of April; and Easter Sunday, as stated by Victorius, the fifth before the calends of April, or March 28th. But Victorius says also, that the age of the moon on Easter Sunday was sixteen, and, consequently, the fourteenth day of the moon must have been on Friday. To solve this difficulty we must have recourse to astronomical calculation.

Not having the astronomical tables before me, I must again have recourse to second-hand testimony. "The calculations of the fourteenth paschal moon in the twenty-eighth year of the common æra," says the younger Bianchini, "are so clear, that they who have constructed tables on that subject for many centuries, nay, even for many thousands of years, ancient as well as modern, do not differ with respect to this year. The paschal canon of Victorius, which dates from that period, attributes the sixteenth day of the moon's age to Sunday, the 28th of March, and consequently connects the fourteenth day of the moon with Friday, the 26th of March, on which our Lord, by his death on the cross, finished the passion begun the preceding evening in the dedication of himself in the mystery of the unbloody sacrifice. For that evening, although according to the Roman mode of computation it belonged to the 25th of March, which ended at midnight, was referred, according to the laws of the Hebrews, to the following day; Moses, or rather God himself, having commanded, 'From even unto even, shall ye celebrate your Sabbaths.'[1] Among the moderns, father Francis Bordon, General of the third order of St. Francis, in his paschal tables, arranged from the year of our Lord's incarnation for 2,000 years, in the Julian year before the correction of the Gregorian, and in the Gregorian year after that correction, evidently by the same number, makes the epact [the moon's age] sixteen, and the Christian passover [Easter day] on Sunday, the 28th of March, in the year 28 of the common æra."[1]

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[1] Lev. xxiii. 32.

The facts stated by Bianchini appear to me to solve the whole difficulty. According to the Roman computation of time, the civil day began and ended at midnight; whereas, according to the Hebrew computation, the same day began and ended at evening. That the Roman day began and ended at midnight we have the express testimony of the elder Pliny, Aullus Gellius, Censorinus, and Macrobius. "The day itself," says Pliny, "has been differently reckoned by different people; by the Babylonians, between the two sun risings, the Athenians, between the two sun settings, the Umbrians from midday to midday, all the vulgar from dawn to darkness; but the Roman priests, and they who have defined the civil day, as well as the Egyptians and Hipparchus, from midnight to midnight.[2]

Aulus Gellius, who flourished under Adrian and Antoninus at Rome, his native city, in the second century, has preserved an

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[1] Joseph. Blanchin. Demonstratio Histor. Ecclesiast. Romæ, 1752, tom. i. p. 103, fol. I subjoin the following calculation, extracted by the same author from the Tabulæ Parisinæ of De la Hire:

Anni Christi.	Sol ab Ariete.				Apog. Solis ab Ariete.				Lun. ab Ariete.				Apog. Lunæ ab Ariete.			
	9	8	43	48	2	9	5	2	4	15	18	9	9	11	4	38
⊙	0	0	9	20			20	30	4	13	34	0	3	3	50	51
Anni XX.	11	29	18	51			7	10	6	18	51	58	9	14	45	47
Anni VII.	1	29	8	19				10	2	10	35	1	0	9	41	54
Febr. Biss.		12	48	48				2	5	21	17	35		1	26	54
Dies XIII.	11	20	9	6	2	9	32	54	11	19	36	43	10	8	49	14

h. o. 42′ 38″.

"According to the mean motions" [of the sun and moon], continues Bianchini, "the Paschal new moon took place at Paris in the year 28 of the common Christian æra on the 14th of March, 42m. 38sec. post meridiem, but at Jerusalem, 3h. 17m. 10sec. P.M. [hora 3 17 10 Pomeridiana.] Wherefore the 14th day of the Paschal moon began on Friday the 26th day of March, at 3 o'clock P.M. [hora tertia post meridiem] while the Lord Christ expired upon the cross, completing by the place and time of his death the prophecies of the scriptures. Therefore he said, 'It is finished, and bowing his head gave up the ghost.'"—Bianchini ut sup. p. 103.

It will no doubt be as satisfactory to my readers as it has been to myself, to find that by the golden numbers according to the paschal cycle of the council of Nice, the lunations perfectly agree with the astronomical computations to which Bianchini refers. The golden number of A.J.P. 4741, A.D. 28, was 10; and if the reader will examine the Nicene calendar in Part I. chap. iii. p. 87-92, he will find the lunations opposite that number as follows:

Jan. 14
Feb. 12
Mar. 14
April 12
May 12
June 10
July 10
Aug. 8
Sept. 7
Oct. 6
Nov. 5
Dec. 4

According to Cæsar's calendar for his year 73, the golden number was 16, which made the lunations two days later. The Nicene computations are therefore proved to be the most correct.

[2] Sacerdotes Romani, et qui diem diffiniere civilem, item Ægyptii, et Hipparchus, a mediâ nocte in mediam.—Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. ii. § lxxix. 77, ed. Brotier, tom. i. 221.

extract from Marcus Varro, which is very much to our purpose. He is answering an inquiry respecting those who are born at the third, or fourth, or any other hour of the night. Which should be held or called their birthday, the day which preceded, or the day which should follow that night. To this he replies, "Marcus Varro says that 'men who are born within the twenty-four hours from one midnight to the next midnight, are said to be born in one day.'[1] By which words," continues Gellius, "he seems to have so divided the observance of days, that for one who is born after sunset and before midnight, the birthday is that which preceded the night; and on the other hand, whosoever is born in the hours succeeding the sixth hour of the night, must be considered as born in the day which should dawn after that night." He then states that "the same Varro, after speaking of the Athenian mode of computation, from sunset to sunset, the Babylonians, from sunrising to sunrising, and the Umbrians, from midday to midday, shows, by many arguments, that the Roman people were accustomed to reckon single days from one midnight to the next."[2] All the sacred rites are so reckoned; the magistrates count the auspices in like manner; and the tribunes of the people, who are never allowed to be absent from Rome for a whole day, are not considered as being so absent, if they leave it after midnight, and return to any part of it before the next midnight.[3] The whole passage is too long for insertion in this place, but the substance of it has been given, and it clearly proves what was the Roman practice. Censorinus abridges the same testimony, without naming his authorities; and Macrobius has given the passage here translated from Aulus Gellius, with very slight verbal alterations.[4]

According to the Roman computation of time, would all the public acts and registers of that people be regulated. Consesequently all the acts of the Roman authorities in Judæa would be dated in this manner. All the events connected with our Lord's passion preceding midnight would be reckoned and recorded in the acts of Pilate, as belonging to the eighth before the calends of April, or Thursday the 25th of March; and all events succeeding that midnight would be reckoned and recorded as belonging to the seventh before the calends of April, or Friday the 26th of March. With the Jews it would be different. Their day being from one sunset to another, all the events from sunset on Thursday to sunset on Friday evening, would be accounted as happening in one and the same day.

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[1] Homines qui ex media nocte ad proximam mediam noctem in his horis viginti-quatuor nati sunt, una die nati dicuntur.

[2] Populum autem Romanum ita, uti Varro dixit, dies singulos annumerare à mediâ nocte usque ad mediam proximam multis argumentis ostenditur.

[3] A. Gellii Noct. Att. lib. iii. cap. 2, ed. Elzevir, Amst. 1551, p. 84, 85.

[4] Saturnal, lib. i. c. iii. de principio ac divisione civilis dici.

Bearing these particulars in mind, we will proceed to consider in the order of time the various events which took place during the week of our Lord's passion.

The gospel according to St. John enables us to ascertain with much precision the dates between the feast of the dedication and our Saviour's last passover.[1]

The dedication of the temple, or, as Josephus calls it, the feast of lights,[2] was celebrated on the 25th of Casleu, the ninth ecclesiastical month, in commemoration of the cleansing of the temple by Judas Maccabæus. It occurred in December, and, therefore, St. John states that "it was winter." The violence of the Jews caused our Lord to leave Jerusalem, and to fix his abode "beyond Jordan, where John at first baptized." Thence he was sent for by the sisters of Lazarus; and the signal miracle of restoring their brother to life, led to the council of the chief priests and Pharisees, in which it was decided to put Jesus to death.[3] Our Lord, therefore, retired from Judæa, and resided with his disciples in a city called Ephraim, which, according to St. Jerome, was about twenty miles to the north of Jerusalem.[4]

Here he remained probably somewhat more than a month and a half, in as great retirement as it was possible for him to have, until "the Jews' Passover was nigh at hand," and the people were beginning to flock from all quarters of the country to the holy city, that they might "purify themselves," and thus prepare to celebrate their highest festival.[5] The determination of the Jewish authorities to seize our Lord and put him to death, being well known, the public curiosity was greatly excited, and constant inquiries were made concerning him. The chief priests and their adherents were all on the alert, watching for his coming. Anxious crowds were gathered together in the temple, and talking of nothing else. Doubts and conjectures were expressed, whether he who had never failed in his observance of the law, would now venture to do his duty in the face of such imminent peril. While all this agitation was going on and increasing in Jerusalem, our Lord, with his disciples, was advancing on his journey, and quietly and calmly approaching the scene of his passion. He arrived at Bethany, a village about fifteen furlongs from Jerusalem, and took up his abode at the house of Lazarus and his sisters, " six days before the Passover "[1]

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[1] John x. 22.

[2] Antiq. lib. xii. c. 7, § vi. vii. comp. with 1 Mac. iv. 52-56, 2 Mac. ii. 16-19, x. 5, 6, 8.

[3] John xi. 47-53.

[4] Ephraim juxta desertum ad quam venit Dominus Jesus cum discipulis suis—— villa prægrandis——contra septentrionem in vicesimo ab Ælia milliario.—Liber de Sitù et Nominibus Locorum Hebr. ed. Bened. tom. ii. pp. 435-439.

[5] John xi. 55.

On examining the table, and counting backward from Thursday the 14th day of the month Nisan, it will be seen that he arrived on the 9th of that month, which was the sabbath; that is, as I conceive, he arrived on Friday night as the sabbath was commencing, and rested with his friends till it was ended, on the evening of the 20th of March, the thirteenth before the calends of April.

It was the custom, as Dr. Lightfoot shows from Maimonides,[2] to provide a more liberal supper at the going out of the sabbath, than at any other time.[3] This, then, was the supper mentioned by St. John,[4] where " Martha served," and " Lazarus was one of them that sat at the table with him." Probably that night, or early the next morning, Jesus sent two of his disciples to the adjoining village of Bethphage for the young ass whereon yet never man sat.[5] Bethphage was within the suburbs of Jerusalem, on the slope of Mount Olivet. " ' Two thousand cubits,' says Maimonides, ' was the suburbs of a city;'[6] and ' two thousand cubits were the bounds of a sabbath,' or sabbath day's journey.[7] Bethpage was of this nature; it was not a town upon Mount Olivet, as it hath been very generally supposed, and accordingly placed in most maps, but it was some buildings, and that space of ground that lay from Jerusalem wall forward towards Mount Olivet, and up Mount Olivet to the extent of two thousand cubits from the wall, or thereabout; and hereupon it was reputed by the Jews of the same qualification with Jerusalem, as a part of it in divers respects.[8] *He that slays a thanksgiving sacrifice within, while the bread belonging to it is without the wall, the bread is not holy. What means*

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[1] John xii. 1.

[2] Schabh. cap. 29.

[3] Heb. and Talmud exerc. upon St. John, works, vol. ii. p. 586.

[4] John xii. v. 2.

[5] Matt. xxi.; Mark xi.; Luke xix. 30; John xii. 14.

[6] Schabh. per. 27.

[7] Talm. in Sotah, per. 5.

[8] Talm. Bab. Pesachin, fol. 63, fac. 2

without the wall? R. Jochanan saith, *Without the wall of Bethpage.* The gloss there saith, *Bethpage was an outer place of Jerusalem.* And the same gloss useth the very same words again upon the same tract, fol. 91, fac. 1. And again in the same treatise, fol. 95, fac. 2, the Mishna saith thus: *The two loaves and the show-bread are allowable in the temple court, and they are allowable in Bethpage.* Nay, the gloss in Sanhedr., fol. 14, fac. 1, saith, *Bethpage was a place which was accounted as Jerusalem for all things.* So that the place so called, began from Jerusalem, and went onwards to and upon Mount Olivet, for the space of a sabbath day's journey or thereabout, and then began the coast that was called Bethany. And hence it is that Luke saith, that Christ, when he ascended into heaven, led forth his disciples as far as Bethany,[1] which elsewhere he showeth was the space of *a sabbath day's journey*,[2] which cannot be understood of the town Bethany, for that was fifteen furlongs, or very near two sabbath days' journey from Jerusalem, but that he led them over that space of ground which was called Bethpage, to that part of Olivet where it began to be called Bethany; and at that place it was where Christ began his triumphant riding into the city at that time."[3]

Early then on Sunday morning, the 21st of March, or the twelfth before the calends of April, being the tenth day of the Jewish month Nisan, did our Saviour commence his triumphant procession at the entrance of Bethphage. "In the tenth day of this month," the whole congregation of Israel were commanded to "take to them every man a lamb, according to the house of their fathers, a lamb for an house."[4] On this day, therefore, were the lambs selected which were to be slain for the Passover, and driven into Jerusalem, to be kept up until the fourteenth day of the month. And on this day did the true Lamb of God enter into Jerusalem to become the great victim for the sins of the world. As he descended Mount Olivet he stopped and wept over the blinded city, which was about to fill up the measure of its iniquities by killing the Lord of Glory.[5]

His triumphant entrance produced everywhere the utmost commotion.[6] It was no time to think of seizing him, when "the world" was "gone after him."[1] He went immediately to the Temple as the king of Israel; for the Temple was his Father's house, and he took possession of it as "the palace of the great King." He went also to the Temple, as "the high-priest of our profession;" it being the practice, as Jewish authors testify, for the high-priest to be carried in solemn procession to the Temple, several days before the great day of atonement.[2]

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[1] Luke xxiv. 50.

[2] Acts i. 12.

[3] Lightfoot Harm. Works, vol. i. p. 252.

[4] Exod. xii. 3.

[5] Luke xix. 41-44.

[6] Matt. xxi. 10.

St. Matthew and St. Luke relate his cleansing the Temple as if it occurred on this day; St. Mark, as if it occurred on the day following. The language of St. Mark is so precise, that if our Lord cleansed the Temple but once at this time, it could not have been on the first day of his entrance; and accordingly, Macknight and Archbishop Newcome refer it to the second day. But the language of St. Matthew and St. Luke, though not so definite, conveys the idea certainly that he cleansed the Temple the first day. Most of the Harmonists, therefore, suppose that our Lord drove out the buyers and sellers both days; and this supposition seems on the whole to be rational and attended with fewest difficulties. "It is probable," says Townsend, "that the *repeated* opposition of our Lord to the traffic which so much benefited the priests, by whose permission the merchants sat in the court of the Temple, contributed to his apprehension. It is not likely that one repulse from the Temple, would have been sufficient to banish them entirely from so lucrative an employment."[3]

Though it is foreign from the present design to enter minutely into questions of this nature, I may be permitted, I hope, to propose an arrangement which seems to me to render the whole narrative more perspicuous. On arriving at the Temple, surrounded by a vast concourse of people, our Lord entered immediately into the court of the Israelites. Here he was present both at the morning and evening sacrifice; and during the interval between them, and after these services were ended, "the blind and the lame came to him in the temple; and he healed them."[4] His miracles and the Hosannahs of the children, excited the indignation of the chief priests and scribes, and our Lord reproved them, because the hardness of their hearts made them silent, while even babes were perfecting praise.

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[1] John xii. 19

[2] Selden de Synedriis and Bp. Patrick Comment on Leviticus.

[3] New Test. arranged, &c. ed. Coit. 1837, note 4, part vi.

[4] Matt. xxi. 14.

The humble Gentiles who had come up to worship at the feast, were excluded from the sight of these wonders, and could not see the person of Jesus, because they were not allowed to enter into the court of the Israelites. They were even crowded out from all accommodation in their own proper court by the contemptuous conduct of the Jewish rulers, in permitting it to be made a market-place for the animals which were to be offered in sacrifice. These Greeks or Gentiles being probably from Galilee, and therefore acquainted with Philip of Bethsaida, asked as a favour of him, that they might see Jesus. When this request was made known to Him by Andrew and Philip, our Lord condescended to go out into the court of the Gentiles. As he went, the voice from heaven was heard, and the conversation occurred, as recorded by St. John.[1]

Being thus in the court of the Gentiles, and seeing the sacrilege by which that court, designed as a place of prayer for all nations, was profaned, our Lord could not but have indignation. The voice from Heaven had struck his enemies with fear and awe, and inspired his followers with greater confidence and zeal. "When he had looked round about upon all things," says St. Mark. Dr. Lightfoot observes that the word περιβλεψάμενος here used by St. Mark, signifieth not a bare beholding or looking upon, but "a looking upon with indignation, reproof, and correction." It implies the casting forth of the buyers and sellers, which the multitude would be ready to do the instant he ordered it. Having thus redressed the wrongs of the Gentiles, and vindicated the offended majesty of God, he retired as "the eventide was now come, and went out unto Bethany with the twelve."[2]

The transactions of Monday, the 22d day of March, were but few, and are clearly to be gathered from the narrative of the evangelists. Early in the morning (πρωϊας), as Jesus was returning to the city, he was hungry. The Jews, however, never broke their fast until after the morning sacrifice. It is not likely, therefore, that our Lord would have broken his, even if the fig-tree had borne fruit. But this was, in fact, a parabolic action. The fig-tree represented the Jewish nation, which had remained unfruitful, notwithstanding all the means of grace. Consequently a barren fig-tree only could have answered our Lord's purpose. The awful malediction was pronounced, and before nightfall the tree was withered; but the disciples did not observe it that night, because it was, probably, dark when they returned from the city.

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[1] John xii. 23-36.

[2] Mark xi. 11.

Having thus solemnly in figure devoted the city to destruction, our Lord entered it, and went immediately as usual to the temple. The buyers and sellers had returned to their unlawful gains; and when our Lord reached the temple, they were all there again. Again, therefore, did he, by his authority, eject them from the court of the Gentiles; and so strict was he, that during that whole day he would not suffer any man to carry any vessel through the temple.[1] This exercise of authority, and the sight of his power over the people, increased the determination of the chief priests and scribes, and principal men of the nation, to destroy him, but filled them with fear of him, and increased their caution. They did not, therefore, molest him; and he passed the day, probably, as he did the preceding, in acts of worship, at the temple, and in teaching the people, who listened attentively, and were greatly impressed by his doctrine. When evening was come, he went out of the city, retiring doubtless, as he was wont, to Bethany.

Tuesday, the 23d day of March, the twelfth of Nisan, and the third before the passover, was filled with events; for it was the day in which Jesus took his leave of the Temple, and the priests and scribes had determined on their mode of attack.

Early in the morning,[2] as he descended the mountain on his way to the city, the disciples noticed that the fig-tree was dried up even to the roots. On Peter's calling the attention of his master to the fact, our Lord made it an argument for the increase of his faith, and for greater diligence in prayer. When they had arrived at the Temple, and our Lord was walking about and teaching the people, he was met by a deputation from the Sanhedrim, who demanded of him by what authority he acted. His wisdom was an over-match for the crafty wiliness which they had imagined; and the perplexing question to them, whether the baptism of John was of divine or human authority, effectually exposed their hypocrisy before the people. Our Lord then related to them the parable of the man and his two sons, the one professing to do his father's will, but doing it not, the other refusing to obey, but afterwards repenting and obedient. Which of these, he asked, did his father's will? They were compelled to answer to their own condemnation; for he immediately applied the parable to the Pharisees, and the publicans and harlots; to the Pharisees, who made loud professions of obedience, but did nothing which they were commanded to do; and to the publicans and harlots, who had repented of their evil lives, and submitted themselves first to John the Baptist, and then, on his testimony, to Christ. He then added the parable of the vineyard let out to husbandmen, who murdered first the servants, and last of all the son, of their master; adumbrating thereby the fate of the Jewish nation. The chief priests and Pharisees knew that these parables were spoken against them, and with difficulty restrained themselves from seizing him, through fear of a popular commotion. According to St. Matthew, our Lord added the parable of the wedding feast, from which the first invited guests were excluded on account of their ingratitude.[1]

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[1] Mark xi. 16.

[2] πρωΐ, Mark xi. 20.

The coalition now took place between the Pharisees and the Herodians, to ensnare him in his talk; and the political question concerning the tribute-money was asked, to destroy his favour among the people, or to render him obnoxious to the Roman government. When this failed, the captious question of the Sadducees was put, concerning the law of marriage and the future state. In their turn, the Sadducees were put to silence; and then followed the conversation of our Lord with the scribe, concerning the greatest commandment in the law. He then asked his adversaries a question which none of them were able to answer; and this so disconcerted them, that they dared not "ask him any more questions."

It was now the time to expose and denounce their wickedness; and this he did with the most awful severity, and the most touching sorrow. They had rejected their Saviour, and were now to be abandoned to their fate. Their house, the Temple of God, was henceforth to be desolate. The glory was departing. The Jewish nation was devoted to destruction. It was the last act of his ministry; as a prophet sent to the lost sheep of Israel.

Some of his disciples, as if to soften the dreadful import of his words, spake, as they left the Temple, of its splendour and its treasures. Our Lord then predicted its destruction; and when he had ascended the Mount of Olives, from which he had a full view of the city and Temple, uttered that sublime prophecy, in which the downfall of the Jewish economy and the consummation of the world are blended. St. Matthew adds the parable of the ten virgins, that of the talents, and that of the final separation of the wicked from the righteous at the general judgement. These may well have been related while our Saviour and his disciples were on their way to Bethany.

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[1] Chap. xxii. 1-14.

That night our Lord appears to have supped with Simon the Leper; one of those probably whom he had cured of his leprosy. It was just two days, or forty-eight hours, before the feast of the passover; this being on Tuesday, and that on Thursday about the same hour.[1] In the meantime, the high-priests, and scribes, and elders of the people, were assembled at the hall of Caïaphas, consulting how they might seize and put him to death.[2]

Wednesday, March 24th, seems to have been passed by our Lord entirely on the Mount of Olives, in Bethany, or in Bethphage; perhaps in the garden, whither he often resorted with his disciples.[3] No particular act recorded by the Evangelists is expressly said to have taken place on that day; unless it be the treachery of Judas. I am strongly inclined, therefore, to assign to this day the transactions recorded in the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters of St. John's Gospel. Dr. Lightfoot earnestly contends that the supper at which Jesus washed the feet of his disciples, was not the paschal supper on Thursday evening, but the supper on Tuesday evening at the house of Simon the Leper. Other harmonists, and those of great authority, suppose that it was the paschal supper. I cannot but think that both these suppositions are attended with insuperable difficulties.

In the first place, St. John expressly says of this supper that it was *πρὸ τῆς ἑορτης τοῦ πασχα*, before the feast of the passover. This is a difficulty which the harmonists who contend for its being the last supper, in my judgment, evade, but do not meet. Doddridge and Macknight explain it as meaning "before Jesus began to eat the passover." But this produces a new dilemma; for there must either have been two suppers, or the second verse instead of being translated "supper being ended," must be rendered "supper being come." Archbishop Newcome is evidently dissatisfied with this procedure, and therefore proposes to consider the words "before the feast" as meaning before the 15th of Nisan. But without dwelling on these forced constructions, what objection, let me ask, can there possibly be to consider this as the supper of Wednesday? Our Lord and his disciples must have supped somewhere; and the Evangelist does not designate any place, nor, excepting in these general terms, any time. If it was on Wednesday evening, it supplies what is otherwise not mentioned, and makes the whole narrative easy and natural.

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[1] Matt. xxvi. 2; Mark xiv. 1. [2] Matt. xxvi. 3, 4. [3] John xviii. 2.

There are other objections which apply to Dr. Lightfoot's hypothesis. St. John says not a word of any other persons being present but our Lord and his disciples. This alone is sufficient to exclude the idea that it was the supper at Bethany, in the house of Simon the Leper. Other reasons will occur, as we proceed in the narrative.

Assuming, then, that this supper was on Wednesday evening, the 13th of Nisan and the 24th of March, it will appear that our Lord passed that whole day, the eve of his passion, with his disciples. It may have been in the garden of Gethsemane; for there is no reason to suppose that being in Bethphage, it was without a house or inhabitants. In this view of the time and place, how touchingly beautiful is the introductory observation, "Now before the feast of the Passover, when Jesus knew that his hour was come that he should depart out of this world unto the Father, having loved his own which were in the world, he loved them unto the end"!

This was the evening in which, as Lightfoot shows, the whole nation of Israel put away leaven out of their houses. The rule was at the entrance of the fourteenth day of the month Nisan, while yet there was some light.[1] The false and perjured traitor was now to be separated and put away, as the leaven of malice and wickedness. The devil had already put it into his heart to betray his Master.[2] The immediate motive which led to this determination it is not easy to discover. More than a year had elapsed since Jesus had said of Judas, "Have not I chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil?"[3] Some commentators have supposed that the rebuke he had received on the occasion of the anointing, had produced in his heart a spirit of revenge. But that does not seem to have been a sufficient motive. Is it not possible that our Lord's expressions in anticipation of his treachery, such as that now quoted, though unheeded by the other apostles, had stung his guilty soul, and wrought up a secret dislike, which at last amounted even to hatred? How cutting must have been the expressions which our Lord used after washing the disciples' feet, and which to Judas were perfectly intelligible! "Ye are not all clean."—"I speak not of you all: I know whom I have chosen. He that eateth bread with me hath lifted up his heel against me."—"Verily, verily, I say unto you, that one of you shall betray me." The disciples looked at each other with doubt and amazement. At the instigation of Peter, John asked privately, "Lord, who is it?" And Jesus replied as privately, "He it is to whom I shall give a sop when I have dipped it." Turning to the traitor and presenting the sop, he said, with a voice which we can well imagine sunk deep into a guilty conscience, "That thou doest do quickly." Some of the disciples imagined that by these words, Jesus meant "Buy those things that we have need of against the feast;" the feast, namely, of the Passover, which would take place the following evening. But Satan had now entered into Judas:[1] a diabolical possession, like that of the serpent when he tempted Eve. He who after the temptation of Jesus had "departed for a season"[2] had now returned. "It was night;" and, filled with malice and hatred, Judas hastened into the city, which it will be recollected was not more than a mile, and perhaps not half a mile, distant.[3] Here, with equal malice and hatred, the council of the Jewish nation were in constant session. We can imagine a detestation so deadly, as to engross every thought. Come at what hour he might, Judas would have found them gathered together, and ready and glad to receive his proposals.[4]

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[1] Works, vol. i. p. 953.
[2] John xiii. 2.
[3] John vi. 70, 71.

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[1] John xiii. 27.

[2] Luke iv. 13.

[3] Dr. Robinson describes "the place fixed on by early tradition as the site of the garden of Gethsemane," as being "a plot of ground nearly square, enclosed by an ordinary stone wall. The N.W. corner is 145 feet distant from the bridge," that is, the bridge over the brook Cedron. "The W. side measures 160 feet in length, and the N. side 150 feet. There would seem," he adds, "little reason to doubt that the present site is the same to which Eusebius alludes. Whether it is the true site, is, perhaps, a matter of more question." He sat down under one of the aged olive trees in this garden, and gave himself up to the impressions of the moment. "Here, *or at least not far off*, the Saviour endured that 'agony and bloody sweat' which was connected with the redemption of the world."—Bib. Res. vol. i. p. 346-7. The distance of even half a mile from the city is, therefore, too large an estimate.—Since this note was written, Mr. Catherwood has informed me that the garden of Gethsemane is not more than *a quarter of a mile* from the gate.

[4] Matt. xxvi. 3-5; Mark xiv. 1, 2; Luke xxii. 1, 2.

"They covenanted with him for thirty pieces of silver"[1]—thirty shekels or thirty half ounces of silver, equal in value to about fifteen dollars! If it had been from covetousness merely, why take so small a sum? They would have spared no expense to obtain their victim. How blind the fury of Judas, that it should overcome even his ruling passion! "From that time," says St. Matthew, "he sought opportunity to betray him."

After he was gone out, our Lord told his disciples that he had but a short time to continue with them; and then exhorting them to love one another, he proceeded to utter the consolatory language recorded in the following chapter. At the conclusion of it he said, "Arise, let us go hence;"[2] and then probably retired, as he was wont, to solitary meditation and prayer.

According to the Jewish computation of time, the fourteenth day of the month Nisan, the day on which the passover lamb was to be slain, began at sunset on Wednesday evening, March 24th, and ended at sunset on Thursday, March 25th. Before sunset on Wednesday evening, all leaven was, as we have seen, put away from their houses. The first day of unleavened bread began therefore on Wednesday at sunset, and continued till Thursday at sunset. This period, three of the Evangelists describe with great accuracy. "On the first day of unleavened bread," says St. Matthew. "And the first day of unleavened bread, when they killed the passover," says St. Mark. "Then came the day of unleavened bread, when the passover must be killed," says St. Luke. The rule concerning the killing of the paschal lamb is thus stated:[3] "Ye shall keep it [the lamb] up until the fourteenth day of the same month [Nisan]; and the whole assembly of the congregation of Israel shall kill it in the evening." The Hebrew literally reads, "between the two evenings." The first evening was when the sun declined from the meridian; the second, when he sunk below the horizon. Hence Josephus says, that "at the passover they slay the victims from the ninth to the eleventh hours;"[4] that is, from three to five o'clock in the afternoon. The question now is, how did our Lord pass this fourteenth day of Nisan?

It must have been early in the morning of Thursday that the disciples came to Jesus, saying unto him, "where wilt thou that we prepare for thee to eat the passover?"[1] In reply to this inquiry he directed Peter and John to go into the city, and gave them a sign by which they should know the house in which he wished preparation to be made.[2] From the tenor of the message, and the manner in which they were to accost "the good man of the house," it must be inferred that he was one of our Lord's followers.

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[1] Matt. xxvi. 15.
[2] Chap. xiv. 31.
[3] Exod. xii. 6.
[4] De Bel. Jud. lib. vi. c. 9, § 3.

Dr. Lightfoot has fully shown that before the paschal lamb was slain, they first agreed and concluded upon the company that should eat him. *They might not slay the passover but for persons numbered before*, or a number agreed on before for his eating. And this caution was not unwarrantably taken up, from that command in Exod. xii. 4: *Every man according to his eating shall make your count for the lamb.* So that while the lamb was yet alive, it was to be certainly concluded who and how many would join together for his eating, and he might not be slain but for societies so agreed and numbered. If any of the society, after the number was agreed on, saw occasion to withdraw from that company and to go to another, he must do it before the lamb was slain, for after he might not.[3] In perfect conformity with this statement, Josephus speaks of companies formed for each sacrifice, in which not less than ten, and sometimes twenty are assembled."[4]

It is clearly to be inferred, therefore, that the very perfidy of Judas obliged him to be present at the passover, and consequently at the institution of the Eucharist. For if he had withdrawn himself it would have been necessary to make known his intention before Peter and John had made the requisite preparations. But this he could not have done without creating suspicions which would have rendered his designs abortive.

"Peter and John, who were sent to prepare the passover, had," as Lightfoot remarks in another place, "this work to do. They were to get a room fitting: to that their master directs them by a sign. They were to get a lamb, and to bring him into the Temple, and there to have him killed, and his blood sprinkled, under the name of a paschal for thirteen persons. For no lamb could be eaten for a paschal whose blood was not sprinkled at the altar, and that in the name of a paschal, and by count for such a number of persons as had agreed to be at the eating of him. Which shows that

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[1] Matt. xxvi. 17.

[2] Luke xxii. 10-13.

[3] Passover Service, chap. xii. § 4, Works, vol. ii. p. 956.

[4] De Bel. Jud. vi. 9, 3.

Christ ate his passover on the same day that the Jews did theirs, [which some, upon misunderstanding of John xviii. 28, have denied]; nay, that it was not possible otherwise, for how impossible was it to get the priests to kill a paschal for any upon a wrong day? Having got the lamb thus slain at the Temple, they were to bring him home to the house where he was to be eaten, to get him roasted, and to get bread and wine ready, and what other provision was usual and requisite for that meal."[1]

It is plain that all these preparations must have consumed nearly the whole day; for, as the lamb could not be slain earlier than three o'clock in the afternoon, according to Josephus, that is not until the daily evening sacrifice was offered, they would have little time remaining before sunset to have it roasted and the table prepared. How our Lord was occupied in the meantime, the Scriptures do not inform us. He who "knew all things that should come upon him," and who "loved his own unto the end," could not be otherwise employed than in holy preparation of himself and of his sorrowing disciples.

After sunset on Thursday evening, the fifteenth of Nisan was begun. No special hour was appointed for eating the passover. The words of the law are: "And they [i. e. the whole assembly of the congregation of Israel, v. 6] shall eat the flesh in that night; and ye shall let nothing of it remain until the morning; and that which remaineth of it until the morning, ye shall burn with fire."[2] The victim was slain before the setting of the sun on Thursday, and might be eaten at any time after dark, and before the next morning. It is plain, therefore, that our Lord strictly fulfilled the law. He might have postponed it, if he had so pleased, till a later hour; but much was to be done that night, and he therefore chose the earliest hour which the law allowed.

"When the hour was come," says St. Luke,—"When the even was come," says St. Matthew. "In the evening," says St. Mark, "he sat down or reclined, and the twelve apostles with him." Dr. Lightfoot has shown in a very satisfactory manner, from Jewish authorities, that the third cup of wine drank at the passover was called "the cup of blessing."[3] And as St. Paul says,[4] "*the cup of blessing* which we bless is it not the communion of the blood of

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[1] Lightfoot's Harmony, Works, vol. i. p. 260.

[2] Exod. xii. 8-10.

[3] Passover Service, ut sup.

[4] 1 Cor. x. 16.

Christ?—The bread which we break is it not the communion of the body of Christ?"—we cannot, I think, do otherwise than assign to that period of the paschal solemnity the institution of the Holy Communion. Previous to this time, and while eating the passover with the bitter herbs, our Saviour had again uttered the solemn warning, "Verily I say unto you, that one of you shall betray me"; and when all uttered the anxious inquiry, and even the traitor himself last of all was compelled to ask "Is it I?" our Lord exposed his hitherto secret design, by saying to him openly, "Thou hast said."

At the institution of the Sacrament, as I apprehend, our Lord uttered what is recorded in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth chapters of St. John's narrative. He was then acting as the great High Priest of our profession, devoting himself as the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world. All the language of the prayer in the seventeenth chapter is sacerdotal and sacrificial: and hence St. Chrysostom, commenting on the 19th verse, "for their sakes I sanctify myself," asks the question *τί ἐστιν, ἁγιάζω ἐμαυτόν;* What means this expression, I sanctify myself?—And then he answers, *προσφέρω σοι ϑυσίαν.*—I offer to thee a sacrifice. "All sacrifices," he adds, "are called holy (*ἅγιαι*); and they which are devoted to God are eminently holy. For, as of old the sanctification was in the type, in the sheep [or lamb], so now it is not in the type, but in the truth itself. Wherefore he says 'that they may be sanctified through thy truth'; for them also do I present and make here unto thee an offering."[2]

From the institution of the sacrament I date the commencement of our Lord's passion. As a priest, he was an agent; as a victim, he was only a passive sufferer. After they had sung the remainder of the great Hillel, that is, from the 115th to the 118th Psalms inclusive, they went out to the Mount of Olives.[2] It could not well have been later than eight o'clock in the evening.

While our Lord and the other disciples were thus on their way to the garden of Gethsemane, the traitor went on his, to give notice to the High-priests, and obtain from the Roman authorities a warrant for the apprehension of his Master.

Here, then, must be placed the commencement of the Acts of

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[1] Chrys. in Joan. hom. lxxxii. ed. Montfaucon, tom viii. p. 484.

[2] Matt. xxvi. 30; Mark xiv. 26; Luke xxii. 39; John xviii. 1.

Pilate, sent by him to the emperor, and deposited, as Tertullian testifies, in the Roman archives.

Nothing, it is true, is mentioned in express terms by the writers of the Gospel, of any interposition on the part of the Roman government, until our Lord was actually brought into the presence of the governor. But it must be evident, on a little consideration, that the Jewish authorities would never have dared to take so extraordinary a step, as that of sending an armed soldiery at night, out of the walls of Jerusalem, to seize our Lord, without a warrant first asked and obtained. The Romans were exceedingly vigilant for the preservation of their authority, especially among a people who submitted so reluctantly to their yoke. Judæa was one of those provinces which were considered as the most turbulent, and therefore placed by the adroit policy of Augustus, not under the senate, but solely under the emperor. It was, in fact, under military law; and even the smallest disturbance, about the most common offender, a Theudas or a Judas of Galilee, could not have taken place without Roman cognizance and action. But our Lord was a person of too much eminence to be unknown by the Roman authorities. Herod had a long time desired to see him; and the wife of Pilate had been impressed with veneration for his character. The Jewish rulers, therefore, must have known that any secret act of theirs would have excited the jealousy of the government, and effectually have defeated their design.

It has been admitted, that nothing is explicitly said by the evangelists of so early an intervention of the Roman government; but in saying this, it is not meant to admit that such an inference may not fairly be drawn from their language. On the contrary, St. John's account implies it: "Judas," he says, "having received a band."[1] The language is λαβὼν THN σπεῖραν. The force of the Greek article shows that it was not A band in general terms, but THE band—the band, namely, appointed by the Roman government, for that special purpose.* The word σπεῖρα, here translated *band*, was a term peculiar to Roman discipline. Polybius, in his account of that discipline, mentions, that a legion was divided into four classes, according to the age and condition of its members. If the legion consisted of four thousand two hundred men, one of these classes contained always six hundred, and consequently the other three of twelve hundred each. But sometimes the legion consisted of five thousand men, in which case, three of the classes contained four thousand four hundred men. Each class was divided into ten spiras or bands.[1] If, therefore, the same arrangement prevailed in the time of our Saviour, the spira could not have been less than sixty, or more than from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty men.*

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[1] John xviii. 3.

* Bishop Middleton (Doct. Gr. Art. in loc.) follows Rosenmüller, in supposing that this was "the particular cohort which by order of the procurator attended on the Sanhedrim at the great festivals, and preserved tranquillity." It matters not whether it was a general or a special order. The officer in command was obliged to report; and on his report the acts of Pilate would rely for the date of every transaction.

In the next member of the verse, *καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ φαρισαίων ὑπηρέτας*, the force of the preposition *ἐκ* implies a selection of the attendants, or officers of the high-priests and Pharisees—picked men among the Jewish police. The whole passage, therefore, may fairly be thus paraphrased : Judas taking the company of Roman soldiers sent by Pilate, and also a chosen body of the officers in attendance on the Jewish rulers, came with lanterns, and torches, and weapons, to the place where he knew that Jesus was.† He was aware that our Lord had detected his design. He had also heard him speak of buying swords. There might, therefore, be an intention of making defence ; and it was thought advisable to send such a force as would put down all opposition. Hence, in order to show that defence might have been made, when our Lord met them, he caused them by his divine power to go backward and fall to the ground ; and hence the beauty and force of the contrast between twelve legions of angels, according to St. Matthew's account, and a single spira of Roman soldiers. Taking, therefore, all these considerations into view, it must be inferred from the very language of St. John, that Judas and the Jewish authorities acted under a warrant from the Roman government, and consequently that an official record would be made of the transaction.

If this reasoning be just, it will at once be seen that the records preserved in the Roman Archives would begin on Thursday evening the 25th of March, which, according to the Roman computation of time, was the eighth before the calends of April.

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[1] Polybii Hist. lib. vi. ed. Schweighæuser, tom. ii. p. 498-9. Three spiras made a cohort, according to Polybius, lib. xi. 23, ed. Schw. tom iii. p. 356.

* It was commanded, however, by a *χιλίαρχος* (John xviii. 12) or commander of 1000 men, whereas, according to Polybius, a spira was commanded by a centurion.

† It appears from St. Luke (xxii. 52) that the high priests and elders went in person to seize our Lord, so anxious were they to secure their victim.

With regard to our Lord's arraignment and condemnation by the Jewish authorities, as well as the several cock-crowings and Peter's repeated denials, a fact related by St. John, seems to throw great light upon the order of events, and the time in which they were transacted.

The other Evangelists speak only in general terms of our Lord's being brought to the high priest's house; but in St. John's supplementary narrative, it is stated that the Roman spira, with their chiliarch and the officers of the Jews, led Jesus away to ANNAS, first; and then he assigns as a reason for their doing so, that "he was the father-in-law of Caïaphas, who was the high priest that year."[1]

It appears from Josephus, that Annas, or Ananus, was a person of great note and authority among the Jews. He seems to have been appointed high-priest by Cyrenius, governor of Syria, soon after the banishment of Archelaus, and to have retained the office about six or seven years, until he was deposed by Valerius Gratus, A.J.P. 4726. Still his influence was very great, nay, perhaps rendered greater with the nation on this very account. The same person who deposed him afterwards appointed Eleazar, one of his sons, and subsequently Caïaphas, his son-in-law; and Josephus says that all five of his sons performed the office of high-priest.[2] Hence he was treated by Caïaphas and the whole Sanhedrim with the greatest deference; and accordingly our Lord was conveyed first to his presence.

It is not said where Annas dwelt. The places on Mount Zion, shown as the houses of Annas and Caïaphas, have no other support than the fond desire of giving to every action and suffering of our blessed Saviour "a local habitation and a name."[3] It is more likely that the palace of the high-priest was contiguous to the Temple, if it did not in fact form a part of that vast edifice. For in our conceptions of the Temple, we must entirely divest our thoughts of all the associations derived from modern churches. Its area, according to Mr. Catherwood's survey, occupied more than a million and a half (1500 × 1000) of square feet.* It consisted, in fact, of a vast number of edifices, square within square. The residence of the high-priest very probably adjoined the council chamber, in which the sittings of the Sanhedrim were held, and was so extensive as to have numerous, but distinct, apartments, one of which might belong to Annas, and the other to Caïaphas, and both might be approached by one common entrance. We learn from Dr. Shaw the general arrangement of eastern houses. "Large doors, spacious chambers, marble pavements, cloistered courts, open to the sky and air, with fountains playing in the midst," are among their general characteristics.

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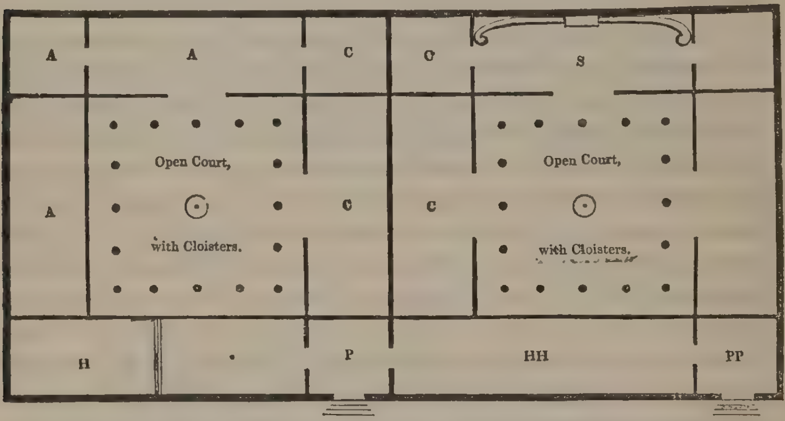
[1] John xviii. 12, 13.

[2] Jos. Antiq. lib. xx. c. 9, § 1, comp. with lib. xviii. c. 2, § 2.

[3] Maundrell's journey, Monday, April 5, 1697.

* A pretty exact measurement of this

The following sketch taken from the plan of an eastern house in the travels of that learned author, and adapted to the present subject, will convey my idea better than any verbal description.



A. Apartment of Annas.—C. Apartment of Caïaphas.—H. Hall of the High Priests.—HH. Hall of the Sanhedrim.—P. Porch of the High Priests' palace, communicating with the apartments of Annas and Caïaphas through the open court.—PP. Porch leading into the hall of the Sanhedrim, and so through the open court to S. the council chamber of the Sanhedrim, contiguous to the High Priests' apartment, and communicating with it by a private door.

I suppose then, that our blessed Lord was conducted to the great door leading into a large room, called by St. Matthew ὁ πυλων, and by St. Mark τὸ προαύλιον, the vestibule, or spacious antechamber

area is given by Dr. Robinson as follows: On the east side, 1,528 English feet; the breadth at the south end is 955 feet. Neither the western side nor the northern end is accessible externally; yet the latter may be measured approximately along the parallel street. Its length (*i.e.* the northern end) is thus found to be not far from 1060 feet. It is, therefore, more than 100 feet wider at the north than at the south end.—Bib. Res. vol. i. p. 419. Since I wrote this note, Mr. Catherwood has given me the following measurement from actual survey: East wall, 1520 feet; south wall, 940 feet; west wall, 1617 feet; north wall, 1020 feet.

which in sumptuous houses led into a still more spacious hall. As St. Mark has spoken of this hall,[1] or at least of that part of it in which Peter was, as being "beneath" *ἐν τῃ ἀυλῃ κατω*, I suppose that the upper part was raised a few steps above the lower. In the lower part of the hall, the servants of the high priests had a brasier, as is practised to this day in Italy, and the warm countries of the East, filled with charcoal, so burned as to have lost its noxious qualities. This supposition is, I think, justified by the word *ἀνθράκια*, which St. John uses,[2] and which our translation renders "a fire of coals." This is represented in the plan, by a dot in the centre of the lower hall, and around it some were sitting, and others standing. St. John being known to the high priest's household, entered with our Lord; but Peter stood without in the street, until John had spoken to the maid who kept the door, and induced her to admit him. As he passed in, she recognized him as being one of our Lord's disciples. While our Lord was conducted to the upper hall, and so, through the open court, to the apartment of Annas, Peter entered into the lower hall where the brasier was, and sat there to see what would be the issue. As the seizure in the garden could not have been later than ten o'clock on Thursday evening, so our Lord's appearance before Annas cannot well be placed later than eleven. By Annas, and not by Caïaphas, was he first questioned concerning his disciples and his doctrine. But as Annas was no longer high priest, and was called so only by courtesy, Jesus refused to answer his questions, and referred him to those who had heard him, whether in the Synagogue or in the Temple. This provoked one of the officers to smite him on the face with the palm of his hand; upon which our Lord meekly reminded him that if he had spoken evil, there was a proper tribunal before which the officer could bear witness against him. He thereby meant, as I conceive, to convey the idea that Annas had no right to question him; and Annas knowing that what he said was just, desisted from all further inquiry, and sent him bound to Caïaphas.[3]

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[1] Mark xiv. 66.

[2] John xviii. 18.

[3] John xix. 19-24.—This appears to me to be the natural construction of St. John's language (xviii. 24), whether the particle *ουν* be or be not considered as a part of the original text. It is omitted by Griesbach, on the authority of many good manuscripts; but this makes no difference in the sense. If *ουν* be genuine, it is clearly an inference from our Lord's answer; and if it be not, it must have crept into the text from some early marginal annotation, occasioned by the clearness of such an inference. I see not why the aorist *ἀπεστειλεν* should be rendered in a pluperfect

During this arraignment before Annas, occurred the first denial of Peter. The door-keeper, who had recognized him as he entered, appears to have followed him into the lower hall, for the purpose of verifying her suspicions by a more exact scrutiny; and having satisfied herself, she suddenly accused him, in the presence of the various attendants, of being a disciple of Jesus. In the confusion and fright which this sudden attack occasioned, Peter lost all presence of mind, forgot the warnings he had twice received from our Lord, first on Wednesday, and last, as they were on their way that evening to Gethsemane, and told the base lie that he was not a disciple. Afraid now to continue among the company at the fire, he withdrew into the προαύλιον or vestibule. It was now midnight and the cock crew. This circumstance is mentioned only by St. Mark; and if his Gospel was written under the cognizance of St. Peter, the narrative acquires additional importance.

Our Lord being sent by Annas to Caïaphas, was brought back through the open court to the upper part of the hall of the high priest, where he was kept standing, while the chief priests and the various members of the council were seeking for witnesses, by whose testimony he might be convicted of blasphemy. The attention of the attendants in the lower part of the hall being now attracted by these proceedings, Peter, impelled by curiosity, and hoping to escape notice, returned and stood warming himself by the fire. But the same maid-servant[1] seeing him again, began to say to the bystanders that he was one of our Lord's disciples. Another maid-servant[2] said the same thing; and so did a man in the company.[3] On this, Peter denied his master a second time with an oath. This was probably between one and two o'clock on Friday morning.

About an hour afterwards,[4] several of the bystanders again affirmed with more vehemence that he was a disciple of Jesus, appealing to his Galilean accent in proof of their assertion; and one of them, a kinsman of Malchus, had actually seen him with his master. Peter now uttered oaths and curses; and immediately, while he was yet speaking, the shrill voice of the morning cock was heard. At this moment our Lord turned and looked upon

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sense—"Annas *had* sent him." This is only an accommodation to the preconceived notion that our Lord was thus examined by Caïaphas, and not by Annas.

[1] ἡ παιδίσκη, Mark xiv. 69.

[2] Matt. xxvi. 71.

[3] Luke xxii. 58.

[4] Ibid. 59.

Peter; and that look touched the soul of the guilty, perjured disciple, and brought him to repentance.

The fourth watch being now come, called πρωΐ, the morning watch, extending from three to six in the morning, the high priests and the whole council assembled in the council chamber of the Sanhedrim, and our Lord was brought before them. The high priest adjured him to answer if he claimed to be the Messiah, and this led to his condemnation as guilty of blasphemy, followed by the vile insults of their brutal menials.

According to the law of Moses, when any person was guilty of blasphemy, it was the duty of the whole nation to put him to death by stoning.[1] But as the Jewish rulers, by the advice of Caïaphas,[2] had determined to give him over to the Roman power, that he might be crucified, they conducted him while it was still the fourth watch (πρωΐ) to the prætorium, or Roman court of justice. This was doubtless in the tower called Antonia, adjoining the Temple.

And here is presented, by the language of St. John, the chief, and perhaps the only real difficulty attending the subject. The Jewish council, the high priests and scribes and elders of the people,—in a word, "the whole Sanhedrim,"[3] who brought him and delivered him over to Pilate, would not enter the prætorium or judgment-hall, "lest they should be defiled; but that they might eat the passover."[4] It follows then, either that in their thirst for vengeance they had violated the law, or that they considered Friday as the fourteenth day of the paschal moon, and consequently were to kill the passover lamb from three to five that afternoon, and keep the feast after sunset, which would be the commencement of their sabbath. Now, according to the cycle of Victor, they were in fact right; and that cycle is supported by astronomical calculation. The question then is, Did our Lord, of his own authority, depart from the practice of the Jewish Church, and eat *a* passover of his own appointment anticipating *the* legal passover?—or, Was there a diversity of practice among the Jews at that time, so that the Jewish nation in general ate the passover on the night between Thursday and Friday, and a portion of them, including the high priests and elders, on the night between Friday and Saturday, the commencement of their sabbath? The latter appears to me to be the only tenable hypothesis.

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[1] Lev. xxiv. 16-23.

[2] John xi. 49-51, and xviii. 14.

[3] Mark xv. 1.

[4] John xviii. 28.

In considering this subject, we must keep in view a disturbing force which has biassed the judgment of the Eastern and Western Churches. The Eastern, almost without exception, use leavened bread in celebrating the Eucharist; the Western, before the Reformation, used unleavened bread. Since that event, the Latin Church, the Protestants of the Augsburg Confession, and some others, it is said,* continue to use unleavened bread, while the Reformed or Calvinists use leavened. In the first prayer-book of Edward VI unleavened bread was prescribed; in the second, it was left indifferent; but the practice has subsequently prevailed in the Church of England of using leavened bread. This practice seems to have derived its origin from the supposition, that our Lord instituted the sacrament before the first day of unleavened bread, and consequently that he anticipated the passover. Hence the Greek writers generally held to that hypothesis. The best ritualists of the Latin Church admit that the question is indifferent; and hence among them, as well as among the Protestants, there is a greater diversity of opinion respecting the question of anticipation.

But keeping this extraneous subject entirely out of sight, let us attend only to the narrative of the evangelists. Our Lord came not to destroy, but to fulfil the law; and if he anticipated the proper time of keeping the passover, he was as much a violator of the law, as the high priests and elders would have been in postponing it until the day after the proper time. This difficulty at the outset appears to me insuperable.

Enough has been said to show that Thursday was considered by our Lord and his apostles as the first day of unleavened bread. It began at sunset on Wednesday, and ended at sunset on Thursday. St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, all speak of TO πασχα, THE passover; and the language of St. Mark, "When they slay THE passover;" and of St. Luke, "When THE passover *must* be slain;" shows clearly that it was considered by the nation generally as the legal time.[1] Our Lord's expression is equally explicit; ποιω TO πασχα, I celebrate *the*, not *a*, passover.[2]

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* In Hospinian's account of the liturgy of the Church of Zurich, as it was instituted by Zuinglius, it is stated that unleavened bread was ordered to be used, "Mensa in templo mundâ mappâ insternitur. Huic imponitur canistrum pane *infermentato* plenum.—Hist. Sacram. pars II. fol. p. 40.

[1] Matt. xxvi. 17; Mark xiv. 12; Luke xxii. 7.

[2] Matt. xxvi. 18. And to the same purpose, Mark xiv. 14, and Luke xxii. 11-15.

The argument advanced by Lightfoot, that Peter and John could not have procured a lamb before the legal time, seems conclusive; but as the truth of the fact asserted by him has been contested, it is necessary to enlarge upon it.

The law requiring the passover lamb to be slain at the Temple is express.[1] It was to be "in the place which the Lord should choose to place his name there."

The history of the passovers celebrated by Hezekiah and Josiah,[2] shows that the lambs were killed at the Temple, and that "the priests sprinkled the blood which they received of the hand of the Levites." The reason assigned[3] for the Levites having the charge of killing the passovers, has led to the inference that the congregation, if sanctified, might perform that office; and this is corroborated by two remarkable passages in Philo. The first occurs in the third book of his life of Moses: "But in this month, on the fourteenth day, the fulness of the moon brings the passover, in our tongue called ἑορτή, in the Chaldee πασχα, in which not only private persons bring sacrifices to the altar, and the priests offer them, but by the arrangement of the law the whole nation becomes a priesthood: in that every one brings his own sacrifices and himself slays them."[4]

The second is in his Treatise on the Ten Commandments, and is as follows: "The feast which the Hebrews call the passover, πάσκα, in which each one in the whole nation sacrifices for himself, not bringing his offerings to the priest; the law having granted to the people, on this one day of the whole year, the priesthood, that they may sacrifice for themselves."[5]

The two passages explain each other. The whole nation of Israel were allowed *that day, and only that day,* to sacrifice their own victims; doubtless because there were so many to be slain, that the labour would be too great for the priests and Levites. But still they were obliged to bring their sacrifices to the Temple; and though they might slay the victims, the priests only could sprinkle the blood. Philo says nothing of sprinkling, which was always an essential act in offering sacrifice.

We must therefore, I think, conclude that Peter and John were obliged to take their lamb to the Temple, and present it before the altar. They might then, according to Philo, kill it in the presence of the priests, or one might kill, while the other caught the blood, and gave it to the priest to sprinkle. This the priests would not have suffered to be done before that day, which the nation in general believed to be the fourteenth of Nisan.

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[1] Deut. xvi. 2.

[2] 2 Chron. xxx. 16, and xxxv. 10, 11.

[3] Chap. xxx. 17.

[4] Philo περι βιου Μωσ, ed. Princ. p. 467,

[5] Philo περι τῶν δεκαλογ. ed. Princ. p. 523.

There could be, therefore, no error on the part of our Lord. "Neither his character, conduct, nor sentiments," as Mr. Townsend well observes, "will for a moment permit us to believe that he disobeyed, in the slightest degree, the ordinances of the Mosaic law." What then was the occasion of the diversity of his practice, and that of the high priests, and others among the Jews?

Various conjectures, more or less plausible, have been adopted. Macknight produces from Gerhard's supplement to the harmony of Chemnitius, the following fact in elucidation. The Jews in latter times carefully avoided the celebration of two Sabbaths in succession, for a reason mentioned in the Talmudical Books, viz., that in those warm climates, dead bodies and boiled herbs could not be kept without spoiling.[1] As a farther proof of the Jews' practice in this matter, Gerhard cites the Seder Olam, from which he has translated as follows:[2] "Rabbi Eliezer, who was greater than all the other men of the great synagogue, ordered that the feast of Purim should not be kept on the second, fourth, and seventh days of the week, nor the passover on the second, fourth, and sixth days,* &c. According to this precept of the elders, as two Sabbaths happened to follow one another, they omitted the first, performing all the services proper to it on the second, along with the services proper to the second. But this practice, though enjoined by the elders, was directly contrary to the institutions of the law. For which reason, Gerhard thinks our Lord never complied with it, but always observed the festivals on the precise day fixed for them by the divine appointment."[3]

But however satisfactory this solution may appear to those who, like Macknight, defend the anticipation, it does not solve the difficulty, if our Lord kept the passover on the day observed generally by the nation. For in that case, the high priests and their associates were the only persons who observed the traditions of the elders. How can it be accounted for, that the whole nation should act in opposition to the high priests, the scribes, and pharisees, and the whole sanhedrim?

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[1] Non facimus duo continua Sabbata, propter olera et propter mortuos.

[2] Rabbi Eliezer, qui reliquis omnibus major erat, ordinavit diem sortium non observari secundo, quarto, septimo hebdomadis die; neque pascha secundo, quarto, sexto, &c.

* That is, the passover should not be kept on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, but postponed till the next day.

[3] Macknight's Harmony Chron. Dcss., vi. 2nd ed. 8vo, vol. i. p. 107.

Without supposing any such opposition, may not the whole difference be easily explained, *if a diversity of practice was* ALLOWED *on account of the variation between the apparent and real time of the new and full moon?* This is the solution afforded by the canon of Victorius. The 1st of January that year was the nineteenth day of the moon's age; and, according to the common method of computing lunar months, as consisting alternately of twenty-nine and thirty days, the 14th of Nisan would fall upon Thursday. But the *real* age of the moon on Easter Sunday, the 28th of March, was sixteen, and, consequently, the *real* 14th of Nisan was on Friday. It is a question which cannot now be determined, whether the Jews at that time were governed by any cycle. The probability is that they were not. Their own writers maintain that they fixed the time of the new-moon only by its appearance; and that the use of an astronomical cycle was introduced after the dispersion.

We have no necessity, therefore, of going into any conjectures on this subject. We have only to take the fact of this diversity of practice, as it is stated by the Evangelists, and it corroborates our conclusion as to the date of our Lord's sufferings. It was, in reality, a part of that admirable arrangement of Divine Providence, by which the minutest events are adjusted and harmonized with the greatest. It was so arranged, that in the order of times and seasons, our Lord should keep the passover and institute the Sacrament of the New Covenant while the whole nation were celebrating their deliverance from Egyptian bondage, and yet that as the Sacred Victim for the sins of the whole world, he should expire on the cross at that astronomical point of time in which, according to the law, the lamb ought to have been slain.

And this apparent design suggests a reason why, from the beginning, the Christian Church, instead of celebrating the Lord's supper at night, has transferred it to the following morning. The Jewish passover was celebrated at night, because of their deliverance at night from Egyptian bondage. It was the only time when our Lord could devote himself as a victim, and this could be done only by the substitution of a symbolic sacrifice. But the real sacrifice took place on the following day. It was, therefore, more suitable that the subsequent commemoration should be during those hours in which the Lamb of God actually suffered. On the great feast-day of the Christian passover our Lord burst the bonds of death and rose victorious over sin and hell, not in the night, but when the darkness was past, and the light was beginning to shine. The Jewish passover was in the night. The legal figures and shadows were of the evening and have passed away. The Christian passover, on the contrary, is of the morning, and its light and truth will shine more and more unto the perfect day. And when it is considered that our Lord spent the forty days between his resurrection and ascension, in "speaking" with the apostles "of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God,"[1] that is, of the institutions to be observed in his Church, will it be considered as an extravagant supposition, that he, himself, gave directions for the transfer of the Sabbath, and of the memorial of his passion, to the day in which he rose from the dead? Certain it is, that in no part of the Christian Church, has there ever been a contrary practice, and this uniformity cannot be rationally accounted for unless the practice be derived from the apostles.

While on this part of our subject, it is proper to fulfil a promise respecting the testimony of Lactantius, concerning the date of our Saviour's death, in the fourth book of his Institutes. It will be seen, on referring to that part of his testimony, that he speaks of "the *seventh* before the calends of April," as the day in which "the Jews affixed Christ to the cross;" whereas the other Latin writers speak of our Lord's passion as having taken place on the *eighth* before the calends of April. In this stage of our inquiry, we are enabled to see that what at first glance seemed to be contradictory, is in fact a surprising instance of harmonious testimony and accurate language. Tertullian speaks of our Lord's passion as taking place on the eighth, but does not say that he was crucified on the eighth. Lactantius, on the other hand, affirms that our Lord was crucified on the seventh, but does not say that his passion commenced on the seventh. Both were right in point of fact, because our Lord's passion commenced on Thursday, and he was crucified on Friday.

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[1] Acts i. 3.

I would fain hope that we have now, to the satisfaction of the reader, established on a solid basis the true time of the death of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. We have seen, by a variety of details which it is unnecessary here to recapitulate, that he made his solemn entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday the 21st of March, which was the tenth day of the Jewish month Nisan; that he was betrayed by Judas Iscariot on Wednesday evening the 24th of March; that he celebrated the passover and instituted the sacrament of the Eucharist on Thursday evening March the 25th; that he was crucified on Friday March the 26th, and that he rose from the grave on Easter Sunday March the 28th. This great event took place in the 4741st year of the Julian period, in the ninth month of the fourth year of the 201st olympiad, in the last month of the 780th year of Rome, the 73d year of the Julian calendar, the 28th year of the modern Christian æra; in the 19th year of the associate reign of Tiberius, and the 15th year of his sole reign, when Lucius Rubellius Geminus and Caius Fufius Geminus were consuls.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DURATION OF OUR SAVIOUR'S MINISTRY.

SECTION I. *St John's ministry.*—Question proposed as to the time of our Lord's baptism.—St. Luke's testimony considered.—Table 1, of the commencement of St. John's ministry, constructed from the data afforded in the canon of Victorius.—Conjecture probable that St. John began his ministry on the great day of atonement, Sep. 29, A.J.P. 4737, in the first year of Pilate's administration.—No certainty as to the time of our Lord's baptism, but great probability that it took place on the sixth of January.—The opinion of Epiphanius the result of computation.—St. Chrysostom's opinion in favour of the Epiphany.—Question discussed as to the number of passovers during our Lord's ministry.—Opinion adopted that there were four.—Three tables, constructed for three years, on this hypothesis.—Explanation of the author's method.—His computation of Pentecost, and the reasons for it.

ST. PETER speaks, in the first chapter of the Acts, of "all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among" his disciples, as "beginning from the baptism of John"[1] Assuming then, as an established point, that the crucifixion took place on Friday the 26th of March, in the year 4741 of the Julian period, the question is now to be answered, How long a time must be counted back, according to the narrative of the evangelists, to our Lord's baptism?

St. Luke's testimony is, that "in the fifteenth year of the reign," or, more accurately (Gr. τῆς ἡγεμονίας), of the government or administration "of Tiberius Cæsar, Pontius Pilate being governor (Gr. ἡγεμονεύοντος) of Judæa, and Herod being tetrarch of Galilee, and his brother Philip being tetrarch of Ituræa, and of the region of Trachonitis, and Lysanias the tetrarch of Abilene, Annas and Caïaphas being the high priests, the word of God came unto John, the son of Zacharias, in the wilderness."[2]

Augustus, as we have already seen,[3] divided the dominions of Herod the Great soon after his death; giving to Archelaus one half, with the title of ethnarch; and to Herod Antipas and Herod Philip, each one fourth, with the title of tetrarch. To Herod

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[1] Acts i. 21, 22.
[2] Luke iii. 1, 2.
[3] Part II. chap. 2. p. 364.

Antipas were assigned Peræa and Galilee; to Herod Philip, Batanæa, with Trachonitis and Auranitis, and some part of what was called the house of Zenodorus.[1] "Philip died in the twentieth year of the reign (ἀρχῆς) of Tiberius, having governed Trachonitis, Gaulonitis, and Batanæa, thirty-seven years.[2] As he died without children, Tiberius annexed his government to the province of Syria. According to our calculation, Herod the Great died in March, A.J.P. 4710. That year being counted, the thirty-seventh year of Philip's government would commence in March, A.J.P. 4746, and the twentieth year of Tiberius would end on the 19th of August, of the same year. Philip therefore must have died between March 21st and August 19th, in the seventy-eighth year of the Julian calendar, or the year 4746 of the Julian period, and about five years after our Saviour's crucifixion.

As for Herod Antipas, he was deprived of his tetrarchy and banished to Spain, by Caligula, several years later.[3]

Lysanias is once cursorily mentioned by Josephus, as having been tetrarch of Abila;[4] and the industry of Wetstein has collected all that is recorded of him elsewhere, without being able to throw any other light upon his history.

It is plain, therefore, that the sovereignties of these three tetrarchs afford no chronological data, by which the commencement of St. John the Baptist's ministry can be determined. But with respect to the fifteenth year of Tiberius, and the government of Pontius Pilate, the statement of St. Luke will be found to be very important. If the associate government of Tiberius commenced in the month of February, when M. Æmilius Lepidus and T. Statilius Taurus were consuls, then it will be seen, by examining the list of consuls, that the fifteenth year of that government would begin in February, when M. Asinius Agrippa and Cossus Cornelius Lentulus were consuls; and end at the same period in the following consulship of C. Calvisius Sabinus and Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Getulicus. In other words, it would extend from February A.J.P 4737 to February A.J.P. 4738.

Again: we have seen in a former chapter that Valerius Gratus was sent to Judæa by Tiberius, on his accession to undivided sovereignty, and that he continued in office eleven years. He was then recalled, and Pontius Pilate was sent in his room. The sole reign of Tiberius dates from the 19th of August A.J.P. 4726; and eleven solid years being added, we are brought to the 19th of August A.J.P. 4737, the seventh month of the fifteenth year of his associate reign. We cannot possibly therefore assign an earlier date than the latter part of August of that year, for the commencement of St. John's ministry; and this date, or even a month or two later, harmonizes perfectly with St. Luke's account, and with the circumstances of our Lord's baptism.

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[1] Jos. Antiq. lib. xvii. c. 11, § 4.

[2] Ibid. lib. xviii. c. 4, § 6.

[3] Jos. de Bel. Jud. lib. ii. c. 9.

[4] Jos. Antiq. lib. xx. c. 7, § 1.

The canon of Victorius, by ascertaining the day of the week, and the age of the moon, on the 1st of January of the year when our Lord suffered, enables us to adjust the Roman and the Jewish computation of time in the preceding years. We proceed therefore to construct a table, from the 19th of August A.J.P. 4737 to the 1st of January A.J.P. 4738.

TABLE I.—THE COMMENCEMENT OF ST. JOHN'S MINISTRY.

From August 19th to December 31st, A.J.P. 4737; Olymp. CCI. 1; A.U.C. 777; year of the reformed Julian calendar, 69; bissextile; year of the common Christian æra, 24: and therefore Sunday letters until February 25 B, and after February 25 A. The 15th year of the associate government of Tiberius; the 12th year of his sole reign. The 1st year of Pilate's administration, M. ASINIUS AGRIPPA, COSSUS CORNELIUS LENTULUS, COSS.

Modern Computation.	Roman Comp.		☽ Age.	Jewish Computation of Time.
AUG 19 Sat.	xiv	F.vii	28	Sab.
A 20 Sun.	xiii	i	29	
21 Mon.	xii	ii	½	ELUL.
22 Tues.	xi	iii	1	
23 Wed.	x	iv	2	
24 Thur.	ix	v	3	
25 Frid.	viii	vi	4	
26 Sat.	vii	vii	5	Sab.
A 27 Sun.	vi	i	6	
28 Mon.	v	ii	7	
29 Tues.	iv	iii	8	
30 Wed.	iii	iv	9	
31 Thur.	Prid	v	10	
SEP. 1 Frid.	Kal	vi	11	
2 Sat.	iv	vii	12	Sab.
A 3 Sun.	iii	i	13	
4 Mon.	Prid	ii	14	
5 Tues.	Non	iii	15	
6 Wed.	viii	iv	16	
7 Thur.	vii	v	17	
8 Frid.	vi	vi	18	
9 Sat.	v	vii	19	Sab.
A 10 Sun.	iv	i	20	
11 Mon.	iii	ii	21	
12 Tues.	Prid	iii	22	
13 Wed.	Id.	iv	23	
14 Thur.	xviii	v	24	
15 Frid.	xvii	vi	25	
16 Sat.	xvi	vii	26	Sab.
A 17 Sun.	xv	i	27	
18 Mon.	xiv	ii	28	
19 Tues.	xiii	iii	29	
20 Wed.	xii	iv	1	TISRI OR ETHANIM.
21 Thur.	xi	v	2	Feast of Trumpets.
22 Frid.	x	vi	3	Lev. xxiii. 24.
23 Sat.	ix	vii	4	Sab.
A 24 Sun.	viii	i	5	
SEP 25 Mon.	vii	F. ii	6	
26 Tues.	vi	iii	7	
27 Wed.	v	iv	8	
28 Thur.	iv	v	9	
29 Frid.	iii	vi	10	Day of Atonement.
30 Sat.	Prid	vii	11	Sab. [Lev. xxiii. 27
OCT. 1 Sun.	Kal.	i	12	
2 Mon.	vi	ii	13	
3 Tues	v	iii	14	
4 Wed.	iv	iv	15	Feast of Tabernacles.
5 Thur.	iii	v	16	Lev. xxiii. 36.
6 Frid.	Prid	vi	17	
7 Sat.	Non	vii	18	Sab.
A 8 Sun.	viii	i	19	
9 Mon.	vii	ii	20	
10 Tues.	vi	iii	21	
11 Wed.	v	iv	22	Octave of the Feast
12 Thur.	iv	v	23	of Tabernacles.
13 Frid.	iii	vi	24	Lev. xxiii. 36
14 Sat.	Prid	vii	25	Sab.
A 15 Sun.	Id.	i	26	
16 Mon.	xvii	ii	27	
17 Tues.	xvi	iii	28	
18 Wed.	xv	iv	29	
19 Thur.	xiv	v	½	MARCHESVAN.
20 Frid.	xiii	vi	1	
21 Sat.	xii	vii	2	Sab.
A 22 Sun.	xi	i	3	
23 Mon.	x	ii	4	
24 Tues.	ix	iii	5	
25 Wed.	viii	iv	6	
26 Thur.	vii	v	7	
27 Frid.	vi	vi	8	
28 Sat.	v	vii	9	Sab.
A 29 Sun.	iv	i	10	
30 Mon.	iii	ii	11	
31 Tues.	Prid	iii	12	

Modern Computation.	Roman Comp.		☽ Age.	Jewish Computation of Time.	Modern Computation.	Roman Comp.		☽ Age.	Jewish Computation of Time.
Nov. 1 Wed.	Kal	F. iv	13		Dec. 1 Frid.	Kal	F. vi	14	
2 Thur.	iv	v	14		2 Sat.	iv	vii	15	Sab.
3 Frid.	iii	vi	15		A 3 Sun.	iii	i	16	
4 Sat.	Prid	vii	16	Sab.	4 Mon.	Prid	ii	17	
A 5 Sun.	Non	i	17		5 Tues.	Non	iii	18	
6 Mon.	viii	ii	18		6 Wed.	viii	iv	19	
7 Tues.	vii	iii	19		7 Thur.	vii	v	20	
8 Wed.	vi	iv	20		8 Frid.	vi	vi	21	
9 Thur.	v	v	21		9 Sat.	v	vii	22	Sab.
10 Frid.	iv	vi	22		A 10 Sun.	iv	i	23	
11 Sat.	iii	vii	23	Sab.	11 Mon.	iii	ii	24	
A 12 Sun.	Prid	i	24		12 Tues.	Prid	iii	25	Feast of the Dedication of the Temple. John x. 22.
13 Mon.	Id.	ii	25		13 Wed.	Id.	iv	26	
14 Tues.	xviii	iii	26		14 Thur.	xix	v	27	
15 Wed.	xvii	iv	27		15 Frid.	xviii	vi	28	
16 Thur.	xvi	v	28		16 Sat.	xvii	vii	29	Sab.
17 Frid.	xv	vi	29		A 17 Sun.	xvi	i	½	TEBETH.
18 Sat.	xiv	vii	1	CASLEU. Sab.	18 Mon.	xv	ii	1	
A 19 Sun.	xiii	i	2		19 Tues.	xiv	iii	2	Octave of the Feast of Dedication.
20 Mon.	xii	ii	3		20 Wed.	xiii	iv	3	
21 Tues.	xi	iii	4		21 Thur.	xii	v	4	
22 Wed.	x	iv	5		22 Frid.	xi	vi	5	
23 Thur.	ix	v	6		23 Sat.	x	vii	6	Sab.
24 Frid.	viii	vi	7		A 24 Sun.	ix	i	7	
25 Sat.	vii	vii	8	Sab.	25 Mon.	viii	ii	8	
A 26 Sun.	vi	i	9		26 Tues.	vii	iii	9	
27 Mon.	v	ii	10		27 Wed.	vi	iv	10	
28 Tues.	iv	iii	11		28 Thur.	v	v	11	
29 Wed.	iii	iv	12		29 Frid.	iv	vi	12	
30 Thur.	Prid	v	13		30 Sat.	iii	vii	13	Sab.
					A 31 Sun.	Prid	i	14	

The foregoing table has been constructed from the nineteenth of August, as being the earliest date at which the eleven years' administration of Valerius Gratus could end. As, however, there is only a possibility that Tiberius appointed him on the first day of his own accession to undivided sovereignty, so is it only possible that Pilate entered upon his office the very day that the eleven years expired. If we could fix the day when Pilate's administration began, it would enable us to ascertain with some precision the commencement of St. John's ministry. But this is impossible. As St. Luke says that it was under the government of Pontius Pilate, and in the fifteenth year of Tiberius,—that is, of his associate government,—it could not be earlier than the last of August A.J.P. 4737, or later than January A.J.P. 4738.

In the absence then of all positive testimony, I offer what appears to me a probable conjecture. It has been seen by the preceding table, that the great day of atonement, when the children of Israel were commanded to afflict their souls,[1] took place that year on the twenty-ninth day of September. How consonant would it be with the great object of St. John's mission that *he should begin to prepare the way of the Lord in that week! perhaps, on that*

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[1] Lev. xvi. 29.

same great day when the High Priest entered the Holy of Holies!—An annual figure, as St. Paul assures us, of the atonement offered by the great High Priest of our profession!

If this conjecture be probable, then the feast of Tabernacles which followed, from Wednesday the fourth to Wednesday the eleventh of October, in which the whole nation were required to go up to Jerusalem,[1] would furnish a convenient opportunity for all "Judæa," and all the region round about Jordan, as well as all the inhabitants of the city,[2] to go out of Jerusalem, and be "baptized of him in Jordan, confessing their sins."[3] The same opportunity would be offered at the feast of the Dedication, from the twelfth to the nineteenth of December.

The Evangelists furnish no evidence as to the time of our Lord's baptism. St. Matthew merely states, that "he came from Galilee to Jordan, unto John to be baptized of him;"[4] and St. Luke, that "when all the people were baptized, it came to pass that Jesus also being baptized and praying, the heaven was opened," etc.[5] This last expression, "when all the people were baptized," does not mean, as some have supposed, that Jesus did not come to be baptized *until* the whole of the people had been baptized; for the words in the original, *ἐν τῷ βαπτισϑηναι ἀπαντα τον λαον*, imply only that he came with the rest. But as the number baptized by St. John appears to have been very great, I see no reason why the time of our Lord's baptism may not have been as late as the sixth of January, according to the opinions of the followers of Basilides, mentioned by St. Clemens of Alexandria.[6] The objection on account of the inclemency of that month is of little value; for it is asserted by the best travellers, that in Judæa the days are often hot at that season.*

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[1] Deut. xvi. 13, 14, 15.

[2] Mark i. 5.

[3] Matt. iii. 5, 6.

[4] Matt. iii. 13.

[5] Luke iii. 21.

[6] Strom lib. i. 340.

* See Harmer's observ. ed. Clarke, vol. i. p. 132, concerning the weather in the Holy Land. "In the depth of winter it is frequently warm, nay, almost hot, in the open air." If this may be said in general, it applies with peculiar force to the great plain of Jordan. On the 29th of January 1818, Mr. Bankes crossed the Jordan at or near a ford lower than that near Beisan (the ancient Bethshean or Scythopolis), and found the stream flowing rapidly over a bed of pebbles, and easily fordable for the horses."—Buckingham, p. 315, quoted by Dr. Robinson, Bib. Res. vol. ii. p. 261. I suppose "the ford five or six miles above Jericho" (Robinson ut sup. p. 265) to be the Bethabara of the New Testament. In the time of Antoninus Martyr and Willibaldus, "the annual throng of pilgrims to bathe in the Jordan took place at the Epiphany." (Robinson ut sup. p. 270.) On the 12th of May 1838, "the thermometer, at sunset, stood at 78° F;" and on "Sunday May 13th, the excessive heat" gave Messrs. Robinson and Smith "an uncomfortable specimen of the climate of the Ghor," or valley of the Jordan (Ibid. p. 273). "In traversing merely the short distance of five or six hours, between Jerusalem and Jericho, the traveller passes from a pure and temperate atmosphere into the sultry

The opinion of Epiphanius that Jesus was baptized on the eighth of November, was clearly the result of computation. He supposed that our Lord was born on the sixth of January; and having advanced the opinion that He was twenty-nine years and ten months old when baptized, he of course placed the baptism two months earlier.

St. Chrysostom, on the other hand, in his homily on the baptism of Christ, asks "why the day in which he was baptized, and not the day in which he was born, is called the Epiphany? For this is the day in which he was baptized, and in which he sanctified the nature of water." And he thus answers the question: "Because Christ was made manifest to all, not when he was born, but when he was baptized."[1]

It is not intended to attach an undue importance to this opinion; but if the followers of Basilides held it, according to St. Clement of Alexandria, and the Church held it according to Chrysostom, there is some probability of its truth. Neither would be likely to receive it on the testimony of the other, and therefore both must have derived it from some common source. There can be no impropriety, therefore, in considering the sixth of January as the date of our Lord's baptism, when every departure from that date has proceeded from computation merely, and not from testimony.

There is another question of far greater importance, and that is, how many passovers intervened between the baptism of our Lord and his crucifixion?

Whatever diversity of opinion there may be with regard to the other Evangelists, St. John, it is generally admitted, preserves the order of time. "John," says Chemnitz, as quoted by Abp. Newcome, "had in view two objects in writing his history: First, to add what the other Evangelists had omitted; second, to point out a method by which the order and sequence of the whole evangelical history might be searched out and apprehended." The Archbishop himself admits that he has neglected the true order of time, only in speaking of Mary's anointing the feet of Jesus;[2] and even this exception I have not ventured to make, though I am fully sensible that the reasons on which it has been founded are forcible.

There are four passages in St. John's history from which it is

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heat of an Egyptian climate. Nor is this surprising, when we consider that the caldron of the Dead Sea and the valley of the Jordan lie several hundred feet below the level of the ocean, and nearly three thousand feet lower than Jerusalem." (Ibid. p. 282).

[1] S. Chrys. Op. ed. Montf. tom. ii. p. 369.

[2] Chap. xii. 2-8.

inferred that our Lord was present at the same number of passovers during the interval between his baptism and his crucifixion: First, ch. ii. 13: "And the Jews' Passover was at hand, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem." Secondly, ch. v. i: "After this there was a feast of the Jews; and Jesus went up to Jerusalem." Thirdly, ch. vi. 4: "And the passover a feast of the Jews was nigh." Fourthly, ch. xii. 1: "Then Jesus six days before the passover came to Bethany." See also chaps. xiii. 1, and xviii. 28.

The only doubt is with regard to the second, or that which is mentioned in the fifth chapter. If the article had been inserted, so that instead of A feast, it should be read THE feast of the Jews, there would have been no hesitation in admitting it to be the Passover; for nothing was more common than to designate that as THE feast. On this subject Bishop Middleton, in his invaluable work on the Greek article, makes the following remarks: "If we could accurately ascertain what was the festival here meant, it would go far towards determining the much controverted question respecting the duration of Christ's ministry. It seems to be admitted, that if the reading had been Ἡ ἑορτὴ (which, indeed, is found in several MSS.) the festival here spoken of could be no other than the Passover; and that then there were *four* Passovers, according to St. John, during our Saviour's ministry: otherwise, it is contended that some other feast, probably of Pentecost, is here meant, and that the Passovers of our Saviour's ministry were only three."

After several critical remarks explanatory of the omission of the article, the Bishop sums up the whole subject as follows: "On the whole, I think it certain that the Passover may here be intended, and that the arguments against this supposition are not strengthened, as is commonly supposed, by the absence of the article. On the other hand, the opinion that the Passover *is* here meant, is somewhat favoured by the various reading.[1]

With these observations, I leave the subject for the present, and proceed to lay before the reader a series of tables for three years, constructed by means of the Canon of Victorius, and containing an adjustment of the modern, Roman, and Jewish computations of time. These will complete the period from the commencement of St. John's ministry, until the day when our Lord was taken up, and the Holy Ghost descended.

[1] Doct. of the Greek article, part II. in loc.

TABLE I.—First Year of our Lord's Ministry.

Sunday Letter G; A.J.P. 4738; Olymp. cci. 1-2; A.U.C. 777-78; Ref. Cal. of Julius Cæsar 70, A.D. 25; Associate Govt. of Tiberius, A. 15-16; Sole reign of Tiberius, A. 12-13; Year of Pilate, 1-2, C. Calvisius Sabinus, Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Gætulicus, Coss.

Modern Comp. of Time.	Roman Comp. of Time.		Age of the ☽	Jewish Computation of Time.
Jan. 1 Mon.	Kal.	Fer. ii	15	Last half of Tebeth.
2 Tues.	iv	iii	16	
3 Wed.	iii	iv	17	
4 Thur.	Prid.	v	18	
5 Fri.	Non.	vi	19	
6 Sat.	viii	vii	20	Sab.
G 7 Sun.	vii	i	21	
8 Mon.	vi	ii	22	
9 Tues.	v	iii	23	
10 Wed.	iv	iv	24	
11 Thur.	iii	v	25	
12 Fri.	Prid.	vi	26	
13 Sat.	Idus.	vii	27	Sab.
G 14 Sun.	xix	i	28	
15 Mon.	xviii	ii	29	
16 Tues.	xvii	iii	1	Shebet.
17 Wed.	xvi	iv	2	
18 Thur.	xv	v	3	
19 Fri.	xiv	vi	4	
20 Sat.	xiii	vii	5	Sab.
G 21 Sun.	xii	i	6	
22 Mon.	xi	ii	7	
23 Tues.	x	iii	8	
24 Wed.	ix	iv	9	
25 Thur.	viii	v	10	
26 Fri.	vii	vi	11	
27 Sat.	vi	vii	12	Sab.
G 28 Sun.	v	i	13	
29 Mon.	iv	ii	14	
30 Tues.	iii	iii	15	
31 Wed.	Prid.	iv	16	
Feb. 1 Thur.	Kal.	v	17	
2 Fri.	iv	vi	18	
3 Sat.	iii	vii	19	Sab.
G 4 Sun.	Prid.	i	20	
5 Mon.	Non.	ii	21	
6 Tues.	viii	iii	22	
7 Wed.	vii	iv	23	
8 Thur.	vi	v	24	
9 Fri.	v	vi	25	
10 Sat.	iv	vii	26	Sab.
G 11 Sun.	iii	i	27	
12 Mon.	Prid.	ii	28	
13 Tues.	Idus.	iii	29	
14 Wed.	xvi	iv	½	Adar.
15 Thur.	xv	v	1	
16 Fri.	xiv	vi	2	
17 Sat.	xiii	vii	3	Sab.
G 18 Sun.	xii	i	4	
19 Mon.	xi	ii	5	
20 Tues.	x	iii	6	
21 Wed.	ix	iv	7	
22 Thur.	viii	v	8	
23 Fri.	vii	vi	9	
24 Sat.	vi	vii	10	Sab.
G 25 Sun.	v	i	11	
26 Mon.	iv	ii	12	
27 Tues.	iii	iii	13	Esther ix. 1-28.
28 Wed.	Prid.	iv	14	Purim.

Modern Comp. of Time.	Roman Comp. of Time.		Age of the ☽	Jewish Computation of Time.
Mar. 1 Thur.	Kal.	Fer. v	15	
2 Fri.	vi	vi	16	
3 Sat.	v	vii	17	Sab.
G 4 Sun.	iv	i	18	
5 Mon.	iii	ii	19	
6 Tues.	Prid.	iii	20	
7 Wed.	Non.	iv	21	
8 Thur.	viii	v	22	
9 Fri.	vii	vi	23	
10 Sat.	vi	vii	24	Sab.
G 11 Sun.	v	i	25	
12 Mon.	iv	ii	26	
13 Tues.	iii	iii	27	
14 Wed.	Prid.	iv	28	
15 Thur.	Idus.	v	29	
16 Fri.	xvii	vi	1	Abib or Nisan.
17 Sat.	xvi	vii	2	Sab.
G 18 Sun.	xv	i	3	
19 Mon.	xiv	ii	4	
20 Tues.	xiii	iii	5	
21 Wed.	xii	iv	6	
22 Thur.	xi	v	7	
23 Fri.	x	vi	8	
24 Sat.	ix	vii	9	Sab.
G 25 Sun.	viii	i	10	
26 Mon.	vii	ii	11	
27 Tues.	vi	iii	12	
28 Wed.	v	iv	13	
29 Thur.	iv	v	14	Passover. [Lev. xxiii. 6.
30 Fri.	iii	vi	15	Feast of unleavened bread.
31 Sat.	Prid.	vii	16	Sab. Paschal Sab.
Apr. G 1 Sun.	Kal.	i	17	Morrow after the sabbath. Lev. xxiii. 11.
2 Mon.	iv	ii	18	
3 Tues.	iii	iii	19	
4 Wed.	Prid.	iv	20	
5 Thur.	Non.	v	21	Last day of the feast of unleavened bread.
6 Fri.	viii	vi	22	
7 Sat.	vii	vii	23	Sab. I. from the morrow after the sabbath τὸ σαββατον δευτεροπρώτον. Luke vi. 1.
G 8 Sun.	vi	i	24	
9 Mon.	v	ii	25	
10 Tues.	iv	iii	26	
11 Wed.	iii	iv	27	
12 Thur.	Prid.	v	28	
13 Fri.	Idus.	vi	29	
14 Sat.	xviii	vii	½	Iyar. Sab. II. from the morrow after the paschal sabbath.
G 15 Sun.	xvii	i	1	
16 Mon.	xvi	ii	2	
17 Tues.	xv	iii	3	
18 Wed.	xiv	iv	4	
19 Thur.	xiii	v	5	
20 Fri.	xii	vi	6	
21 Sat.	xi	vii	7	Sab. III. from the morrow after the paschal sabbath.
G 22 Sun.	x	i	8	
23 Mon.	ix	ii	9	
24 Tues.	viii	iii	10	
25 Wed.	vii	iv	11	
26 Thur.	vi	v	12	
27 Fri.	v	vi	13	
28 Sat.	iv	vii	14	Sab. The second passover. Numb. ix. 11. IV. from the morrow after the paschal sab.
G 29 Sun.	iii	i	15	
30 Mon.	Prid.	ii	16	

TABLE I.—FIRST YEAR OF OUR LORD'S MINISTRY (CONTINUED.)

Modern Comp. of Time.	Roman Comp. of Time.		Age of the ☽	Jewish Computation of Time.	Modern Comp. of Time.	Roman Comp. of Time.		Age of the ☽	Jewish Computation of Time.
MAY 1 Tues.	Kal.	Fer. iii	17		JULY 1 Sun.	Kal.	Fer. i	19	
2 Wed.	vi	iv	18		2 Mon.	vi	ii	20	
3 Thur.	v	v	19		3 Tues.	v	iii	21	
4 Fri.	iv	vi	20		4 Wed.	iv	iv	22	
5 Sat.	iii	vii	21	Sab. v. from the morrow after the paschal sabbath.	5 Thur.	iii	v	23	
G 6 Sun.	Prid.	i	22		6 Fri.	Prid.	vi	24	
7 Mon.	Non.	ii	23		7 Sat.	Non.	vii	25	Sab.
8 Tues.	viii	iii	24		G 8 Sun.	viii	i	26	
9 Wed.	vii	iv	25		9 Mon	vii	ii	27	
10 Thur.	vi	v	26		10 Tues.	vi	iii	28	
11 Fri.	v	vi	27		11 Wed.	v	iv	29	
12 Sat.	iv	vii	28	Sab. VI. from the morrow aft. the pas. sab.	12 Thur.	iv	v	1	AB.
G 13 Sun.	iii	i	29		13 Fri.	iii	vi	2	
14 Mon.	Prid.	ii	1	SIVAN.	14 Sat.	Prid.	vii	3	Sab.
15 Tues.	Idus.	iii	2		G 15 Sun.	Idus.	i	4	
16 Wed.	xvii	iv	3		16 Mon.	xvii	ii	5	
17 Thur.	xvi	v	4		17 Tues.	xvi	iii	6	
18 Fri.	xv	vi	5		18 Wed.	xv	iv	7	
19 Sat.	xiv	vii	6	Sab. VII. from the morrow [after the paschal sab.	19 Thur.	xiv	v	8	
G 20 Sun.	xiii	i	7	PENTECOST. Morrow aft. the seventh sab. Lev. xxiii. 16.	20 Fri.	xiii	vi	9	
21 Mon.	xii	ii	8		21 Sat.	xii	vii	10	Sab.
22 Tues.	xi	iii	9		G 22 Sun.	xi	i	11	
23 Wed.	x	iv	10		23 Mon.	x	ii	12	
24 Thur.	ix	v	11		24 Tues.	ix	iii	13	
25 Fri.	viii	vi	12		25 Wed.	viii	iv	14	
26 Sat.	vii	vii	13	Sab.	26 Thur.	vii	v	15	
G 27 Sun.	vi	i	14		27 Fri.	vi	vi	16	
28 Mon.	v	ii	15		28 Sat.	v	vii	17	Sab.
29 Tues.	iv	iii	16		G 29 Sun.	iv	i	18	
30 Wed.	iii	iv	17		30 Mon.	iii	ii	19	
31 Thur.	Prid.	v	18		31 Tues.	Prid.	iii	20	
JUNE 1 Fri.	Kal.	vi	19		AUG. 1 Wed.	Kal.	iv	21	
2 Sat.	iv	vii	20	Sab.	2 Thur.	iv	v	22	
G 3 Sun.	iii	i	21		3 Fri.	iii	vi	23	
4 Mon.	Prid.	ii	22		4 Sat.	Prid.	vii	24	Sab.
5 Tues.	Non.	iii	23		G 5 Sun.	Non.	i	25	
6 Wed.	viii	iv	24		6 Mon.	viii	ii	26	
7 Thur.	vii	v	25		7 Tues.	vii	iii	27	
8 Fri.	vi	vi	26		8 Wed.	vi	iv	28	
9 Sat.	v	vii	27	Sab.	9 Thur.	v	v	29	
G 10 Sun.	iv	i	28		10 Fri.	iv	vi	½	ELUL.
11 Mon.	iii	ii	29		11 Sat.	iii	vii	1	Sab.
12 Tues	Prid.	iii	½	THAMMUZ.	G 12 Sun.	Prid.	i	2	
13 Wed.	Idus.	iv	1		13 Mon.	Idus.	ii	3	
14 Thur.	xviii	v	2		14 Tues.	xix	iii	4	
15 Fri.	xvii	vi	3		15 Wed.	xviii	iv	5	
16 Sat.	xvi	vii	4	Sab.	16 Thur.	xvii	v	6	
G 17 Sun.	xv	i	5		17 Fri.	xvi	vi	7	
18 Mon.	xiv	ii	6		18 Sat.	xv	vii	8	Sab.
19 Tues.	xiii	iii	7		G 19 Sun.	xiv	i	9	
20 Wed.	xii	iv	8		20 Mon.	xiii	ii	10	
21 Thur.	xi	v	9		21 Tues.	xii	iii	11	
22 Fri.	x	vi	10		22 Wed.	xi	iv	12	
23 Sat.	ix	vii	11	Sab.	23 Thur.	x	v	13	
G 24 Sun.	viii	i	12		24 Fri.	ix	vi	14	
25 Mon.	vii	ii	13		25 Sat.	viii	vii	15	Sab.
26 Tues.	vi	iii	14		G 26 Sun.	vii	i	16	
27 Wed.	v	iv	15		27 Mon.	vi	ii	17	
28 Thur.	iv	v	16		28 Tues.	v	iii	18	
29 Fri.	iii	vi	17		29 Wed.	iv	iv	19	
30 Sat.	Prid.	vii	18	Sab.	30 Thur.	iii	v	20	
					31 Fri.	Prid.	vi	21	

TABLE I.—FIRST YEAR OF OUR LORD'S MINISTRY (CONTINUED.)

Modern Comp. of Time.	Roman Comp. of Time.		Age of the ☽	Jewish Computation of Time.
SEP. 1 Sat.	Kal.	Fer. vii	22	Sab.
G 2 Sun.	iv	i	23	
3 Mon.	iii	ii	24	
4 Tues.	Prid.	iii	25	
5 Wed.	Non.	iv	26	
6 Thur.	viii	v	27	
7 Fri.	vii	vi	28	
8 Sat.	vi	vii	29	Sab.
G 9 Sun.	v	i	1	TISRI or ETHANIM.
10 Mon.	iv	ii	2	[Feast of trumpets. Lev. xxiii. 24.
11 Tues.	iii	iii	3	
12 Wed.	Prid.	iv	4	
13 Thur.	Idus	v	5	
14 Fri.	xviii	vi	6	
15 Sat.	xvii	vii	7	Sab.
G 16 Sun.	xvi	i	8	
17 Mon.	xv	ii	9	
18 Tues.	xiv	iii	10	Day of atonement. [Lev. xxiii. 27.
19 Wed.	xiii	iv	11	
20 Thur.	xii	v	12	
21 Fri.	xi	vi	13	
22 Sat.	x	vii	14	Sab.
G 23 Sun.	ix	i	15	Feast of tabernacles. [Lev. xxiii. 34.
24 Mon.	viii	ii	16	
25 Tues.	vii	iii	17	
26 Wed.	vi	iv	18	
27 Thur.	v	v	19	
28 Fri.	iv	vi	20	
29 Sat.	iii	vii	21	Sab.
G 30 Sun.	Prid.	i	22	Octave of the feast of tabernacles. Lev. xxiii. 36.
OCT. 1 Mon.	Kal.	ii	23	
2 Tues.	vi	iii	24	
3 Wed.	v	iv	25	
4 Thur.	iv	v	26	
5 Fri.	iii	vi	27	
6 Sat.	Prid.	vii	28	Sab.
G 7 Sun.	Non.	i	29	
8 Mon.	viii	ii	½	MARCHESVAN.
9 Tues.	vii	iii	1	
10 Wed.	vi	iv	2	
11 Thur.	v	v	3	
12 Fri.	iv	vi	4	
13 Sat.	iii	vii	5	Sab.
G 14 Sun.	Prid	i	6	
15 Mon.	Idus.	ii	7	
16 Tues	xvii	iii	8	
17 Wed	xvi	iv	9	
18 Thur.	xv	v	10	
19 Fri.	xiv	vi	11	
20 Sat.	xiii	vii	12	Sab.
G 21 Sun.	xii	i	13	
22 Mon.	xi	ii	14	
23 Tues.	x	iii	15	
24 Wed.	ix	iv	16	
25 Thur.	viii	v	17	
26 Fri.	vii	vi	18	
27 Sat.	vi	vii	19	Sab.
G 28 Sun.	v	i	20	
29 Mon.	iv	ii	21	
30 Tues.	iii	iii	22	
31 Wed.	Prid.	iv	23	
NOV. 1 Thur.	Kal.	Fer. v	24	
2 Fri.	iv	vi	25	
3 Sat.	iii	vii	26	Sab.
G 4 Sun.	Prid.	i	27	
5 Mon.	Non.	ii	28	
6 Tues.	viii	iii	29	
7 Wed.	vii	iv	1	CASLEU.
8 Thur.	vi	v	2	
9 Fri.	v	vi	3	
10 Sat.	iv	vii	4	Sab.
G 11 Sun.	iii	i	5	
12 Mon.	Prid.	ii	6	
13 Tues.	Idus.	iii	7	
14 Wed.	xviii	iv	8	
15 Thur.	xvii	v	9	
16 Fri.	xvi	vi	10	
17 Sat.	xv	vii	11	Sab.
G 18 Sun.	xiv	i	12	
19 Mon.	xiii	ii	13	
20 Tues.	xii	iii	14	
21 Wed.	xi	iv	15	
22 Thur.	x	v	16	
23 Fri.	ix	vi	17	
24 Sat.	viii	vii	18	Sab.
G 25 Sun.	vii	i	19	
26 Mon.	vi	ii	20	
27 Tues.	v	iii	21	
28 Wed.	iv	iv	22	
29 Thur.	iii	v	23	
30 Fri.	Prid.	vi	24	
DEC. 1 Sat.	Kal.	vii	25	Sab. Feast of the dedication of the temple. John x. 22.
G 2 Sun.	iv	i	26	
3 Mon.	iii	ii	27	
4 Tues.	Prid.	iii	28	
5 Wed.	Non.	iv	29	
6 Thur.	viii	v	½	TEBETH.
7 Fri.	vii	vi	1	
8 Sat.	vi	vii	2	Sab. Octave of the feast of dedication.
G 9 Sun.	v	i	3	
10 Mon.	iv	ii	4	
11 Tues.	iii	iii	5	
12 Wed.	Prid.	iv	6	
13 Thur.	Idus.	v	7	
14 Fri.	xix	vi	8	
15 Sat.	xviii	vii	9	Sab.
G 16 Sun.	xvii	i	10	
17 Mon.	xvi	ii	11	
18 Tues.	xv	iii	12	
19 Wed.	xiv	iv	13	
20 Thur.	xiii	v	14	
21 Fri.	xii	vi	15	
22 Sat.	xi	vii	16	Sab.
G 23 Sun.	x	i	17	
24 Mon.	ix	ii	18	
25 Tues.	viii	iii	19	
26 Wed.	vii	iv	20	
27 Thur.	vi	v	21	
28 Fri.	v	vi	22	
29 Sat.	iv	vii	23	Sab.
G 30 Sun.	iii	i	24	
31 Mon.	Prid.	ii	25	

TABLE II.—SECOND YEAR OF OUR LORD'S MINISTRY.

Sunday Letter F; A.J.P. 4739; Olymp. cci. year 2-3; A.U.C. 778-79; Ref. Cal. of Julius Cæsar, 71; Dionysian or Vulg Æra, 26; Associate Govt. of Tiberius, A. 16-17; Sole reign of Tiberius, 13-14; Year of Pilate, 2-3; M. LICINIUS CRASSUS, L. CALPURNIUS PISO, Coss.

Modern Comp. of Time.	Roman Comp. of Time.		Age of the ☽	Jewish Computation of Time.
JAN. 1 Tues.	Kal.	Fer. iii	26	
2 Wed.	iv	iv	27	
3 Thur.	iii	v	28	
4 Fri.	Prid.	vi	29	
5 Sat.	Non.	vii	1	SHEBET. Sab.
F 6 Sun.	viii	i	2	
7 Mon.	vii	ii	3	
8 Tues.	vi	iii	4	
9 Wed.	v	iv	5	
10 Thur.	iv	v	6	
11 Fri.	iii	vi	7	
12 Sat.	Prid.	vii	8	Sab.
F 13 Sun.	Idus.	i	9	
14 Mon.	xix	ii	10	
15 Tues.	xviii	iii	11	
16 Wed.	xvii	iv	12	
17 Thur.	xvi	v	13	
18 Fri.	xv	vi	14	
19 Sat.	xiv	vii	15	Sab.
F 20 Sun.	xiii	i	16	
21 Mon.	xii	ii	17	
22 Tues.	xi	iii	18	
23 Wed.	x	iv	19	
24 Thur.	ix	v	20	
25 Fri.	viii	vi	21	
26 Sat.	vii	vii	22	Sab.
F 27 Sun.	vi	i	23	
28 Mon.	v	ii	24	
29 Tues.	iv	iii	25	
30 Wed.	iii	iv	26	
31 Thur.	Prid.	v	27	
FEB. 1 Fri.	Kal.	vi	28	
2 Sat.	iv	vii	29	Sab.
F 3 Sun.	iii	i	½	ADAR.
4 Mon.	Prid.	ii	1	
5 Tues.	Non.	iii	2	
6 Wed.	viii	iv.	3	
7 Thur.	vii	v	4	
8 Fri.	vi	vi	5	
9 Sat.	v	vii	6	Sab
F 10 Sun.	iv	i	7	
11 Mon.	iii	ii	8	
12 Tues	Prid.	iii	9	
13 Wed.	Idus.	iv	10	
14 Thur.	xvi	v	11	
15 Fri.	xv	vi	12	
16 Sat.	xiv	vii	13	Sab. Esther ix. 1-28.
F 17 Sun.	xiii	i	14	Purim.
18 Mon.	xii	ii	15	
19 Tues.	xi	iii	16	
20 Wed.	x	iv	17	
21 Thur.	ix	v	18	
22 Fri.	viii	vi	19	
23 Sat.	vii	vii	20	Sab.
F 24 Sun.	vi	i	21	
25 Mon.	v	ii	22	
26 Tues.	iv	iii	23	
27 Wed.	iii	iv	24	
28 Thur	Prid.	v	25	

Modern Comp. of Time.	Roman Comp. of Time.		Age of the ☽	Jewish Computation of Time.
MAR. 1 Fri.	Kal.	Fer. vi	26	
2 Sat.	vi	vii	27	Sab.
F 3 Sun.	v	i	28	
4 Mon	iv	ii	29	
5 Tues.	iii	iii	1	VEADAR.
6 Wed.	Prid.	iv	2	
7 Thur.	Non.	v	3	
8 Fri.	viii	vi	4	
9 Sat.	vii	vii	5	Sab.
F 10 Sun.	vi	i	6	
11 Mon.	v	ii	7	
12 Tues.	iv	iii	8	
13 Wed.	iii	iv	9	
14 Thur.	Prid.	v	10	
15 Fri.	Idus.	vi	11	
16 Sat.	xvii	vii	12	Sab.
F 17 Sun.	xvi	i	13	
18 Mon.	xv	ii	14	
19 Tues.	xiv	iii	15	
20 Wed.	xiii	iv	16	
21 Thur.	xii	v	17	
22 Fri.	xi	vi	18	
23 Sat.	x	vii	19	Sab.
F 24 Sun.	ix	i	20	
25 Mon.	viii	ii	21	
26 Tues.	vii	iii	22	
27 Wed.	vi	iv	23	
28 Thur.	v	v	24	
29 Fri.	iv	vi	25	
30 Sat.	iii	vii	26	Sab.
F 31 Sun	Prid.	i	27	
APR. 1 Mon.	Kal.	ii	28	
2 Tues.	iv	iii	29	
3 Wed.	iii	iv	½	ABIB OF NISAN.
4 Thur.	Prid.	v	1	
5 Fri.	Non.	vi	2	
6 Sat.	viii	vii	3	Sab.
F 7 Sun.	vii	i	4	
8 Mon.	vi	ii	5	
9 Tues.	v	iii	6	
10 Wed.	iv	iv	7	
11 Thur.	iii	v	8	
12 Fri.	Prid.	vi	9	
13 Sat.	Idus.	vii	10	Sab.
F 14 Sun.	xviii	i	11	
15 Mon.	xvii	ii	12	
16 Tues.	xvi	iii	13	
17 Wed.	xv	iv	14	Passover. [Lev. xxiii. 6.
18 Thur.	xiv	v	15	Feast of unleavened bread.
19 Fri.	xiii	vi	16	
20 Sat.	xii	vii	17	Sab. Great Paschal.
F 21 Sun.	xi	i	18	Morrow after the sabbath. Sheaf of the first fruits waved. Lev. xxiii. 11.
22 Mon.	x	ii	19	
23 Tues.	ix	iii	20	
24 Wed.	viii	iv	21	
25 Thur.	vii	v	22	
26 Fri.	vi	vi	23	
27 Sat.	v	vii	24	Sab. I. from the morrow after the sabbath. Levit. xxiii. 15. τὸ σαββάτον δευτεροπρώτον. Second first sab. Luke vi. 1.
F 28 Sun.	iv	i	25	
29 Mon.	iii	ii	26	
30 Tues.	Prid.	iii	27	

TABLE II.—SECOND YEAR OF OUR LORD'S MINISTRY (CONTINUED.)

Modern Comp. of Time.	Roman Comp. of Time.		Age of the ☽	Jewish Computation of Time.
MAY 1 Wed.	Kal.	Fer. iv	28	
2 Thur.	vi	v	29	
3 Fri.	v	vi	1	IYAR.
4 Sat.	iv	vii	2	Sab. II. from the morrow after the pasch. sabbath.
F 5 Sun.	iii	i	3	
6 Mon.	Prid.	ii	4	
7 Tues.	Non.	iii	5	
8 Wed.	viii	iv	6	
9 Thur.	vii	v	7	
10 Fri.	vi	vi	8	
11 Sat.	v	vii	9	Sab. III. from the morrow after the pasch. sabbath.
F 12 Sun.	iv	i	10	
13 Mon.	iii	ii	11	
14 Tues.	Prid.	iii	12	
15 Wed.	Idus	iv	13	
16 Thur.	xvii	v	14	
17 Fri.	xvi	vi	15	
18 Sat.	xv	vii	16	Sab. IV. from the morrow after the pasch. sabbath.
F 19 Sun.	xiv	i	17	
20 Mon.	xiii	ii	18	
21 Tues.	xii	iii	19	
22 Wed.	xi	iv	20	
23 Thur.	x	v	21	
24 Fri.	ix	vi	22	
25 Sat.	viii	vii	23	Sab. V. from the morrow after the pasch. sabbath.
F 26 Sun.	vii	i	24	
27 Mon.	vi	ii	25	
28 Tues.	v	iii	26	
29 Wed.	iv	iv	27	
30 Thur.	iii	v	28	
31 Fri.	Prid.	vi	29	
JUN. 1 Sat.	Kal.	vii	½	SIVAN. Sab VI. from the morrow after the pasch. sabbath.
F 2 Sun.	iv	i	1	
3 Mon.	iii	ii	2	
4 Tues.	Prid.	iii	3	
5 Wed.	Non.	iv	4	
6 Thur.	viii	v	5	
7 Fri.	vii	vi	6	[row aft. the pas. sab.
8 Sat.	vi	vii	7	Sab. VII. from the mor-
F 9 Sun.	v	i	8	PENTECOST Morrow after 7th sab. Lev. xxiii. 16.
10 Mon.	iv	ii	9	
11 Tues.	iii	iii	10	
12 Wed.	Prid	iv	11	
13 Thur.	Idus.	v	12	
14 Fri.	xviii	vi	13	
15 Sat.	xvii	vii	14	Sab.
F 16 Sun.	xvi	i	15	
17 Mon.	xv	ii	16	
18 Tues.	xiv	iii	17	
19 Wed.	xiii	iv	18	
20 Thur.	xii	v	19	
21 Fri.	xi	vi	20	
22 Sat.	x	vii	21	Sab.
F 23 Sun.	ix	i	22	
24 Mon.	viii	ii	23	
25 Tues.	vii	iii	24	
26 Wed.	vi	iv	25	
27 Thur.	v	v	26	
28 Fri.	iv	vi	27	
29 Sat.	iii	vii	28	Sab.
F 30 Sun.	Prid.	i	29	

Modern Comp. of Time.	Roman Comp. of Time.		Age of the ☽	Jewish Computation of Time.
JULY 1 Mon.	Kal.	Fer. ii	1	TAMMUZ.
2 Tues.	vi	iii	2	
3 Wed.	v	iv	3	
4 Thur.	iv	v	4	
5 Fri.	iii	vi	5	
6 Sat.	Prid.	vii	6	Sab.
F 7 Sun.	Non.	i	7	
8 Mon.	viii	ii	8	
9 Tues.	vii	iii	9	
10 Wed.	vi	iv	10	
11 Thur.	v	v	11	
12 Fri.	iv	vi	12	
13 Sat.	iii	vii	13	Sab.
F 14 Sun.	Prid.	i	14	
15 Mon.	Idus.	ii	15	
16 Tues.	xvii	iii	16	
17 Wed.	xvi	iv	17	
18 Thur.	xv	v	18	
19 Fri.	xiv	vi	19	
20 Sat.	xiii	vii	20	Sab.
F 21 Sun.	xii	i	21	
22 Mon.	xi	ii	22	
23 Tues.	x	iii	23	
24 Wed.	ix	iv	24	
25 Thur.	viii	v	25	
26 Fri.	vii	vi	26	
27 Sat.	vi	vii	27	Sab.
F 28 Sun.	v	i	28	
29 Mon.	iv	ii	29	
30 Tues.	iii	iii	½	AB.
31 Wed.	Prid	iv	1	
AUG. 1 Thur.	Kal.	v	2	
2 Fri.	iv	vi	3	
3 Sat.	iii	vii	4	Sab.
F 4 Sun.	Prid.	i	5	
5 Mon.	Non.	ii	6	
6 Tues.	viii	iii	7	
7 Wed.	vii	iv	8	
8 Thur.	vi	v	9	
9 Fri.	v	vi	10	
10 Sat.	iv	vii	11	Sab.
F 11 Sun.	iii	i	12	
12 Mon.	Prid.	ii	13	
13 Tues.	Idus.	iii	14	
14 Wed.	xix	iv	15	
15 Thur.	xviii	v	16	
16 Fri.	xvii	vi	17	
17 Sat.	xvi	vii	18	Sab.
F 18 Sun.	xv	i	19	
19 Mon.	xiv	ii	20	
20 Tues.	xiii	iii	21	
21 Wed.	xii	iv	22	
22 Thur.	xi	v	23	
23 Fri.	x	vi	24	
24 Sat.	ix	vii	25	Sab.
F 25 Sun.	viii	i	26	
26 Mon.	vii	ii	27	
27 Tues.	vi	iii	28	
28 Wed.	v	iv	29	
29 Thur.	iv	v	1	ELUL.
30 Fri.	iii	vi	2	
31 Sat	Prid.	vii	3	Sab.

TABLE II.—SECOND YEAR OF OUR LORD'S MINISTRY (CONTINUED).

Modern Comp. of Time.	Roman Comp. of Time.		Age of the ☽	Jewish Computation of Time.	Modern Comp. of Time.	Roman Comp. of Time.		Age of the ☽	Jewish Computation of Time.
SEP. 1 Sun.	Kal.	Fer. i	4		NOV. 1 Fri.	Kal.	Fer. vi	6	
2 Mon.	iv	ii	5		2 Sat.	iv	vii	7	Sab.
3 Tues.	iii	iii	6		F 3 Sun.	iii	i	8	
4 Wed.	Prid.	iv	7		4 Mon.	Prid.	ii	9	
5 Thur.	Non.	v	8		5 Tues.	Non.	iii	10	
6 Fri.	viii	vi	9		6 Wed.	viii	iv	11	
7 Sat.	vii	vii	10	Sab.	7 Thur.	vii	v	12	
F 8 Sun.	vi	i	11		8 Fri.	vi	vi	13	
9 Mon.	v	ii	12		9 Sat.	v	vii	14	Sab.
10 Tues.	iv	iii	13		F 10 Sun.	iv	i	15	
11 Wed.	iii	iv	14		11 Mon.	iii	ii	16	
12 Thur.	Prid.	v	15		12 Tues.	Prid.	iii	17	
13 Fri.	Idus.	vi	16		13 Wed.	Idus.	iv	18	
14 Sat.	xviii	vii	17	Sab.	14 Thur.	xviii	v	19	
F 15 Sun.	xvii	i	18		15 Fri.	xvii	vi	20	
16 Mon.	xvi	ii	19		16 Sat.	xvi	vii	21	Sab.
17 Tues.	xv	iii	20		F 17 Sun.	xv	i	22	
18 Wed.	xiv	iv	21		18 Mon.	xiv	ii	23	
19 Thur.	xiii	v	22		19 Tues.	xiii	iii	24	
20 Fri.	xii	vi	23		20 Wed.	xii	iv	25	
21 Sat.	xi	vii	24	Sab.	21 Thur.	xi	v	26	
F 22 Sun.	x	i	25		22 Fri.	x	vi	27	
23 Mon.	ix	ii	26		23 Sat.	ix	vii	28	Sab.
24 Tues.	viii	iii	27		F 24 Sun.	viii	i	29	
25 Wed.	vii	iv	28		25 Mon.	vii	ii	½	CASLEU.
26 Thur.	vi	v	29		26 Tues.	vi	iii	1	
27 Fri.	v	vi	½	TISRI. Feast of trumpets. Lev. xxiii. 24.	27 Wed.	v	iv	2	
28 Sat.	iv	vii	1	Sab.	28 Thur.	iv	v	3	
F 29 Sun.	iii	i	2		29 Fri.	iii	vi	4	
30 Mon.	Prid.	ii	3		30 Sat.	Prid.	vii	5	Sab.
OCT. 1 Tues.	Kal.	iii	4		DEC. 1 Sun.	Kal.	i	6	
2 Wed.	vi	iv	5		2 Mon.	iv	ii	7	
3 Thur.	v	v	6		3 Tues.	iii	iii	8	
4 Fri.	iv	vi	7		4 Wed.	Prid.	iv	9	
5 Sat.	iii	vii	8	Sab.	5 Thur.	Non.	v	10	
F 6 Sun.	Prid.	i	9		6 Fri.	viii	vi	11	
7 Mon.	Non.	ii	10	Day of atonement. Lev. xxiii. 27.	7 Sat.	vii	vii	12	Sab.
8 Tues	viii	iii	11		F 8 Sun.	vi	i	13	
9 Wed.	vii	iv	12		9 Mon.	v	ii	14	
10 Thur.	vi	v	13		10 Tues.	iv	iii	15	
11 Fri.	v	vi	14		11 Wed.	iii	iv	16	
12 Sat.	iv	vii	15	Sab. Feast of tabernacles. Lev. xxiii. 34.	12 Thur.	Prid.	v	17	
F 13 Sun.	iii	i	16		13 Fri.	Idus.	vi	18	
14 Mon.	Prid.	ii	17		14 Sat.	xix	vii	19	Sab.
15 Tues.	Idus.	iii	18		F 15 Sun.	xviii	i	20	
16 Wed.	xvii	iv	19		16 Mon.	xvii	ii	21	
17 Thur	xvi	v	20		17 Tues.	xvi	iii	22	
18 Fri.	xv	vi	21		18 Wed.	xv	iv	23	
19 Sat.	xiv	vii	22	Sab. Octave of the feast of tabernacles.	19 Thur.	xiv	v	24	
F 20 Sun.	xiii	i	23		20 Fri.	xiii	vi	25	Feast of the dedication. John x. 22.
21 Mon.	xii	ii	24		21 Sat.	xii	vii	26	Sab.
22 Tues.	xi	iii	25		F 22 Sun.	xi	i	27	
23 Wed.	x	iv	26		23 Mon.	x	ii	28	
24 Thur.	ix	v	27		24 Tues.	ix	iii	29	
25 Fri.	viii	vi	28		25 Wed.	viii	iv	1	TEBETH.
26 Sat.	vii	vii	29	Sab.	26 Thur.	vii	v	2	
F 27 Sun.	vi	i	1	MARCHESVAN.	27 Fri.	vi	vi	3	Octave of the feast of the dedication.
28 Mon.	v	ii	2		28 Sat.	v	vii	4	Sab.
29 Tues.	iv	iii	3		F 29 Sun.	iv	i	5	
30 Wed.	iii	iv	4		30 Mon.	iii	ii	6	
31 Thur.	Prid.	v	5		31 Tues.	Prid.	iii	7	

TABLE III.—Third Year of our Lord's Ministry.

Sunday Letter E; A.J.P. 4740; Olymp. cci. years 3-4; A.U.C. 779-80; Ref. Cal. of Julius Cæsar, 72; Dionysian or Vulg. Æra, 27; Associate Gov^{t}. of Tiberius, A. 17-18; Sole reign of Tiberius, 14-15; Year of Pilate, 3-4; Appius Junius Silanus, Silius Nerva, Coss.

Modern Comp. of Time.	Roman Comp. of Time.		Age of the ☽	Jewish Computation of Time.	Modern Comp. of Time.	Roman Comp. of Time.		Age of the ☽	Jewish Computation of Time.
Jan. 1 Wed.	Kal.	Fer. iv	8		Mar. 1 Sat.	Kal.	Fer. vii	8	Sab.
2 Thur.	iv	v	9		E 2 Sun.	vi	i	9	
3 Fri.	iii	vi	10		3 Mon.	v	ii	10	
4 Sat.	Prid.	vii	11	Sab.	4 Tues.	iv	iii	11	
E 5 Sun.	Non.	i	12		5 Wed.	iii	iv	12	
6 Mon.	viii	ii	13		6 Thur.	Prid.	v	13	Esther ix. 1-28.
7 Tues.	vii	iii	14		7 Fri.	Non.	vi	14	PURIM.
8 Wed.	vi	iv	15		8 Sat.	viii	vii	15	Sab.
9 Thur.	v	v	16		E 9 Sun.	vii	i	16	
10 Fri.	iv	vi	17		10 Mon.	vi	ii	17	
11 Sat.	iii	vii	18	Sab.	11 Tues.	v	iii	18	
E 12 Sun.	Prid.	i	19		12 Wed.	iv	iv	19	
13 Mon.	Idus.	ii	20		13 Thur.	iii	v	20	
14 Tues.	xix	iii	21		14 Fri.	Prid.	vi	21	
15 Wed.	xviii	iv	22		15 Sat.	Idus.	vii	22	Sab.
16 Thur.	xvii	v	23		E 16 Sun.	xvii	i	23	
17 Fri.	xvi	vi	24		17 Mon.	xvi	ii	24	
18 Sat.	xv	vii	25	Sab.	18 Tues.	xv	iii	25	
E 19 Sun.	xiv	i	26		19 Wed.	xiv	iv	26	
20 Mon.	xiii	ii	27		20 Thur.	xiii	v	27	
21 Tues.	xii	iii	28		21 Fri.	xii	vi	28	
22 Wed.	xi	iv	29		22 Sat.	xi	vii	29	Sab
23 Thur.	x	v	½	SHEBET.	E 23 Sun.	x	i	½	ABIB or NISAN
24 Fri.	ix	vi	1		24 Mon.	ix	ii	1	
25 Sat.	viii	vii	2	Sab.	25 Tues.	viii	iii	2	
E 26 Sun.	vii	i	3		26 Wed.	vii	iv	3	
27 Mon.	vi	ii	4		27 Thur.	vi	v	4	
28 Tues.	v	iii	5		28 Fri.	v	vi	5	
29 Wed.	iv	iv	6		29 Sat.	iv	vii	6	Sab.
30 Thur.	iii	v	7		E 30 Sun.	iii	i	7	
31 Fri.	Prid.	vi	8		31 Mon.	Prid	ii	8	
Feb. 1 Sat.	Kal.	vii	9	Sab	Apr. 1 Tues.	Kal.	iii	9	
E 2 Sun.	iv	i	10		2 Wed.	iv	iv	10	
3 Mon.	iii	ii	11		3 Thur.	iii	v	11	
4 Tues.	Prid.	iii	12		4 Fri.	Prid.	vi	12	
5 Wed.	Non.	iv	13		5 Sat.	Non.	vii	13	Sab.
6 Thur.	viii	v	14		E 6 Sun.	viii	i	14	Passover.
7 Fri.	vii	vi	15		7 Mon.	vii	ii	15	Feast of unleavened bread. Lev. xxiii. 6.
8 Sat.	vi	vii	16	Sab.	8 Tues.	vi	iii	16	
E 9 Sun.	v	i	17		9 Wed.	v	iv	17	
10 Mon.	iv	ii	18		10 Thur.	iv	v	18	
11 Tues.	iii	iii	19		11 Fri.	iii	vi	19	
12 Wed.	Prid	iv	20		12 Sat.	Prid.	vii	20	Sab. Paschal sab.
13 Thur.	Idus.	v	21		E 13 Sun.	Idus.	i	21	Morrow after the pasc. sab. Sheaf of the first fruits waved.
14 Fri.	xvi	vi	22		14 Mon.	xviii	ii	22	
15 Sat.	xv	vii	23	Sab.	15 Tues.	xvii	iii	23	
E 16 Sun.	xiv	i	24		16 Wed.	xvi	iv	24	
17 Mon.	xiii	ii	25		17 Thur.	xv	v	25	
18 Tues.	xii	iii	26		18 Fri.	xiv	vi	26	
19 Wed.	xi	iv	27		19 Sat.	xiii	vii	27	Sab. I. from the morrow after the paschal sab. The second first sabbath.
20 Thur.	x	v	28		E 20 Sun.	xii	i	28	
21 Fri.	ix	vi	29		21 Mon.	xi	ii	29	
22 Sat.	viii	vii	1	ADAR. Sab.	22 Tues.	x	iii	1	IYAR.
E 23 Sun.	vii	i	2		23 Wed.	ix	iv	2	
24 Mon.	vi	ii	3		24 Thur.	viii	v	3	
25 Tues.	v	iii	4		25 Fri.	vii	vi	4	
26 Wed.	iv	iv	5		26 Sat.	vi	vii	5	Sab. II. from the morrow after the pasch. sabbath.
27 Thur.	iii	v	6		E 27 Sun.	v	i	6	
28 Fri.	Prid.	vi	7		28 Mon.	iv	ii	7	
					29 Tues.	iii	iii	8	
					30 Wed.	Prid.	iv	9	

TABLE III.—THIRD YEAR OF OUR LORD'S MINISTRY (CONTINUED).

Modern Comp. of Time.	Roman Comp. of Time.		Age of the ☽	Jewish Computation of Time.
May 1 Thur.	Kal.	Fer. v	10	
2 Fri.	vi	vi	11	
3 Sat.	v	vii	12	Sab. III. from the morrow after the pasch. sabbath.
E 4 Sun.	iv	i	13	
5 Mon.	iii	ii	14	
6 Tues.	Prid.	iii	15	
7 Wed.	Non.	iv	16	
8 Thur.	viii	v	17	
9 Fri.	vii	vi	18	
10 Sat.	vi	vii	19	Sab. IV. from the morrow after the pasch. sabbath.
E 11 Sun.	v	i	20	
12 Mon.	iv	ii	21	
13 Tues.	iii	iii	22	
14 Wed.	Prid.	iv	23	
15 Thur.	Idus.	v	24	
16 Fri.	xvii	vi	25	
17 Sat.	xvi	vii	26	Sab. V. from the morrow after the pasch sabbath.
E 18 Sun.	xv	i	27	
19 Mon.	xiv	ii	28	
20 Tues.	xiii	iii	29	
21 Wed.	xii	iv	½	Sivan.
22 Thur.	xi	v	1	
23 Fri.	x	vi	2	
24 Sat.	ix	vii	3	Sab. VI. from the morrow after the pasch. sabbath.
E 25 Sun.	viii	i	4	
26 Mon.	vii	ii	5	
27 Tues.	vi	iii	6	
28 Wed.	v	iv	7	
29 Thur.	iv	v	8	
30 Fri.	iii	vi	9	[row aft. the pas sab
31 Sat.	Prid.	vii	10	Sab. VII. from the mor-
June 1 Sun.	Kal.	i	11	Pentecost.
2 Mon.	iv	ii	12	
3 Tues.	iii	iii	13	
4 Wed.	Prid.	iv	14	
5 Thur.	Non.	v	15	
6 Fri.	viii	vi	16	
7 Sat.	vii	vii	17	Sab.
E 8 Sun.	vi	i	18	
9 Mon.	v	ii	19	
10 Tues.	iv	iii	20	
11 Wed.	iii	iv	21	
12 Thur.	Prid.	v	22	
13 Fri.	Idus.	vi	23	
14 Sat.	xviii	vii	24	Sab.
E 15 Sun.	xvii	i	25	
16 Mon.	xvi	ii	26	
17 Tues.	xv	iii	27	
18 Wed.	xiv	iv	28	
19 Thur.	xiii	v	29	
20 Fri.	xii	vi	1	Tammuz.
21 Sat.	xi	vii	2	Sab
E 22 Sun.	x	i	3	
23 Mon.	ix	ii	4	
24 Tues.	viii	iii	5	
25 Wed.	vii	iv	6	
26 Thur.	vi	v	7	
27 Fri.	v	vi	8	
28 Sat.	iv	vii	9	Sab.
E 29 Sun.	iii	i	10	
30 Mon.	Prid.	ii	11	
Jul. 1 Tues.	Kal.	Fer. iii	12	
2 Wed.	vi	iv	13	
3 Thur.	v	v	14	
4 Fri.	iv	vi	15	
5 Sat.	iii	vii	16	Sab.
E 6 Sun.	Prid.	i	17	
7 Mon.	Non.	ii	18	
8 Tues.	viii	iii	19	
9 Wed.	vii	iv	20	
10 Thur.	vi	v	21	
11 Fri.	v	vi	22	
12 Sat.	iv	vii	23	Sab.
E 13 Sun.	iii	i	24	
14 Mon.	Prid.	ii	25	
15 Tues.	Idus.	iii	26	
16 Wed.	xvii	iv	27	
17 Thur.	xvi	v	28	
18 Fri.	xv	vi	29	
19 Sat.	xiv	vii	½	Ab. Sab.
E 20 Sun.	xiii	i	1	
21 Mon.	xii	ii	2	
22 Tues.	xi	iii	3	
23 Wed.	x	iv	4	
24 Thur.	ix	v	5	
25 Fri.	viii	vi	6	
26 Sat.	vii	vii	7	Sab.
E 27 Sun.	vi	i	8	
28 Mon.	v	ii	9	
29 Tues.	iv	iii	10	
30 Wed.	iii	iv	11	
31 Thur.	Prid.	v	12	
Aug. 1 Fri.	Kal.	vi	13	
2 Sat.	iv	vii	14	Sab.
E 3 Sun.	iii	i	15	
4 Mon.	Prid.	ii	16	
5 Tues.	Non.	iii	17	
6 Wed.	viii	iv	18	
7 Thur.	vii	v	19	
8 Fri.	vi	vi	20	
9 Sat.	v	vii	21	Sab.
E 10 Sun.	iv	i	22	
11 Mon.	iii	ii	23	
12 Tues.	Prid.	iii	24	
13 Wed.	Idus.	iv	25	
14 Thur.	xix	v	26	
15 Fri.	xviii	vi	27	
16 Sat.	xvii	vii	28	Sab.
E 17 Sun.	xvi	i	29	
18 Mon.	xv	ii	1	Elul.
19 Tues.	xiv	iii	2	
20 Wed.	xiii	iv	3	
21 Thur.	xii	v	4	
22 Fri.	xi	vi	5	
23 Sat.	x	vii	6	Sab.
E 24 Sun.	ix	i	7	
25 Mon.	viii	ii	8	
26 Tues.	vii	iii	9	
27 Wed.	vi	iv	10	
28 Thur.	v	v	11	
29 Fri.	iv	vi	12	
30 Sat.	iii	vii	13	Sab.
E 31 Sun.	Prid.	i	14	

TABLE III.—Third Year of our Lord's Ministry (continued).

Modern Comp. of Time.	Roman Comp. of Time.		Age of the ☽	Jewish Computation of Time.	Modern Comp. of Time.	Roman Comp. of Time.		Age of the ☽	Jewish Computation of Time.
Sep. 1 Mon.	Kal.	Fer. ii	15		Nov. 1 Sat.	Kal.	Fer. vii	17	Sab.
2 Tues.	iv	iii	16		E 2 Sun.	iv	i	18	
3 Wed.	iii	iv	17		3 Mon.	iii	ii	19	
4 Thur.	Prid.	v	18		4 Tues.	Prid.	iii	20	
5 Fri.	Non.	vi	19		5 Wed.	Non.	iv	21	
6 Sat.	viii	vii	20	Sab.	6 Thur.	viii	v	22	
E 7 Sun.	vii	i	21		7 Fri.	vii	vi	23	
8 Mon.	vi	ii	22		8 Sat.	vi	vii	24	Sab.
9 Tues.	v	iii	23		E 9 Sun.	v	i	25	
10 Wed.	iv	iv	24		10 Mon.	iv	ii	26	
11 Thur.	iii	v	25		11 Tues.	iii	iii	27	
12 Fri.	Prid.	vi	26		12 Wed.	Prid.	iv	28	
13 Sat.	Idus.	vii	27	Sab.	13 Thur.	Idus.	v	29	
E 14 Sun.	xviii	i	28		14 Fri.	xviii	vi	½	Casleu.
15 Mon.	xvii	ii	29		15 Sat.	xvii	vii	1	Sab.
16 Tues.	xvi	iii	½	Tisri. Feast of trumpets. Lev. xxiii. 24.	E 16 Sun.	xvi	i	2	
17 Wed.	xv	iv	1		17 Mon.	xv	ii	3	
18 Thur.	xiv	v	2		18 Tues.	xiv	iii	4	
19 Fri.	xiii	vi	3		19 Wed.	xiii	iv	5	
20 Sat.	xii	vii	4	Sab.	20 Thur.	xii	v	6	
E 21 Sun.	xi	i	5		21 Fri.	xi	vi	7	
22 Mon.	x	ii	6		22 Sat.	x	vii	8	Sab.
23 Tues.	ix	iii	7		E 23 Sun.	ix	i	9	
24 Wed.	viii	iv	8		24 Mon.	viii	ii	10	
25 Thur.	vii	v	9	[Lev. xxiii. 27.	25 Tues.	vii	iii	11	
26 Fri.	vi	vi	10	The day of atonement.	26 Wed.	vi	iv	12	
27 Sat.	v	vii	11	Sab.	27 Thur.	v	v	13	
E 28 Sun.	iv	i	12		28 Fri.	iv	vi	14	
29 Mon.	iii	ii	13		29 Sat.	iii	vii	15	Sab.
30 Tues.	Prid.	iii	14		E 30 Sun.	Prid	i	16	
Oct. 1 Wed.	Kal.	iv	15	Feast of tabernacles. [Lev. xxiii. 34.	Dec. 1 Mon.	Kal.	ii	17	
2 Thur.	vi	v	16		2 Tues.	iv	iii	18	
3 Fri.	v	vi	17		3 Wed.	iii	iv	19	
4 Sat.	iv	vii	18	Sab.	4 Thur.	Prid.	v	20	
E 5 Sun.	iii	i	19		5 Fri.	Non.	vi	21	
6 Mon.	Prid.	ii	20		6 Sat.	viii	vii	22	Sab.
7 Tues.	Non.	iii	21		E 7 Sun.	vii	i	23	
8 Wed.	viii	iv	22	Octave of the feast of tabernacles.	8 Mon.	vi	ii	24	
9 Thur.	vii	v	23		9 Tues.	v	iii	25	Feast of the dedication. John x. 22.
10 Fri.	vi	vi	24		10 Wed.	iv	iv	26	
11 Sat.	v	vii	25	Sab.	11 Thur.	iii	v	27	
E 12 Sun.	iv	i	26		12 Fri.	Prid.	vi	28	
13 Mon.	iii	ii	27		13 Sat.	Idus.	vii	29	Sab.
14 Tues.	Prid	iii	28		E 14 Sun.	xix	i	1	Tebeth.
15 Wed.	Idus.	iv	29		15 Mon.	xviii	ii	2	
16 Thur.	xvii	v	1	Marchesvan.	16 Tues.	xvii	iii	3	Octave of the feast of the dedication.
17 Fri.	xvi	vi	2		17 Wed.	xvi	iv	4	
18 Sat.	xv	vii	3	Sab.	18 Thur.	xv	v	5	
E 19 Sun.	xiv	i	4		19 Fri.	xiv	vi	6	
20 Mon.	xiii	ii	5		20 Sat.	xiii	vii	7	Sab.
21 Tues.	xii	iii	6		E 21 Sun.	xii	i	8	
22 Wed.	xi	iv	7		22 Mon.	xi	ii	9	
23 Thur.	x	v	8		23 Tues.	x	iii	10	
24 Fri.	ix	vi	9		24 Wed.	ix	iv	11	
25 Sat.	viii	vii	10	Sab.	25 Thur.	viii	v	12	
E 26 Sun.	vii	i	11		26 Fri.	vii	vi	13	
27 Mon.	vi	ii	12		27 Sat.	vi	vii	14	Sab.
28 Tues.	v	iii	13		E 28 Sun.	v	i	15	
29 Wed.	iv	iv	14		29 Mon.	iv	ii	16	
30 Thur.	iii	v	15		30 Tues.	iii	iii	17	
31 Fri.	Prid.	vi	16		31 Wed.	Prid.	iv	18	

The foregoing tables, being constructed according to the common practice of computing twenty-nine and a half days to a lunation, do not pretend to astronomical accuracy. To effect that, it would be necessary to ascertain, in every case, the exact hour of the moon's change. They are sufficiently accurate, however, for the purpose we have in view, the utmost difference amounting in the three years to only one day, forty-five minutes, and forty-eight seconds. This the reader will perceive by the following calculation. The three years being common, amount to 1095 days. According to our computation, the first of the month Shebet, the first new moon in the year of the Julian period 4738, occurred on Tuesday the 16th of January; and from that time, thirty-six lunations, or three lunar years, were fully complete, and ended on Saturday December 13th, in the year of the Julian period 4740. There were, therefore, fifteen days in January 4738, and eighteen days in December 4740, to be added, in order to make them equal to three solar years. But these thirty-three days are an excess of three and a half days over one lunation. Consequently it was necessary in 4739 to insert the intercalary month Veadar, which began on Tuesday the fifth of March in that year. The rule of the Jews was to insert this intercalary month whenever Adar ended so early as to bring the fourteenth day of the next moon before the vernal equinox. Thirty-six lunations, at 29½ days each, amount to 1062 days; to which the fifteen days in January 4738 and the eighteen days in December 4740 being added, complete the number of 1095 days. But as a lunation amounts really to 29d. 12h. 44′ 3″, thirty-six lunations amount also in reality to 1063d. 0h. 45′ 48″, making a difference in three years of 1d. 0h. 45′ 48″ as before stated. This will account then for slight variations in the computation of the three passovers which preceded the year of our Lord's crucifixion; but the variation is too small to admit of any material error in the arrangement of our Lord's ministry.

There is another variation, however, in these tables, for which, as it departs from common usage, the author of this treatise is alone responsible, and which may possibly bring upon him the charge of presumption. He owes it to himself, therefore, as well as to the reader, to explain his motives. The variation referred to is in the calculation of Pentecost. Modern writers on the Jewish calendar, such as Calmet, Lamy, and Lightfoot, agree in counting from the sixteenth of the month Nisan, as being the day on which the first fruits of barley were presented in the Temple; and consequently they make the day of Pentecost, or the feast of weeks, to fall invariably on the sixth of the month Sivan. Instead of this, Pentecost has been counted, in the foregoing tables, *from the morrow after the Paschal Sabbath*, on whatever day of Nisan that might occur. In the paschal week there was always a sabbath, the first which occurred after the fourteenth of Nisan; and it was a day of great solemnity, being called by St. John[1] "a high day." The rule for calculating Pentecost, as given Levit. xxiii. 9-11, 15-16, takes effect, if I mistake not, from the morrow after that day. "And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them,—when ye be come into the land which I give unto you, and shall reap the harvest, then ye shall bring a sheaf of the first fruits of your harvest unto the priest; and he shall wave the sheaf before the Lord to be accepted for you: *on the morrow after the sabbath* the priest shall wave it."......"*And ye shall count unto you from the morrow after the sabbath from the day that ye brought the sheaf of the wave offering; seven sabbaths shall be complete: even unto the morrow after the seventh sabbath shall ye number fifty days;* and ye shall offer a new meat offering unto the Lord." The whole question turns on the interpretation to be given to the word sabbath in this passage. The writers whom I have mentioned affirm that it was the fifteenth of Nisan, the feast of unleavened bread mentioned in the sixth verse of this chapter. They maintain that in fact it was made a sabbath, because a holy convocation was commanded, and all servile labour strictly forbidden. They appeal to the Septuagint, which, instead of "the morrow after the sabbath," reads *τῇ ἐπαύριον τῆς πρωτης*, the morrow after the first [sc. day]; and to the Targum of Onkelos, which explains the text by מִבָּתַר יוֹמָא טָבָא "after the good day." But this mode of reasoning appears to me very inconclusive. All the feasts of the Lord were holy convocations, on which servile work was forbidden; and among these, the seventh day is in the third verse specially distinguished as being שַׁבַּת שַׁבָּתוֹן preeminently a sabbath of rest, or great sabbath. As to the Septuagint, the various readings show that the inference attempted to be drawn is untenable. The Aldine text after *τῆς πρωτης* adds *τῶν*

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[1] John xix. 31.

σὰββάτων, and this Schleusner thinks is undoubtedly the true reading.[1] Two manuscripts quoted by Dr. Holmes in his edition of the Septuagint, as Nos. 29 and 83, support it. But with this addition, it must be translated, "on the morrow of the first day of the week," or "on the morrow of the first day of the sabbaths." In either case, it would, I apprehend, favour my interpretation. The same may be said of the expression in the Targum; the sabbath, or seventh day, being always a day of rejoicing. I find no place in which the word Sabbath is unequivocally applied to any other than the seventh day of the week; and I can conceive of no reason why Moses should not have explicitly said the morrow after the first day of unleavened bread, if such had been his meaning.

There is another consideration which has weighed strongly with me, and that is, that the method of computing Pentecost here proposed, affords an easy and natural solution of a difficulty which to many has seemed insurmountable. I allude to the expression used by St. Luke, *ἐν σαββάτῳ δευτεροπρώτῳ*, rendered in our translation "the second sabbath after the first," and more literally "the second-first sabbath." The first sabbath was the high paschal sabbath, which occurred during the passover week. The next sabbath was the first of the seven, which were to be counted "from the morrow after the sabbath," when "the sheaf of the wave-offering" was brought. It was, therefore, called "the second-first sabbath," as being the octave of the great paschal sabbath. The slightest examination of the preceding tables will render this perfectly intelligible.

There is this advantage in the rule now proposed, that it adheres to the plain and literal interpretation of the Mosaic law; and its practical operation would never retard the Pentecost too late for the wheat-harvest, which, as before remarked,[2] generally takes place in Judæa in June. The tables will show, that in the first year of our Lord's ministry, the paschal sabbath fell on the 16th of Nisan; consequently, the morrow after that sabbath, the first day of counting to the feast of weeks, was the 17th, or Sunday April 1st, the *σαββάτον δευτεροπρώτον*, "the second first sabbath" the twenty-third, or Saturday the 7th of April; and the day of Pentecost, the fiftieth day, the seventh of Sivan, or Sunday the 20th of May. In the second year, when there was an intercalary month, and the passover, in consequence, came as late as the 17th of April, the paschal sabbath fell on the seventeenth of Nisan; the "second-first sabbath" on the twenty-fourth of Nisan, and the Pentecost on the eighth of Sivan, or Sunday the 9th of June. In the third year, the passover full moon falling on Sunday the 6th of April, the paschal sabbath came on the twentieth of Nisan, and the day from which Pentecost was reckoned was the twenty-first of that month; consequently, it would fall on the eleventh of Sivan, which in that year was on Sunday the 1st of June. In the year of our Saviour's crucifixion, if Friday was in fact the fourteenth day of the moon, according to the canon of Victorius, then the paschal sabbath fell on the fifteenth of Nisan, or the feast of unleavened bread, and consequently the morning of the resurrection, was not only the sixteenth of Nisan, but also "the morrow after the sabbath," in which the first fruits were waved in the temple. And even if Thursday was the fourteenth, as it would seem to have been in the ordinary method of computation, Easter Sunday, the 28th of March, would still be "the morrow after the paschal sabbath," and Pentecost would fall in both cases on Sunday, the 16th of May.

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[1] Lex. ad LXX. voc πρωτος.

[2] Part II. chap. 2, p. 365.

SECTION II. *Our Lord's ministry in Judæa.*—The tables being explained, examination of them from Jan. 6, A.J.P. 4738, by the Gospels, according to St. John's chronology.—The temptation.—Return to Galilee.—The marriage at Cana.—Return to Jerusalem.—The first Passover, March 29th, A.J.P. 4738.—Casting the buyers and sellers out of the Temple.—Miracles.—Nicodemus.—Tarrying in Judea and baptizing while St. John the Baptist was at Ænon.—Question as to the time occupied by these events.—Our Lord continued in Judea, going to Jerusalem only at the great fast and feasts, Pentecost, May 20; Atonement and Tabernacles, Sept. 18 to 30; Encœnia, Dec. 1 to 8.—Opinion of Sir Isaac Newton adopted, that he did not return to Galilee until four months before the next passover.—Passage through Samaria.

As no further explanation of the tables seems to be necessary, we proceed to examine the whole, according to the chronology furnished by St. John's Gospel.

If our Lord's baptism took place on the 6th of January, in the year of the Julian period 4738, it is worthy of remark, that He, who came to fulfil all righteousness, and did most of his mighty deeds of love and mercy on the sabbath day, was also baptized on the sabbath. Though coincidences of this nature afford no proof, they at least render conjecture plausible.

The three evangelists, St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, agree in stating, that Jesus, immediately after his baptism, was led by the Holy Ghost into the wilderness, where, like Moses and Elias, He fasted forty days and forty nights. This brings the time to Thursday, the 15th day of February. St. Matthew says, that "when he had fasted forty days and forty nights, he was afterwards an hungered. And when the tempter came to him, he said: If thou be the son of God, command that these stones be made bread."[1] St. Mark and St. Luke speak of the temptation as continuing during the whole forty days. This is not contradicted by St. Matthew; but none of the evangelists record any other than the three temptations which followed the fast. It is sufficient for these assaults to allow Friday, the 16th of February, as the closing period of the temptation; and the first sabbath in the month Adar, or Saturday, the 17th of February, as the day of refreshment and repose, when "the angels came and ministered unto him."[2]

After the temptation, our Lord appears to have returned to Bethabara.[3] But as it is uncertain where the wilderness of the temptation was, it is impossible to say when He arrived.* From St. John's account, it appears that He did not remain in the neighbourhood of Bethabara more than three or four days, after which He departed on his return to Galilee.[4]

More than a month now remained before it would be necessary for him to be at Jerusalem, to celebrate the passover; and in this interval the only events recorded by St. John, are the interview with Nathanael, the miracle wrought at Cana, and his residence with his mother, his brethren, and his disciples, at Capernaum, which the evangelist expressly says was "not many days."[5] The wedding may very possibly have taken place at the feast of Purim, which was celebrated that year on the 28th of February and the 1st of March.

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[1] Matt. iv. 2, 3.

[2] Ibid. iv. 11.

[3] John i. 29.

* According to Messrs. Robinson and Smith's Itinerary, the distance from Jericho to the foot of the mountain Quarantania, the supposed place of our Saviour's temptation, was not above fifty minutes, or less than three miles; and according to their map, not more than seven English miles, in a direct line from the river Jordan. Dr. Robinson states, that the tradition which regards this mountain as the place of our Lord's temptation, as well as the name Quarantana, appear not to be older than the age of the crusades. Yet from his own description, I am led to infer that it may have been the scene of that event. "The mountain," he says, "rises precipitously, *an almost perpendicular wall of rock, twelve or fifteen hundred feet above the plain.* —See Bib. Researches, vol. ii. p. 303, and Itin. vol. iii. first appendix, p. 71.

[4] John i. 43.

[5] John ii. 12.

Josephus states, that by passing through Samaria, a person might go from Galilee to Jerusalem in three days.[1] This might well be done on foot; for, according to the digest given by Reland,[2] the distance in Roman miles was as follows:

	MILES.
From Jerusalem to Bethel, from the ancient Itinerary of Jerus and Eusebius,	12
From Bethel to Neapolis (Sychar in Samaria) from the same Itin.	28 or 29
From Neapolis to Aser (or Asher) from the same Itin. - -	15
From Aser to Scythopolis (anc. Bethshan) - - -	6
From Scythopolis to the lake of Tiberias, 90 stadia, or about -	11
	73

And as a degree of latitude was equal to about 74½ Roman miles, the distance was not much over 68 English miles. Three Roman miles, or thereabout, were reckoned, according to Reland, an hour's journey. The whole would not occupy, therefore, more than twenty-four hours of travel; and supposing, on his mother's account—for the Blessed Virgin doubtless accompanied him—that they travelled more slowly, they could easily perform the journey, without spending a sabbath on the road, from Sunday, the 25th, to Wednesday, the 28th of March. Thursday, the 29th day of March, was the fourteenth of Nisan, or the first day of the passover.

The first Passover, Thursday, March 29th, A.J.P. 4738.

Before we attempt to adjust the transactions which intervened between the first and second Passovers of our Lord's ministry, it is necessary again to advert to the question, whether the feast mentioned in John v. 1 was the second Passover; or whether it was one of the other feasts which occurred during that year of the Jews, of which the first Passover was the commencement. For even if it was not the Passover, it may have been one of the feasts of the succeeding year; and therefore, on any supposition, it would not necessarily follow that there were not four Passovers, including that of the crucifixion during our Lord's ministry. It is not a question dependant upon testimony, for none exists. The Latin Church had here no records derived from the civil administration of the province, which would give peculiar value to the testimony of her writers; and the early Greek Church was too much embarrassed by the idea that our Lord's baptism and crucifixion were both within the fifteenth year of Tiberius, to give any testimony at all concerning the point now in question. It was not till the fourth century that Eusebius, and after him Epiphanius, discarding the influence of authority, had recourse to computation. But it is observable that Epiphanius differed from Eusebius in his estimate; the one placing the crucifixion in the eighteenth, the other in the nineteenth year of Tiberius. The whole subject, therefore, is properly and exclusively one of computation. It admits conjecture, and hence its details may be erroneous. Certainty is beyond our reach; and the highest point at which we can aim, is probability.

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[1] Flav. Joseph. Vita, § 52.

[2] Palæstina Illust. tom. i. p. 423.

The events mentioned by St. John as occurring before our Lord's return to Galilee, concerning which the other Evangelists are silent, are the following:

1. The casting the buyers and sellers out of the Temple, the remonstrance of the Jews, requiring the evidence of His commission to act thus, and His reference at that early period of his ministry to his death and resurrection.[1]

2. The miracles which he did at the feast of unleavened bread, that is from the first day of the feast, Friday the 30th of March, to the last day of the feast, Thursday the 5th of April, which caused many to believe in his name.[2]

3. The conversation with Nicodemus[3] of which neither the time nor place is mentioned, but which, it can hardly be doubted, was during the feast of the passover, and in Jerusalem.

4. The tarrying in Judæa with his disciples, and baptizing while John was baptizing in Ænon near to Salim. It appears from chap. iv. 1, that "Jesus made and baptized more disciples than John." This seems to imply the necessity of a considerable time spent by him and his disciples in that employment.

Then follows our Lord's leaving Judæa and departing again into Galilee;[4] and here the other Evangelists, who had been silent, after relating the temptation, resume the narrative.[5]

The question now is, what time was occupied by the transactions arranged under these four heads.

1. The casting of the buyers and sellers out of the Temple must

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[1] John ii. 14-22.
[2] Ibid. ii. 23-25.
[3] Chap. iii. 1-21.
[4] Chap. iv. 3.
[5] Matt. iv. 12; Mark i. 14; Luke iv. 14.

have taken place on or before the day of the passover; for the interrogation of the Jews, "What sign showest thou unto us, seeing that thou doest these things?" implies that they had as yet seen no sign of his prophetic character,—that is, no miracle. Unless He was an extraordinary messenger sent from God, and proved to be such by his "working the works of God,"[1] He had no right to give, much less to enforce, any orders in God's temple. Our Lord would not give them the sign they asked, but referred them to those future events which would show beyond all controversy that He was the Christ, the Son of God.

2. The miracles which He wrought at the passover[2] are said in our translation to have been wrought "in the feast day;" but the word *day* is in italics, to show that it is not in the original text. In the Greek it is ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ, in the feast, that is from the 15th to the 21st of Nisan inclusive. We can scarcely conceive how great must have been the sensation occasioned by these mighty deeds. For four hundred years, from Malachi to John the Baptist, no prophet had appeared; and John wrought no miracles.[3] All that they could know of miracles was from their sacred books. No glory had been seen in that temple. No oracular voice had been heard from that sanctuary. A spirit of rationalism and doubt had crept, with its benumbing influence, even into the Sanhedrim. And now a young man of obscure parentage, from despised Galilee, out of which, in the estimation of the Jewish doctors, ariseth no prophet, suddenly appears in the Temple, cleanses it from worldly pollution, speaks with an irresistible authority, lifts the diseased from the couch of sickness and they are healed, touches the lame man and he leaps up as an hart, opens the blind eye, unseals the deaf ear, unlocks the dumb mouth, casts out devils, and raises the dead. It was the official duty of the Sanhedrim to inquire into the authority of every teacher, and to decide whether his claims to a divine commission were well founded. With what astonishment must they have been spectators of our Lord's wonderful works! Yet He who knew the hearts of men, trusted them not. The intense expectations of a deliverer which then prevailed were low and carnal. They contemplated only the temporal grandeur of the Jewish nation, to be effected by the subjugation of the proud Romans, and the triumphs of Christ over the

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[1] John ix. 3, 4.

[2] Chap. ii. 23.

[3] John x. 41.

Gentiles. Their minds were not prepared therefore to receive the pure doctrines of the lowly Jesus, or to weigh in even balance the proofs that he was the Messiah.

3. The visit of Nicodemus proves how much the Sanhedrim were agitated by the sight of our Saviour's miracles. Though these miracles are not specified, their number must have been great, and their nature stupendous; and as the Evangelist speaks only of those which were wrought during the seven or eight days of the paschal feast, it seems probable that the secret debates of the Sanhedrim were occupied by these, and consequently that the visit of Nicodemus occurred at that time, and in Jerusalem. If so, the unusual expression *εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν γῆν*,[1] rendered in our translation, "into the land of Judæa," must mean, "into *the country* of Judæa," as opposed to *the city*. It is evidently so understood by St. Chrysostom in his commentary on this verse.[2] "For in the feasts he went up to the city that he might set forth his doctrines and extend the benefit of his miracles in the most public manner; and after the feast-days were ended, he came often to Jordan, because the concourse there was numerous, and he always preferred those places in which were the greatest multitudes."

For the reason here assigned by St. Chrysostom, our Lord continued, probably, in various parts of the country, displaying his miraculous power, disseminating his doctrines, and baptizing by the ministry of his disciples;[3] going up to the city, only when the rest of his countrymen repaired thither in obedience to the law; that is, at the feast of Pentecost the 20th of May—perhaps at the great fast of the Atonement—during the feast of Tabernacles from the twenty-third to the thirtieth of September,—and the feast of the Dedication, which continued that year from the first to the eighth of December.

Some have inferred from the occurrences at Nazareth mentioned by St. Luke,[4] that our Lord must have been there during the feast of Tabernacles; because, according to Lamy and other writers on the Jewish calendar,* the sixty-first chapter of Isaiah, from which our Lord then read, was the lesson appointed for the fourteenth of Tisri, the day before the feast of Tabernacles. But Lamy acknowledges that the calendar he has given "was composed by Rabbi Hillel in the year of our Lord 358," and that "the Jews had none before that time."[1] There can be no certainty, therefore, that this division of lessons was as old as the time of our Saviour; and it does not seem probable that our Lord would neglect the duty so strictly enjoined[2] of being in the Temple at the feast of Tabernacles, especially when He and his disciples were but a short time before in the country of Judæa. For the time between the last day of the passover and the first of the feast of Tabernacles was that year only 170 days; a space hardly sufficient for the numerous baptisms administered by our Lord's disciples.

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[1] Chap. iii. 22.

[2] *ἐν μὲν γαρ ταῖς ἑορταῖς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀνῄει, ὥστε ἐν μέσοις αὐτοῖς προτιθέναι τὰ δόγματα, καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν θαυμάτων ὠφέλειαν· μετὰ δὲ το λυθῆναι τὰς ἑορτὰς, ἐπὶ τὸν Ιορδάνην πολλάκις ἤρχετο ἐπειδὴ καὶ ενταῦθα πολλοὶ συνέτρεχον. τοὺς δὲ πολυοχλοῦντας ἀεὶ κατελάμβανε τόπους*·—Opera, ed. Montf. tom. viii. p. 164, C. D. In Joan. Hom. 29.

[3] John iv. 2.

[4] Luke iv. 16-20.

I am therefore inclined to the opinion, first advanced, I believe, by Sir Isaac Newton,[3] that our Lord did not return to Galilee till about four months before the Passover of the following year. He founds this opinion on our Saviour's words to his disciples: "Say not ye, there are yet four months, and then cometh harvest?"[4] The earliest harvest, that of barley, would be at the passover, which, according to Table II. fell on Wednesday, the 17th of April, in the year of the Julian period 4739.† The first fruits were offered on the 21st, or, according to the common calculation, on the 19th of that month. Four months at the earliest period, reckoning backwards, would be about the 19th of December of the year we are now considering. By Table I. it appears that the feast of dedication[5] fell that year on Saturday, December 1st, and continued until Saturday, December 8th, our Lord having thus been at Jerusalem during all the great feasts of that year; and none again recurring until the next Passover, could return to his residence in Galilee with the greatest propriety, having fulfilled all the duties which the law required.

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* The reader will find all that need be said of this calendar, in Horne's judicious abridgment, Introduction, vol. iii. ed. 7th, p. 175.

[1] Apparatus Biblicus, Eng. trans. 4to, p. 115, note.

[2] Deut. xvi. 16.

[3] Observ. on Daniel and the Apocalypse, p. 147.

[4] John iv. 35.

† When the text was written, Dr. Robinson's valuable work, entitled "Biblical Researches," had not been published. The accurate statements he has given respecting the climate and the seasons of harvest, in various parts of the Holy Land, confirm the present computation. "The harvest upon the mountains," he observes, "ripens of course later than in the plains of the Jordan and the sea coast."...."Thus the wheat harvest in the plain of Jericho was nearly completed on the 13th of May. Three days before, we had left the wheat green upon the fields around Hebron and Carmel; and we afterwards found the harvest there in a less forward state on the 6th of June. The barley harvest at Jericho had been over for three weeks or more. My companion had visited the place a few years before, and found the barley then fully gathered and threshed on the 22nd of April."—Biblical Researches in Palestine, &c., vol. ii. pp. 99 and 278. The first-fruits of barley could therefore be obtained from the plains of the Jordan for the wave sheaf in the temple, however early the passover might fall.

[5] John x. 22.

According to this computation, eight months are allowed for our Lord's ministry in Judæa previous to his return to Galilee. Should this be thought too much time for the small number of events mentioned by St. John, it may be observed, that the same evangelist says in bold hyperbole, "there are also many other things which Jesus did, the which, if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written."[1] Besides, when we consider the great number who came to John's baptism, and that Jesus is here said to have baptized more than John, we shall see that eight months can hardly be called an extravagant estimate.

If these views be correct, our Lord left Jerusalem after the octave of the dedication, the 8th of December. That He must have left Jerusalem, and not the parts of Judæa about Jordan, is evident from his passing through Sychar in Samaria, which, as the most cursory inspection of a good map will show, would, in the latter case, have been entirely out of his way. As He stopped two days in Sychar, we cannot well place his arrival at Cana, (the first place where He stopped in Galilee), earlier than Friday, the fourteenth of that month, which corresponded with the 8th of Tebeth.

SECTION III. *Our Lord's ministry in Galilee.*—Three motives assigned for our Lord's retirement to Galilee.—1. The rising jealousy of the Pharisees.—2. The imprisonment of St. John the Baptist—3. The fulfilment of prophecy.—St. John's imprisonment about the end of November.—Our Lord's return to Galilee in December.—The principal difficulties of chronological arrangement are during this period, from the imprisonment to the death of St. John.—Different methods of harmonizing.—Attempt to arrange them by notes of time and place.—Second passover April 17, A.J.P. 4739.—The twelve Apostles chosen some time in the month of May.—Our Lord's progress to Jerusalem at the feast of Pentecost, the last of May and early in June.—St. John the Baptist's message from his prison. After Pentecost, or from Monday, June 10, the circuit mentioned by St. Luke, viii. 1-3, to the day of atonement, October 7.—Return to Capernaum after the feast of tabernacles, Oct. 20.—Second and last visit to Nazareth.—Our Lord's probable journey to Jerusalem at the feast of the dedication, Dec. 20-27.—The Apostles sent into Judæa, while our Lord takes his general circuit through all the cities and villages of Galilee, as recorded by St. Matthew and St. Mark.—Death of St. John the Baptist, early in March A.J.P. 4740.—Length of his ministry calculated.

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[1] John xxi. 25.

The evangelists assign three motives for our Lord's retirement to Galilee: first, the rising jealousy of the Pharisees:[1] secondly, the imprisonment of John the Baptist;[2] but, thirdly, and principally, as a consequence of that event, the fulfilment of the prophecy of Isaiah ix. 1-2, that "the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali" should principally enjoy the light of His presence and ministry.[3]

The Jewish rulers, having recovered from the astonishment and perplexity occasioned by the wonderful events of the Passover, had become alarmed at the progress of our Lord's doctrine, and the multitude of His disciples. Surprise had given way to alarm and animosity; and it was a prudent course at that period to retire from their immediate observation.

The imprisonment of St. John the Baptist may be placed about the end of November. If the conjecture be well founded, that he began his ministry on the day of expiation, the preceding year, then, on the present supposition, its duration was about fourteen months. Ænon, according to Eusebius, was eight miles south of Scythopolis, on the west side of the Jordan, and, consequently, within the dominions of Herod Antipas.

The ministry of the Forerunner being ended, our Lord came into Galilee, and thenceforth began to proclaim, as John had proclaimed before him, that the time was fulfilled, and the kingdom of God at hand.[4] He seems to have stopped first at Cana,[5] and there to have begun again the manifestation of His divine power, in healing the son of the nobleman of Capernaum.[6] This may have been on the second Sabbath in Tebeth, the 15th of December, or during the week following.

From Cana Jesus proceeded to Nazareth, "where he had been brought up: and as his custom was, he went into the synagogue on the Sabbath day, and stood up for to read."[7] The violence which He there suffered caused him to depart for Capernaum; and that city thenceforth became his stated residence. We may place his arrival there at the close of December.

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[1] John iv. 1.

[2] Matt. iv. 12; Mark i. 14; Luke iv. 14, 15.

[3] Matt. iv. 13-16.

[4] Matt. iv. 17; Mark i. 15.

[5] John iv. 46.

[6] Ibid. iv. 46 to the end.

[7] Luke iv. 16-30.

"Leaving Nazareth," says St. Matthew, "he came and dwelt in Capernaum, which is upon the sea-coast" (that is on the sea or lake of Tiberias), "in the borders of Zabulon and Nephthalim: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Esaias the prophet, saying, The land of Zabulon and the land of Nephthalim, by the way of the sea, beyond Jordan, Galilee of the Gentiles; the people which sat in darkness saw great light; and to them which sat in the region and shadow of death light is sprung up."[1]

The ten tribes were not all carried into captivity at once. The first Assyrian invasion, was under Tiglath-Pileser; the second, about nineteen or twenty years afterwards, under Shalmaneser. The first, was "in the days of Pekah, king of Israel;"[2] the second, "in the ninth year of Hoshea."[3] The parts around the sea of Gennesareth, or, as it is otherwise called, the sea or lake of Tiberias, were the first which suffered. "Tiglath-Pileser......took Ijon, and Abel-beth-maachah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, *and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali*, and carried them captive to Assyria."[4] "Shalmaneser took Samaria, and carried Israel away into Assyria."[5] Soon after the first Assyrian invasion, Isaiah uttered the prophecy quoted by St. Matthew; and as our translation somewhat obscures its meaning, I shall present it to the reader in the translation of Bishop Lowth, who has followed the eminently learned Joseph Mede,[6] and is fully supported by Vitringa.[7]

> In the former time he debased
> The land of Zebulon and the land of Napthali:
> But in the latter time he hath made it glorious:
> Even the way of the sea beyond Jordan, Galilee of the nations.
> The people that walked in darkness
> Have seen a great light;
> They that dwelled in the land of the shadow of death,
> Unto them hath the light shined.

As it was always the method of Divine Providence, when He afflicted his people for their sins, to hold out the hope of future mercies as an incentive to repentance, Isaiah was commissioned to tell them, that as they were the first to suffer debasement, so they should be the first to be honoured by the presence of that great Redeemer, who should be a light to the Gentiles, and the glory of his people Israel.

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[1] Matt. iv. 13-16.
[2] 2 Kings xv. 29
[3] Ibid. xvii. 6.
[4] 2 Kings xv. 29.
[5] Ibid. xvii. 6.
[6] Works, p. 101.
[7] In loc. tom. i. p. 233-34.

It was in Galilee, and especially in the land of Zebulon, and the land of Naphthali, that Jesus chiefly resided while he continued upon earth. From Capernaum, as a centre, He "went about all Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the Gospel of the kingdom, and healing all manner of sickness and all manner of disease among the people."[1] His disciples were all Galileans. After his resurrection, the angel who sat at the door of his sepulchre said to the women, "Go quickly and tell his disciples that he is risen from the dead; and behold he goeth before you into Galilee; there shall ye see him."[2] "In a word," to use the language of the learned Mede, "our Saviour's ordinary residence was in Galilee; he came into Judæa only at the feast-times, when the whole nation assembled at Jerusalem: during which times (partly during his stay there, partly in his going and returning), he did all in a manner that he did out of Galilee.—Only his nativity, his passion, and ascension, were proper to Judæa."[3]

With the exception of the passion and resurrection, all the chronological difficulties in the course of our Saviour's ministry, occur between the imprisonment and death of John the Baptist. The order of events, as recorded by St. Matthew, being different from that of St. Luke and St. Mark, the methods of harmonizing them vary according as the one or the other arrangement is adopted. There are great names on either side. Sir Isaac Newton observes "that St. Matthew was an eye-witness of what he relates, and so tells all things in due order of time, which St. Mark and St. Luke do not."[1] Bishop Pearce also says, "Matthew observes the order of time in his history, much more than either Mark, Luke, or John does;"[2] and Bishop Marsh evidently inclines to this opinion, though he cautiously observes: "As there is hardly any rule without an exception, I would not assert that St. Matthew has, in no instance whatsoever, deviated from chronological order."[3] On the other hand, Archbishop Newcome asserts, that "all attempts to reconcile the evangelists as to the general series of their facts, will be in vain undertaken by those, who consider St. Matthew as adhering to the strictness of historical order. This rock was long since pointed out by Bishop Richardson." And again: "Chronological order is not precisely observed by any of the evangelists: St. John and St. Mark observe it most; and St. Matthew neglects it most."[4] "It is very satisfactory to remark," however, as the same author observes, "that *when there is any clear note of time or place in one of the evangelists, the rest may always be brought to a perfect agreement with him, by easy and natural criticism;* one affirming his order, which the others often neglect, but *never contradict*."[5]

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[1] Matt. iv. 23.

[2] Matt. xxviii. 7.

[3] Works of Joseph Mede, p. 100.—The whole discourse on this subject, of one of the most learned and clear thinkers of the Church of England, ought to be read. If the misnamed Nestorians who inhabit the mountains of Kurdistan are in fact the descendants of the ten tribes, it is delightful to think that this prophecy of Isaiah has begun to be fulfilled, and will hereafter be accomplished in a still larger and completer sense. Dr. Grant's interesting narrative of this people does not, however, conclusively establish his theory. These ancient Christians, who have preserved their liberty and independence, inhabit, indeed, the country to which the ten tribes were carried; and the fact that they themselves claim, and the other inhabitants of that country, including the unbelieving Jews, admit the claim, that they are thus descended, may be considered as strong presumptive evidence. But all the proofs which Dr. Grant attempts to draw from their having a feast which they call the Pascha, and from their considering baptism as a substitute for circumcision, apply equally to all ancient Christian Churches. His argument from the prophecies, that the ten tribes still exist, and will be restored to their former country, "the land of Zebulon and the land of Naphtali," in a converted state, is forcible and just; and if these ancient Christians are a part of Israel according to the flesh, they may yet be the honoured instruments of converting their brethren the Jewish nation, and the Gentiles around them, to the faith of Christ.—This note was written before the news of their massacre by the Mahometans had been heard of.

This, then, is all that will now be attempted. We have brought the history of our Lord's ministry to the end of the year 4738 of the Julian period; and we now proceed to consider what *clear notes of time* there are in the following year.

The feast mentioned John v. 1, when Jesus went up to Jerusalem, is generally admitted by the best critics to have been the Passover. If the foregoing computations be correct, it could not have been earlier; because after the feast of Dedication, there were none until the Passover which required an attendance at Jerusalem. The *second* sabbath after the Passover, being the first of the seven counted for the feast of Weeks, was the *σαββάτον δευτερόπρωτον*, the second-first sabbath of St. Luke, chap. vi. 1; and as the Passover fell that year on Wednesday the 17th of April, the second-first sabbath was on the 27th of April. We therefore conclude, that all the events related by St. Luke, from chap. iv. 31 to the end of chapter fifth, occurred before the 27th of April, and consequently, that a period of nearly four months is given for them, between the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth chapter of St. John's

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[1] Obs. on Daniel, &c. Lond. 1732, 4to, p. 152.

[2] Pearce's Comm. tom. i. p. 207.

[3] Notes to chap. ii. § 2 of Michaelis' Introd. vol. iii.

[4] Preface to Archbishop Newcome's harmony.

[5] Preface to his harmony, ut sup.

Gospel. If Jesus left Capernaum on Sunday the 14th of April, he would have time enough to arrive in Jerusalem before the Passover. But supposing that He set out a week earlier, it would give at least fourteen sabbaths for his preaching "the Gospel of the kingdom" in the synagogues of Capernaum, and other cities and villages in Galilee; and as many weeks for the calling of Simon, Andrew, James, and John, from their nets, and Matthew from the receipt of custom; for the cure of the demoniac, and of the mother of Peter's wife; for that of the leper, in one of the cities, of which the name is not given; for that of the paralytic, in Capernaum; and, in general, the cure of "divers diseases and torments" among the people who flocked to him from Syria, Judæa, and the country beyond Jordan. There would be time enough even for the sermon on the mount; whether St. Matthew meant by this a single discourse, or whether he gave it as a specimen of our Saviour's mode of preaching, and as a summary of various discourses.[1] We, therefore, proceed to the events which followed

The Second Passover, Wednesday, April 17th, A.J.P. 4739.

The feast in John v. 1, being considered as the Passover, it will follow from verse 9, that the cure of the impotent man at the pool of Bethesda took place, probably, on the Paschal Sabbath, the 20th of April. The remarkable conversation which followed is assigned by the Evangelist in verse 18, as the motive of that increased hostility of the Jews toward our Lord which endangered his life. This made it prudent for him, as his hour was not yet come, to leave Jerusalem immediately after the seven days of unleavened bread; that is, after the evening of Wednesday the 24th of April. The following Sabbath (April 27th) was the *σαββάτον δευτερόπρωτον*, the second-first Sabbath mentioned by St. Luke,[2] in which our Lord "went through the corn fields, and his disciples plucked the ears of corn, and did eat, rubbing them in their hands." "The crops in the *southern* parts of Palestine, and in the plains," says Jahn, "come to maturity about the middle of April; but in the *northern* and the *mountainous* sections they do not become ripe, till three weeks after, or even later."[3]

The second-first Sabbath being this year in the second week after the middle of April, and the reaping of the harvest not having yet taken place, I infer that our Lord and his disciples were then on their way to Galilee, returning from the passover, and, consequently, had arrived in those colder regions, in which the barley was not yet so forward as in the plains and about Jerusalem.* The analogy between the case of David persecuted by Saul, and that of the son of David, whose life was now sought by the Jewish rulers, renders our Lord's appeal to his example in eating the show-bread peculiarly striking and forcible.[1]

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[1] Matt. iv. 17 to viii. 17: Mark i. 15 to ii. 14; Luke iv. 31 to v. 28.

[2] Luke vi. i.

[3] Bib. Archæol. chap. iv. § 62. Upham's trans. p. 70.

The cure of the man with the withered hand took place, St. Luke says, "upon another Sabbath."[2] It may have been, therefore, on the following Sabbath, the 4th of May. No notice occurs from which we can form any inference in what city the synagogue was, in which this miracle was wrought. The Scribes and Pharisees who were present, and were watching every action with a view to accuse him, were so transported with fury that they even took council with the Herodians for our Lord's destruction.[3] This caused him to depart with his disciples to the Sea, that is to the Lake of Tiberias,[4] his own country, where he would be safe from their malice; and thither he was followed by a great crowd, not only from Galilee, but also from Idumæa, Jerusalem, the country of Judæa, the region beyond Jordan, and even from Tyre and Sidon. The pressure of the crowd was so great that it was necessary for him to have a boat in readiness to receive him when necessary.[1]

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* The inference in the text was founded on the supposition that the northern part of Palestine, corresponding with ancient Galilee, is a higher region than that about Jerusalem; but from the subsequent perusal of Dr. Robinson's Work, I am led to think that the hill country of Judea, even as far south as Hebron and Carmel, is higher above the level of the Mediterranean, and more mountainous, than any part of that which constituted the ancient Galilee. I do not find any great difference in the season of harvest between the mountainous part of Judea and the plains of Galilee: in fact, nowhere, but in the valley of the Jordan and on the sea coast. If the Dead Sea is depressed more than 600 English feet below the level of the Mediterranean (Bib. Res. vol. ii. pp. 222 and 595), and the sea of Tiberias also depressed below that level, to an amount not yet ascertained (Bib. Res. vol. iii. p. 264), the high temperature of the whole Ghor, and its consequent early harvests, may easily be accounted for. After all, may not the wheat in Galilee have been so far advanced on the 27th of April, that it could be plucked and eaten by our Lord's disciples? On the 9th of May, between Hebron and Carmel (N. lat. 31½° and more than 2750 English feet above the Mediterranean), the wheat was ripening, and Messrs. Robinson and Smith had there "a beautiful illustration" of the fact we are now considering. "Our Arabs 'were an hungered,' and going into the fields, they 'plucked the ears of corn and did eat, rubbing them in their hands.' On being questioned, they said this was an old custom, and no one would speak against it; they were supposed to be hungry, and it was allowed as a charity. We saw this afterwards in repeated instances." (Bib. Res. vol. ii. p. 192).

[1] Matt. xii. 1-8; Mark ii. 23-28; Luke vi. 1-5.

[2] Luke vi. 6.

[3] Matt. xii. 14; Mark iii. 6; Luke vi. 11.

[4] Mark iii. 7.

"And it came to pass in those days," says St. Luke, "that he went out into a mountain to pray, and continued all night in prayer to God."[2] The indefinite expression "in those days" admits of some latitude; but after having thus spent the night in prayer, He chose from among his disciples the twelve apostles. Their names are recorded by all three Evangelists.[3] Here many of the harmonizers introduce the sermon on the mount.[4]

Sir Isaac Newton supposes that "the sermon on the mount was made" in "the summer season," because our Lord "pointed out the lilies of the field, then in the flower before the eyes of his auditors."[5] This may well have been the case; for in Palestine the summer season commences in the month of May. At the beginning of the month, the mercury reaches 70°, and rises gradually from 76° to 80°. The grass and herbs were grown to that height, that when Thevenot was riding from Nazareth to Acre on the 8th of May, they reached the girth of his saddle.[6]

"When he had ended all his sayings," continues St. Luke, "in the audience of the people, he entered into Capernaum."[7] How soon after is not said, though it may be inferred from St. Luke's words that it was not long. Here he healed the servant of a Roman centurion.[8] "And it came to pass the day after," says St. Luke, that is, the day after he had healed the centurion's servant, "that he went into a city called Nain."[9] This city, according to Eusebius, was near Endor, about two miles from Mount Thabor towards the south, and not far from Scythopolis, which was ninety stadia, or a little more than eleven Roman miles from the lake on the river Jordan. I infer, therefore, that our Lord was now on his way to Jerusalem to be present at the feast of Pentecost, which took place that year, if I am correct, on the ninth of June, or, according to the common computation, on the seventh of that month. He may have come to Nain, therefore, on Friday the 31st of May; and the fear and wonder excited by his raising the widow's son, creating the rumour that a great prophet had risen, spread far and near through the surrounding country, reached the imprisoned Forerunner, and caused in his mind a feeling of impatience that a power so great was not exerted for his relief.

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[1] Mark iii. 7-12.

[2] Luke vi. 12.

[3] Matt. x. 2-4; Mark iii. 13-19; Luke vi. 13-16.

[4] Matt. v. vi. vii.; Luke vi. 20-49.

[5] Matt. vi. 28-30.—Obs. on Dan. 151-2.

[6] See Buhle's Econom. Calend. of Palestine in Fragments Illustrative of Scripture, annexed to Calmet's Dictionary, Frag. No. 460.—English or American edition.

[7] Luke vii. 1.

[8] Matt. viii. 5-13; Luke vii. 2-10.

[9] Luke vii. 11.

It is uncertain where John the Baptist was confined; though it must have been within the dominions of Herod Antipas, and consequently could not have been south of Scythopolis, which, according to Josephus, was the southern frontier town of the two Galilees.[1] It was, therefore, in all probability not far from Nain; and hence St. Luke mentions here the message of John by his disciples, which St. Matthew had introduced after our Lord's charge to his apostles.[2] The inquiry if He were the promised Messiah, sent in this manner, indicated the impatience and distrust of St. John, occasioned by his imprisonment. Our Lord gently rebuked the infirmity, but took the occasion not only of showing the fulfilment of prophecy exhibited before the eyes of St. John's disciples, but, after they were gone, of bearing testimony to the character of St. John as his fore-runner. And the mention of those mighty deeds, which had been so clearly predicted by the prophets, led to those pathetic and solemn expressions of grief for the obduracy of the cities in which they had principally been wrought, which so strikingly exhibit the tenderness and sublimity of our Lord's character. They that had been exalted to Heaven would be thrust down to Hades. The very position of Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum, has for many ages been a subject of doubt and controversy.[3]

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[1] De Bel. Jud. lib. iii. c. 3.

[2] Matt. xi. 2-19; Luke vii. 19-35.—This may seem to be at variance with the statement of Josephus (Ant. lib. xviii. c. 5, § 2) that John was sent bound to Machærus, and there put to death; but it is more so in appearance than in reality. The message of John, according to St. Luke's arrangement, was delivered after our Lord had raised the widow's son at Nain, and consequently, according to the present computation, early in June in the year 4739 of the Julian period, on his way to Jerusalem, or after his arrival there at the feast of Pentecost. But if I am correct, the death of John took place early in March in the following year, and therefore about nine months after this message. In the interval, the jealous temper of Herod, to which Josephus attributes the imprisonment of John the Baptist, may have induced him to remove so dangerous a prisoner to an out-of-the-way place, where his popularity could not occasion any attempt at rescue or escape. My difficulty is this: that Machærus was on the confines of Arabia Petræa, east of the Dead Sea, and very remote from the scenes of our Saviour's miracles. Whereas, if John was at that time confined at Scythopolis, or any of the nearer strongholds, he would be more likely to hear of the wonderful works which proved that our Lord was "He that should come." If Herod meditated the death of John, of which, however, there is no evidence, no place could be so proper as Machærus. He may even have removed him thither in consequence of his promise to the daughter of Herodias.

[3] Matt. xi. 20-30.—The position of Cho-

The invitation of Simon the Pharisee, recorded by St. Luke,[1] took place, I think, at Jerusalem, during the feast of Pentecost. It may or may not have been with an evil design. His neglect of what were then the common acts of courtesy and hospitality, would lead us to think that it could have been from no very friendly motive. The affecting incident of the once abandoned, but then penitent woman, who came and anointed his feet, and washed them with her tears, and wiped them with the hair of her head, gave our Lord an opportunity not only to forgive and comfort her, but to rebuke the proud and corrupt Pharisee.

The feast of Pentecost being considered only as the termination of the Passover season, and therefore not having an octave like the other feasts, Jesus was at liberty to depart immediately from Jerusalem; a measure which the constantly increasing animosity of the Jewish rulers rendered expedient. He therefore took the circuit mentioned by St. Luke,[2] accompanied by the twelve, and by several distinguished women, who had been the subjects of his miraculous mercy, and who now with grateful hearts administered of their worldly substance to his necessities.

This occupied the whole time which intervened between the feast of Pentecost and the great day of Atonement, five days before the feast of Tabernacles. In common with every other Israelite, it was our Lord's duty to be in Jerusalem at that season. The day of Atonement took place that year on Monday the seventh of October; the feast of Tabernacles on the third sabbath, and its octave on the fourth sabbath in Tisri, or Saturday the twelfth and Saturday the nineteenth of October. I therefore place the departure of Jesus from Jerusalem after Pentecost, on Monday the tenth of June, and his return thither before the feast of Tabernacles, on Friday the fourth of October. Whether any of the events of this period are recorded is uncertain, as there are, I conceive, no notes of time in any one of the Evangelists by which we can say positively that any of those recorded were so early.

But our Lord's departure from Jerusalem after the feast of Tabernacles on his return to Capernaum, which may be placed at

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razin is utterly unknown. Dr. Robinson thinks "that the Bethsaida of Galilee lay near to Capernaum, and probably in the same tract of Gennesareth." (Bib. Res. vol. iii. p. 290.) The Bethsaida of Gaulonitis, in the dominions of Herod Philip, was of course a different place.

[1] Luke vii. 36-50.

[2] Luke viii. 1-3.

the latest on the 20th of October, will enable us to adjust the narratives of the several Evangelists without those dislocations which occur in many of the harmonies.

A fact incidentally mentioned by St. Mark, throws light, I think, upon this arrangement. He speaks of "the scribes which came down from Jerusalem."[1] Their coming was evidently with a view of maligning our Lord and destroying his influence among the people. If the reader will peruse the life of Josephus, he will there see an example of the same sort of intrigue and management by the Sanhedrim, occasioned by the popularity of the Jewish historian as governor of Galilee.[2] It is true that this may have occurred after Pentecost, during our Lord's circuit "throughout every city and village" of Galilee; but the circumstances of the narrative incline me to think that it was after the feast of Tabernacles, when, as I suppose, our Lord returned directly to Capernaum. The constantly increasing fame of Jesus, as "the great prophet," at least, if not "the Messiah," which the circuit he had just made had greatly augmented, and his recent appearance with his followers at the feast of Tabernacles, so alarmed the Sanhedrim, that they sent a deputation to Capernaum to counteract his influence. Multitudes were gathering thither from every quarter, bringing their sick with them, to experience the benefit of his healing power. The house in which he and his disciples were, was so besieged "that they could not so much as eat bread."[3] Our Lord's "friends," therefore, *οἱ παρ' ἀυτου*, they who were with him in the house, became alarmed at the tumult and the pressure, and went out to restrain the multitude; for I think with Macknight that the "*εξεστη*," rendered in our translation "he is beside himself," means ὁ ὄχλος, the *multitude*, not *our Lord.*[4]

During this time, on the occasion of his healing a blind and dumb Demoniac,[5] the scribes who came from Jerusalem attributed his miracles to the power of Satan. This blasphemy against the Holy Ghost our Lord most severely rebuked, "calling them to him"[6] and in the presence of the people denouncing their eternal woe.

Similar denunciations were uttered, when the same deputation of the Sanhedrim asked him to work a miracle expressly for them.

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[1] Mark iii. 22.
[2] Life, § 38-50.
[3] Mark iii. 20.
[4] Mark iii. 21.
[5] Matt. xii. 22-37; Mark iii. 22-30; Luke xi. 14-28.
[6] Mark iii. 23.

"Master, we would see a sign from thee."[1] He intimated to them that the diabolic spirit which he had cast out had returned with sevenfold power into their own bosoms; and this he said when the people were gathered thick together.[2] At this juncture, his mother and his brethren seeking to see him, he turned the circumstance to a moral use, by declaring that all who did the will of God bore a similar relation to him.[3]

It is observable that from this time forth our Lord's denunciations against the Scribes and Pharisees are most fearless and cutting. As they found they could do nothing against him before the multitude, they changed their plan of attack, and "a certain Pharisee" who was present "besought him to dine with him." This was, doubtless, to meet the deputation from Jerusalem; and our Lord boldly accepted the invitation. No one can read the conversation at that entertainment as recorded by St. Luke, without perceiving how He read their thoughts, with what rage His reproaches filled them, and how they provoked Him to speak on various subjects, in the hope of catching "something out of his mouth, that they might accuse him."[4]

The hour of dinner, and the manner of it, corresponded rather with the breakfast of modern times. It was taken about ten or eleven o'clock in the morning.[5] And "the same day," says St. Matthew, "went Jesus out of the house, and sat by the sea-side." But the crowd which assembled, and which, as St. Luke says, "were come to him out of every city," was so great, that he entered into one of the small vessels on the lake, and taught them as they stood on the shore.[6]

It was his custom to derive the topics of discourse from objects within his view. The lake is surrounded with fruitful hills, and it was now just seed-time; for "sowing," says Jahn, "commenced in the latter part of October; at which time, as well as in the months of November and December following, the wheat was committed to the earth. Barley was sown in January and February."[7] Lifting up his eyes, therefore, and beholding a sower sowing his seed, He took his parable from that circumstance, representing the effect which the broad-casting of the word of God would produce upon men of various tempers, dispositions, and pursuits.[1]

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[1] Matt. xii. 38-45; Luke xi. 29-36.

[2] Luke xi. 29.

[3] Matt. xii. 45-50; Mark iii. 31-35; Luke viii. 16-21.

[4] Luke xi. 37-54.

[5] Jahn's Archæol. part I. ch. 9, § 145.

[6] Matt. xiii. 2; Mark iv. 1; Luke viii. 4.

[7] Jahn's Bibl. Archæol. part I. ch. 1, § 18, and ch. 4, § 61.—So Dr. Robinson states: "The autumnal rains, the early rains of Scripture, usually commence in the latter half of October or beginning of November; not suddenly but by degrees; which gives opportunity for the husband-

The parables of the tares, of the grain of mustard-seed, of the treasure hid in the field, of leaven put into meal, of the sower's repose after he had sown his seed until the harvest, and many other parables of a like nature,[2] seem to have been uttered at the same place, and on the same occasion.

His being on the lake suggested the idea of fishing for pearls, and hence the parable of the pearl of great price. So also the drawing of a seine, led our Lord to compare his kingdom to a net. It is probable, too, that he continued his instruction till the evening had set in; and the appearance of a light on the surrounding hills, throwing its beams afar off, led him to speak of the impossibility of concealing the truth.[3]

"And the same day," says St. Mark, "when the even was come, he saith unto them, Let us pass over unto the other side." Josephus describes the lake as being forty stadia, or five Roman miles broad.[4] From its position, surrounded by hills, it was exposed to sudden gusts of wind;* and while our Lord, spent with the fatigue of this busy day, had fallen asleep, a sudden storm endangered their lives; but when Jesus arose and spake the word, the wind was lulled, and the waves were instantly calmed.[5]

The country of the Gergesenes or Gadarenes, for Gergesa and Gadara were in the same region, was on the eastern side of the lake. The cure of the two demoniacs, and the destruction of the herd of swine, filled the people with such fear, that they desired our Lord to leave their country. He therefore returned to Capernaum.[6]

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man to sow his fields of wheat and barley. The rains come mostly from the west or S.W., continuing for two or three days at a time, and falling especially during the nights."—Bib. Res. vol. ii. p. 97.

[1] Matt. xiii. 3-23; Mark iv. 3-20; Luke viii. 5-15.

[2] Mark iv. 33.

[3] Matt. xiii. 1-52; Mark iv. 1-34; Luke viii. 4-18.

[4] De Bel. Jud. lib. iii. c. 18.

* I reasoned here from my own experience on the lake of the four cantons in Switzerland; but I unconsciously anticipated the very language of Dr. Robinson, concerning this lake of Tiberias. "The position of this lake, embosomed deep in the midst of higher tracts of country, exposes it, as a matter of course, to gusts of wind, and, in winter, to tempests. One such storm is recorded during the course of our Lord's ministry."—Bib. Res. vol. iii. p. 312, see also note 2.

[5] Matt. viii. 18-27; Mark. iv. 35-41; Luke viii. 22-25.

[6] Matt. viii. 28. to ix. 1.; Mark v. 1-21; Luke viii. 26-40.

Here he found the people waiting for him, and among them, Jairus, the ruler of the synagogue, whose daughter was at the point of death. As he was going towards the house of this ruler, a woman who had for twelve years been afflicted with an issue of blood, was healed by the touching of his garment.[1]

Soon after the resurrection of the daughter of Jairus, followed the cure of the two blind men, who when he had left the ruler's house and returned to that in which he dwelt at Capernaum, came to him thither. As *they* went out from his presence, a dumb demoniac was brought to him, and when the devil was cast out was made immediately to speak. This great miracle, which exceeded all that had ever been "seen in Israel," produced upon the Pharisees no other effect than a repetition of the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost.[2]

After this, but how soon is not said, our Lord went from Capernaum to Nazareth, his own country, followed by his disciples, and "when the sabbath-day was come, began to teach in the synagogue."[3] This was the second, and the last recorded visit to the place where he had been brought up; and though his fame, as a mighty prophet, had now filled all Galilee, and therefore prevented the repetition of that violence which less than a year before had driven him from among its inhabitants, yet their familiarity with his childhood, and their knowledge of the humble condition of his family, hindered their believing. His stay therefore was probably short, for "he could there," on account of their unbelief, "do no mighty work, save that he laid his hands on a few sick folk, and healed them."[4]

In the absence of all positive and direct testimony, I place here our Lord's visit to Jerusalem at the feast of Dedication, which took place that year, on Friday the 20th of December, and continued until Friday the 27th of that month. According to this arrangement, nearly two months are allowed for the preceding transactions. My reasons for this supposition are the following:

First. That the silence of the three Evangelists is no proof to the contrary, because they are equally silent with regard to all the festivals, excepting the Passover at which He was crucified.

Secondly. That our Lord, who never in a single point transgressed the law of Moses, would necessarily be very scrupulous as to the observance of all the festivals; and although the feast of Dedication was not commanded in the law, being established at a much later period, yet it was observed by the whole nation as one of the most solemn festivals, and his absence from it would have subjected him to general censure.

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[1] Mat. ix. 18-26; Mark v. 22-43; Luke viii. 41-56.

[2] Mat. ix. 27-34.

[3] Mark vi. 1-6.

[4] Mark vi. 5.

Thirdly. That he never suffered any personal danger to interfere with the performance of duty. And

Lastly. That the next recorded action is his going about all the cities and villages teaching;[1] these general circuits occurring as I think only at the stated periods in which he went up to Jerusalem. According to this supposition, our Lord returned to Galilee about the end of December, in the year 4739 of the Julian Period. He was accompanied by "multitudes" from Judæa; for these, I conceive, and not the inhabitants of Galilee, were the "sheep having no shepherd," whom, by a beautiful figure, our Lord called the εκλελύμενοι καὶ ἐρριμένοι, "the wearied out and cast forth."[2] The hatred of the Jewish rulers prevented our Lord from exercising his ministry in Judæa. It was unsafe for him to be at Jerusalem excepting at the great feasts, when the presence of his personal friends, and the confluence of the people from Galilee and beyond Jordan, overawed the malice of his enemies. Filled with compassion he now did what no other prophet, not even Moses, excepting in the case of Joshua,[3] had done. He gave to his twelve Apostles, whom he had chosen eight months before, the same miraculous powers which he alone had hitherto exercised, and sent them two and two into Judæa,[4] while he himself "departed thence," i. e. from Capernaum, "to teach and to preach in the cities of Galilee." That he excluded from their commission the country in which he ministered, called[5] "the way of the sea beyond Jordan, Galilee of the Gentiles," appears I think from the charge,[6] "Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not."*

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[1] Matt. ix. 35; Mark vi. 6.—In St. Matthew the text is τὰς πόλεις πάσας καὶ τὰς κώμας. Our Lord went to *all* the cities, and a part of the villages; for πάσας applies only to the cities. Josephus says there were in Galilee 204 cities and villages: διακόσιαι καὶ τέσσαρες κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν εισι πόλεις καὶ κῶμαι.—Vita, § 45. It can hardly be supposed that all the villages were visited by Him at each circuit, though all may have been in the course of His ministry.

[2] Mat. ix. 36.

[3] Deut. xxxi. 7, 8, comp. with xxxiv. 9.

[4] Matt. x. 1 to xi. 1: Mark vi. 7-13; Luke ix. 1-6.

[5] Matt. iv. 15.

[6] Matt. x. 5.

* A great cause of the embarrassment in adjusting the chronology of St. Matthew

Between the departure of the Apostles and their return, must be placed the death of John the Baptist. The wonderful fact that our Lord, not only in person, but by the ministry of others whom he had commissioned, had healed the sick, cleansed the lepers, cast out devils, and raised the dead, excited the curiosity and aroused the guilty conscience of Herod Antipas. He had put John to death, and he now thought that John had risen again to execute vengeance on his murderer. He may, therefore, have desired to see Jesus[1] from motives of fear and policy, or with a view of getting the supposed John again into his power. These panic terrors would be strongest soon after the crime was committed, and our Lord would then be most disposed to retire from the observation of the jealous tyrant. We read, therefore, that "when Jesus heard" of the murder, "he departed thence by ship into a desert place apart;"[2] that is, as St. Luke explains it, he crossed the lake from Capernaum to a solitary place near Bethsaida.[3] And then follows the account in all the evangelists of the miraculous feeding of the five thousand.[4] But it is evident that the apostles had previously returned and given an account of their ministry.[5]

The period of the year when Jesus crossed the lake and the five thousand were fed, is clearly stated by St. John.[6] The Passover, by verse 4, was then nigh. But the Passover int he third year of our Lord's ministry, A.J.P. 4740, fell on Sunday, the 6th of April. Hence I infer that the death of John the Baptist took place early in March; and that the apostles returned to our Lord about the same time, having been absent in the performance of their wonderful commission not far from two months.

If the ministry of St. John began, as we have conjectured, on the

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to that of St. Mark and St. Luke, arises, I apprehend, from St. Matthew's uniting in one narrative, the first choice of the Apostles, and their subsequent commission. According to our computation, there was a space of about eight months between these two events; the Apostles being chosen early in May A.J.P. 4739, and being commissioned to work miracles, and preach the Gospel in Judæa, early in January A.J.P. 4740.

[1] Luke ix. 9,

[2] Matt. xiv. 13.

[3] Luke ix. 10.—This was the Bethsaida of Gaulonitis. I am glad to find that Dr. Robinson has taken the same view of this passage: "This Tell, and the ruins upon it above described, are probably no other than the site of the ancient Bethsaida of Gaulonitis, afterwards called Julias; which Pliny places on the east of the lake and the Jordan, and Josephus describes as situated in lower Gaulonitis, just above the entrance of the Jordan into the lake. ....This is doubtless the Bethsaida near to which Jesus fed the five thousand, on the east of the lake; and probably also the same where the blind man was healed."—Bib. Res. vol. iii. p. 308-9.

[4] Matt. xiv. 15-21; Mark vi. 34-44; Luke ix. 12-17; John vi. 5-14.

[5] Mark vi. 30; Luke ix. 10.

[6] Chap. vi. 1-14.

great day of atonement, which fell on the 29th of September, A.J.P. 4737, and it could not have begun much earlier, then the whole period from the commencement of his ministry until his death was a little less than two years and a half, more than fifteen months of which were spent in prison.

SECTION IV. *Our Lord's ministry beyond Jordan.*—From the death of John the Baptist the chronological arrangement less difficult.—Our Lord retires from Galilee, in March A.J.P. 4740, and resides beyond Jordan.—Miracle of feeding the five thousand, March 27.—The region of Gennesareth.—Conversation at Capernaum, March 29.—Third Passover, April 6.—Question whether our Lord attended it considered. —Scheme of His several journeys at the great festivals.—Two mentioned by St. Luke only; a third, by St. Matthew and St. Mark only.—The fourth to the last Passover, by all the Evangelists.—These correspond with the feasts of Pentecost, June 1st; of Tabernacles, October 1st; of the Dedication, Dec. 9th; and of the last Passover, March 25th, A.J P. 4741.—After the third Passover, our Lord, avoiding the dominions of Herod Antipas, goes into the region of Tyre and Sidon, crosses near the source of the Jordan, and comes down by Cæsarea Philippi and the Decapolis to the lake.—Memorable confession at Cæsarea Philippi.—Transfiguration on the same day of the Jewish ecclesiastical year as the subsequent Ascension, and consequently a figure of it.—Appointment of the seventy to visit Samaria and Galilee.—Our Lord's last circuit within the dominions of Herod Antipas.—Passes through Samaria on His way to Jerusalem for the day of Atonement, September 26. —Return about the middle of October.—The ten lepers.—Passes through Samaria and Galilee, crosses the lake, and remains beyond Jordan till it was time to set out for the feast of Dedication.—Events during that period.—Passes through Jericho.— Blind Bartimæus.—Zacchæus the publican.—After the Dedication, retires beyond Jordan, where he remains till the death of Lazarus.—Connexion with the chapter on the passion.—Brief notice of the subsequent period to the Ascension and the day of Pentecost.

From the death of John the Baptist, the chronological arrangement of the several evangelists becomes more uniform, and consequently the difficulties which now remain are fewer, and will require much less elucidation.

After the miracle of feeding the five thousand, the enthusiasm of the multitude, who had no longer any doubt that our Lord was the Messiah, determined them to raise an insurrection, and proclaim him king. To avoid this, he ordered the disciples to embark in the evening, while he retired alone to the mountain. They were to proceed to Bethsaida, where he was to join them, and then go across the lake to Capernaum. But the wind was contrary, and they had made but little progress (only about twenty-five or thirty furlongs, says St. John, or between three and four miles) when, in the fourth watch of the night,—that is, between three and six the next morning,—he was seen by them walking on the sea. As soon as they had received him on board, the wind lulled, and immediately they arrived at the opposite shore. The place where they landed was in the region of Gennesareth,[1] a region thus described by Josephus: "Along the Gennesar [the lake of Tiberias] stretches the region of the same name, wonderful alike for its fertility and beauty; for on account of the richness of its soil, there is no plant which it will not produce. The salubrity of its atmosphere fits it for the productions of colder as well as hotter climates. Nature seems jealous of her prerogatives, and forces together, with friendly violence, plants of opposing qualities. To this salubrity of the air is added also an abundance of fountains, which the inhabitants call Caphar Naum. The length of this region along the shore of the lake of that name is thirty stadia, and its breadth twenty.[2] Capernaum (כפר נחום, the village of mercy) was therefore the town, and Gennesareth the suburb or region annexed to it, between three and four miles long, and two and a half broad.*

Our Lord having, by the touch only of his garment, healed the sick of this region who were brought to him, entered into Capernaum; and the day following, the people who had been seeking him on the other side of the lake, came across, and found him in the city. Then occurred the very remarkable conversation recorded by St. John, in the sixth chapter of his gospel, concerning the necessity of eating his flesh and drinking his blood. As it was in the synagogue, while he was teaching, it probably occurred on the sabbath. I therefore place the miracle of feeding the five thousand, on Thursday the 27th of March; the embarcation of the disciples, the same evening; the arrival in Gennesareth, early on Friday the 28th; and the conversation in the synagogue of Capernaum, on Saturday the 29th of that month. Immediately after this our Lord commenced his journey for Jerusalem, where he arrived probably on Friday the 4th of April.[1]

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[1] Matt. xiv. 34; Mark vi. 53.

[2] Jos. de Bell. Jud. lib. iii. c. 10, § 8.

* I am happy to find that Dr. Robinson, after actual survey, has thus confirmed my inferences: "From all these notices, it follows conclusively that Capernaum lay on that part of the western shore known as the region of Gennesareth." And "this land of Gennesareth," he says in the next page, "was no other than the fertile plain which we had just traversed, extending along the shore from el-Mejdel on the south to Khân Minyeh on the north."—Bib. Res. vol. iii. p. 289, 290.

The third Passover, Sunday April 6th, A.J.P. 4740.

Harmonists of great note have been divided in opinion, whether our Lord went to Jerusalem at this Passover. Because St. John says:[2] "After these things," namely, the things recorded in the sixth chapter, "Jesus walked in Galilee, for he would not walk in Jewry, because the Jews sought to kill him," Sir Isaac Newton thought that he did not celebrate this Passover at Jerusalem.[3]

Archbishop Newcome also "considers John vii. 1 as a declaration that Jesus did not go up to the Passover, mentioned John vi. 4;" and, in connexion with this passage, he rests satisfied that the very silence of St. John affords proof "that Jesus dispensed with the observance of the law on this occasion."[4]

Macknight, on the contrary, argues strongly from Deut. xvi. 16, compared with Numb. ix. 13, for our Lord's observance of the law; and from the passage in question, John vii. 1, draws the contrary inference, that he had previously been in Jewry, and that an actual attempt had been made on his life at Jerusalem. He supposes that the disaffected disciples, who abandoned Christ on account of the discourse at Capernaum, went to the Passover, joined our Lord's enemies, and by their narrative and comments on his conduct, excited them to new fury.[5]

As I have already given my reasons for believing that our Lord was most scrupulously exact in fulfilling the law, it need only be observed here, that the arguments adduced by Macknight are, I think, strengthened by John vii. 10; for the evangelist there speaks of our Saviour as going up to Jerusalem at the subsequent feast of tabernacles, "not openly, but as it were in secret." It was perfectly consistent with our Lord's general conduct, to use all prudent means of avoiding the malice of his enemies; but it would not have been consistent, if, on that account, he had broken the law; nor could he, in that case, have said, so boldly as he did say in the Temple, at that same feast of tabernacles, "Which of you convinceth me of sin?"[6]

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[1] Matt. xiv. 22-36; Mark vi. 45-56; John vi. 15-71.

[2] Chap. vii. 1.

[3] Obs. on Dan. and the Apoc. p. 155.

[4] Harm. notes, § 65.

[5] Harm. note to § 63.

[6] John viii. 46.

With these remarks, I transcribe the following passage of Macknight's Harmony, as containing my own views on the subject: "Mark vi. 56: 'And whithersoever he entered into villages, or cities, or country, they laid the sick in the streets, and besought him that they might touch, if it were but the border of his garment: and as many as touched him were made whole.' It seems Jesus now made a long journey, in which he visited many different villages, cities, and countries. This could be no other than his journey to the Passover, which the evangelist John says was nigh when the miracle of the loaves was performed, John vi. 4.[1]

As the fourteenth of Nisan fell that year on Sunday, the feast of unleavened bread began from Sunday night, and the paschal sabbath came as late as Saturday the 12th of April. According to our calculation, the morrow after the sabbath, on which the first fruits were offered, was the next day, and that was also the octave of the Passover. The departure of our Lord, therefore, on his return to Galilee, may be placed on Monday the 14th of April.

In chap. vii. 2, St. John says, "Now the Jews' feast of Tabernacles was at hand." It came that year on Wednesday the 1st of October; consequently, he has passed over in silence all the events which occurred for six months, from the beginning of April until the end of September.

In chap. x. 22, 23, he says, that Jesus was present in the temple at the feast of Dedication. It began that year on Tuesday the 9th, and ended on Tuesday the 16th of December. After this feast, St. John says,[2] "that Jesus went again beyond Jordan, into the place where John at first baptized," that is,[3] Bethabara, "and there abode. The word "again" implies that He had been beyond Jordan before. Hence it may, I think, be fairly inferred, that in coming from Galilee to Jerusalem, to be present at the feast of the Dedication, He had passed through the country beyond Jordan. From Bethabara He was sent for by the sisters of Lazarus to come to Bethany;[4] and from Bethany He retired to "a city called Ephraim,"[5] where He continued with his disciples till He made his last journey to Jerusalem. No festival of this year is omitted by St. John, except that of Pentecost; and he does not mention that, because it occurred during the six months concerning which he is wholly silent.

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[1] Mackn. Harm. § 63.
[2] Chap. x. 40.
[3] John i. 28.
[4] Ibid. xi. 3.
[5] Ibid. xi. 54.

Let us now turn to the other Evangelists, and see if there be any notes of time in them, which will enable us to give a chronological arrangement of their narratives.

St. Luke mentions[1] a Journey from Galilee to Jerusalem through Samaria, concerning which St. Matthew and St. Mark are silent. He mentions another[2] in the same direction, concerning which St. Matthew and St. Mark are equally silent. This, as we have before remarked, was the shortest and most direct course from Galilee to Jerusalem.

A third journey is mentioned, both by St. Matthew and St. Mark, but concerning which St. Luke is silent, in which our Lord "departed from Galilee, and came into the coasts of Judæa, by the farther side of Jordan."[3] In this journey "great multitudes followed him."[4]

The fourth journey is mentioned by all the Evangelists; for it was that which was taken in order to be present at the last Passover, when our Lord was crucified.[5]

Now here are four journeys, corresponding with the four feasts, of Pentecost, of Tabernacles, of the Dedication, and of our Lord's last Passover. Of these journeys the third could not have been to attend the feast of Tabernacles, because St. Matthew says that great multitudes followed Him; whereas St. John, speaking expressly of that feast, says[6] that He went "not openly, but as it were in secret." The third journey was "by the farther side of Jordan;" and as St. John says that after the feast of the Dedication our Lord "went away *again* beyond Jordan,"[7] it must be inferred that he *came* to it from beyond Jordan. The second journey, mentioned by St. Luke,[8] accords better with the circumstances under which he went to the feast of Tabernacles, being the nearest and most direct course "through the midst of Samaria and Galilee." It follows therefore, almost of necessity, that the first journey through Samaria, mentioned by St. Luke,[9] was for the purpose of attending the feast of Pentecost, and indeed, could be on no other occasion. There are some objections to this scheme, but they will be considered in their order; and I therefore resume the narrative from the 14th of April, when, it is here supposed, our Lord, after the third Passover, left Jerusalem on his return to Galilee.

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[1] Chap. ix. 51-57.

[2] Luke xiii. 22, and xvii. 11.—The journey mentioned in these two passages must be one and the same; the first, while he was still in Galilee, the last, when he arrived in Samaria.

[3] Matt. xix. 1; Mark x. 1.

[4] Matt. xix. 2.

[5] Matt. xx. 17 to xxi. 1; Mark x. 32 to xi. 1; Luke xviii. 31 to xix. 28; John xii. 1-12.

[6] Chap. vii. 10.

[7] Chap. x. 40.

[8] Chap. xvii. 11.

[9] Chap. ix. 51.

The attempt upon his life during this passover not having succeeded, the Pharisees again sent their emissaries to follow him into Galilee, to watch his movements, weaken his influence, and if possible impeach his conduct.

It is not said where they overtook him, but seeing his disciples eat with unwashen hands "they found fault," because they transgressed the tradition of the elders. The severity of our Lord's reply, and his calling the people around him and warning them not to mistake outward for inward purity, gave violent offence to the Pharisees, and alarmed the timid disciples.[1] Instead therefore of going as usual to the lake of Tiberias, he left the dominions of Herod, turning towards the shores of the Mediterannean, and came into the region of Tyre and Sidon, belonging to Syria, and inhabited principally if not wholly by Gentiles.

Here "he entered," says St. Mark, "into an house, and would have no man know it, but he could not be hid." His fame had been spread abroad in that region; his person was recognized; and the poor Syro-Phenician mother, on account of her humility, perseverance, and faith, experienced for herself and daughter the tenderness of his mercy and the wonders of his power.[2]

By leaving the dominions of Herod, he had probably relieved himself from the importunities of his enemies; and, having accomplished this, he departed thence, and "came unto the sea of Galilee through the midst of the coasts of Decapolis."[3] This region is mentioned three times in the New Testament and twice by Josephus. It was so called, from its containing ten cities, the principal of which was Scythopolis. All, excepting Scythopolis, were beyond Jordan, and along the south-eastern shore of the lake of Tiberias. To any one therefore who examines the map of that country, it will be evident that after leaving the region of Tyre and Sidon, our Lord must have crossed the country to the south of Antilibanus near the sources of the Jordan, thus avoiding the dominions of Herod Antipas, and came down on the eastern side of the river to the lower extremity of the lake, near, if it was not in the very same place, where he had previously fed the five thousand.

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[1] Matt. xv. 1-20; Mark vii. 1-23.

[2] Matt. xv. 21-28; Mark vii. 24-30.

[3] Mark vii. 31.

While passing through Decapolis, he cured the deaf and dumb man, mentioned by St. Mark;[1] and on his arrival near the sea of Galilee, he went up into a mountain, εἰς τὸ ὄρος, into *the* mountain, namely, the mountain to which he retired to pray after he had fed the five thousand,[2] and there received the multitudes who again flocked to him, making "the dumb to speak, the maimed to be whole, the lame to walk, and the blind to see."[3] Here he wrought the miracle of feeding with seven loaves and a few small fishes the "four thousand men, besides women and children."[4]

On the occasion of feeding the five thousand, the enthusiasm of the multitude had shown itself in the design of shaking off the Roman yoke, and proclaiming Jesus as the king Messiah. To avoid a repetition of any such design, our Lord immediately entered into one of the small vessels on the lake, and sailed, St. Matthew says, to the coasts of Magdala,[5] St. Mark, into the parts of Dalmanutha.[6] There is here no contrariety; for Lightfoot has satisfactorily shown that Magdala and Dalmanutha were near each other, at the bottom of the lake, and not far from the point where the Jordan issues from it.[7]

Here He again encountered the Pharisees and Sadducees, who urged Him to work a miracle expressly for their gratification. "Deeply sighing" on account of their wickedness, "He left them," and "again departed to the other side," not of the lake, but of the place where he had fed the multitude; for, as appears from St. Mark's narrative, He did not go to Capernaum, but to Bethsaida, which according to Josephus, was in Philip's dominions, at the head of the lake, and on its eastern shore. The disciples having forgotten to supply themselves with bread, our Lord turned this circumstance to a spiritual account, by warning them to beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, and of the leaven of Herod.[1]

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[1] Chap. vii. 32-37.

[2] Matt. xiv. 23.

[3] Ibid. xv. 29-31.

[4] Matt. xv. 32-38; Mark viii. 1-9.

[5] Chap. xv. 39.

[6] Chap. viii. 10.

[7] Chorographical Decad. chap. 5, comp. with Chorographical Century, chap. 76, Works, vol. ii. pp. 70 and 308.

Lightfoot infers this from the Rabbinical books, in which Magdala is spoken of as being near to Chammath, or the warm springs where the Jordan issues from the southern part of the lake, near Tiberias on the western shore; and yet in the region of Gadara, beyond or on the east of Jordan. Dr. Robinson, on the contrary, supposes the Musslim village El-Mejdel, on the western shore, about three miles north of Tiberias, to be the Magdala here spoken of. He allows that it exhibits no marks of antiquity, but from the name, thinks "there is little reason to doubt that this place is the Magdala of the New Testament, the native town of Mary Magdalene."—Bib. Res. vol. iii. p. 278. May there not have been two Magdalas, one on the western, the other on the eastern, shore? and the latter called, for the sake of distinction, Magdala of Gadara?

Landing at Bethsaida, He wrought the miracle recorded by St. Mark,[2] of restoring sight to a blind man, but doing it privately, by leading "him out of the town," and charging him "neither" to "go into the town nor tell it to any in the town;" and then proceeded along the eastern bank of the Jordan "into the towns of Cæsarea Philippi." This expression means, as I conceive, the towns of Philip's Tetrarchy; for the city had been called Cæsarea Philippi by Herod Philip, in honour of the emperor and himself, when he made it the capital of Trachonitis. Its original name was Paneas, and according to Josephus[3] it was distant about a day's journey from Sidon. It was situated near the cave from which the stream of Jordan issues, and about 120 stadia, or 15 Roman miles, from the little lake Phiala, the true source of that river.[4]

During this journey, as our Lord "was alone praying," and "His disciples were with him,[5] He asked them, Whom say the people that I am?" And then, in answer to the further inquiry, "Whom say ye that I am?" St. Peter made the memorable confession, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." It was doubtless our Lord's design, from the conviction wrought by his miracles, to lead his disciples to this declaration; and this end accomplished, He began to disclose to them the great purpose for which He had come into the world. It forms an epoch in the history of our Saviour's ministry; because from henceforth that truth which had been before but obscurely intimated, became the leading, may I not say, the all-absorbing subject of his doctrine. "From that time forth began Jesus to show unto his disciples how that He must go unto Jerusalem, and suffer many things of the elders and chief-priests and scribes, and be killed and be raised again the third day."[6] If our calculations be correct, this memorable event

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* It is principally, I believe, on this expression, "departed to the other side," compared with St. Mark, that D'Anville and other geographers have relied in placing Bethsaida on the same side of the lake with Capernaum; but this is contrary to the express testimony of Josephus. By understanding the expression of the Evangelist as relating to the place where our Lord had fed the multitude, the difficulty is removed.

[1] Matt. xvi. 1-12; Mark viii. 11-21.

[2] Chap. viii. 22-26.

[3] Antiq. lib. v. c. 3, § 1.

[4] Jos. Bel. Jud. lib. i. c. 21, § 3, and lib. iii. c. 10, §7.

[5] Luke ix. 18.

[6] Matt. xvi. 21.

could not have taken place far from the middle of May, in the third year of our Lord's ministry, the year 4740 of the Julian period.

None of the disciples, but more especially the ardent Peter, who had received so magnificent a promise that he should open the kingdom of Heaven, could relish a doctrine which put to flight their anticipations of temporal grandeur. In the surprise which our Lord's declaration occasioned, Peter forgot the reverence due to his Master, "and began to rebuke him, saying, Be it far from thee, Lord; this shall not be unto thee." Such presumption required the most severe reproof. Our Lord, therefore, addressed to him the same language that he did to the Tempter in the wilderness; and then calling his disciples around him, warned them of the danger arising from a love of the world: "What shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"[1]

Six or eight days after these events, occurred the Transfiguration, designed doubtless to convince Peter, John and James, not only of the real glories of the Messiah's kingdom, but also of the necessity of his sufferings and death. For Moses, by whom the law was given, and Elijah, the great and mysterious prophet of the legal covenant, appeared with Him indeed in glory, but spake in the hearing of his disciples "of his decease, which he should accomplish at Jerusalem."[2] It was the living testimony of the law and the prophets; and to this was added the testimony of God himself; for "a bright cloud overshadowed them," which St. Peter, one of these eye-witnesses, calls "the excellent glory;[3] and "a voice" proceeded from this glory, "which said, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him."[4] As at his baptism, so now the Heaven was opened. The bright effulgence of the Shechinah, the visible manifestation of the Almighty, and the Oracular voice which was formerly heard in the tabernacle and first Temple, demanded faith in his words, and obedience to his will. "And as they came down from the Mountain, Jesus charged them, saying, Tell the vision to no man, until the Son of man be risen again from the dead."[5] St. Mark adds,[6] that while they obeyed his injunctions, they "questioned one with another what the rising from the dead should mean;" so far were even these favoured disciples from then knowing the nature of his kingdom! If it be asked why these three disciples only were permitted to have this foretaste of his glory, or why they only were permitted to witness the last agony of the Sacred Victim, it may be answered that Peter and the two sons of Zebedee were men of such commanding character, that their testimony, after our Lord's death and resurrection, would be sufficient to convince the great body of his disciples.

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[1] Matt. xvi. 13-28; Mark viii. 27-38, ix. 1; Luke ix. 18-27.

[2] Luke ix. 31.

[3] 2 Pet. i. 17.

[4] Matt. xvii. 5.

[5] Matt. xvii. 9.

[6] Chap. ix. 10.

The next day,[1] on their descent from the mountain, at the command of Jesus, the demoniac boy was healed whom the disciples, during his absence, had attempted in vain to cure. Elated as they had been, because the devils had been made subject to them, they were now taught a lesson of humility; and the answer of our Lord to their inquiry why they could not cast out "the foul spirit," conveyed an oblique censure upon their worldly-mindedness: "This kind goeth not out, but by prayer and fasting."[2] St. Luke adds, that while they all wondered at the mighty power of God, as displayed in all that Jesus did, He immediately turned their attention to his sufferings.[3]

This great subject, which was henceforth to occupy every thought, being now brought fully before our Lord's disciples, He set out on his journey to Jerusalem. According to the common computation, which places the feast of Pentecost invariably on the 6th of Sivan, it fell this year on Tuesday the 27th of May. According to our computation, it fell on Sunday the 1st of June. St. Mark says, "they departed thence," (that is, from the Mount of the Transfiguration); and παρεπορεύοντο διὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, passed along, or (as some render the word παραπορέυεσϑαι *celeriter, latenter, et quasi in cursu transire*[4]) passed rapidly and privately through Galilee; and he would not that any man should know it, "For he taught his disciples, and said unto them, The son of man is delivered into the hands of men, and they shall kill him; and after that he is killed, he shall rise the third day. But they understood not that saying, and were afraid to ask him."[5] St. Matthew merely says, "While they abode in Galilee."[6]

On their arrival at Capernaum, the demand was made of the half-shekel tax for the repairs of the Temple, of which St. Matthew speaks.[1] And then also occurred our Lord's impressive act, mentioned by three of the Evangelists, of placing a little child before the disciples, to reprove their worldly ambition.[2]

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[1] Luke ix. 37.

[2] Matt. xvii. 1-21; Mark ix. 2-29; Luke x. 28-42.

[3] Luke ix. 43-45.

[4] Macknight, § 72, note.

[5] Mark ix. 30-32.

[6] Matthew xvii. 22-23.

In connexion with this, St. Mark and St. Luke relate the reproof to John, in particular, for having forbidden one who cast out devils in the name of Jesus. It was an unwarrantable presumption in John, and those who had acted with him, because the power itself proved the commission.[3]

St. Luke now mentions our Lord's entrance into Samaria on his way to Jerusalem: " And it came to pass, when the time was come that he should be received up, (*ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς αναλήψεως αὐτοῦ*), he steadfastly set his face to go to Jerusalem."[4] I have already given my reasons for believing this to have been at the season of Pentecost. The dislocation of this passage by the harmonizers is any thing but satisfactory. The motive for it seems to have been the force of the word *ἀναλήψις*, " the receiving up," which " Schleusner, Doddridge, the ancient versions, and by far the greater majority of critics, assert, signifies the ascension into Heaven." Mr. Townsend has mentioned this;[5] and it seems to have been the principal reason which led that judicious and excellent critic to adopt Abp. Newcome's hypothesis.

But with due deference, I humbly conceive that from THE TRANSFIGURATION the time of his being received up had come. It was the very same season of the year. Twelve months from that time, He would indeed pass into the Heavens, realizing that glorious vision. I therefore adopt the words of Lightfoot, as conveying precisely the idea I would wish to give. " Moses and Elias had spoken of his departure out of this world; that is, of his final departure when He took leave of it, at his ascension into Heaven: and from thence forward till the time should come wherein He should be received up, He steadfastly set his face towards Jerusalem, resolving with himself to be present at all the feasts that should precede his *ἀναλήψιν*, his receiving up."[6]

If the Transfiguration and the Ascension took place, as there is reason to believe, on the same day of the Jewish ecclesiastical year, that is ten days before Pentecost, then, according to the common computation, it was on Saturday the 17th of May; if according to that which I prefer, it was on Thursday the 22d of May. The cure of the demoniac boy and the journey to Capernaum would occupy the 23d. Our Lord would naturally pass the sabbath, or Saturday the 24th, at Capernaum; and the following week, until Friday the 30th of May, might well be taken up in his journey to Jerusalem. During that period I place the events recorded in the remainder of the ninth chapter of St. Luke, and probably the conversations and parables recorded, Matthew xviii. 7-35, and Mark ix. 41-50.

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[1] Matthew xvii. 24-27.

[2] Matt. xviii. 1-6; Mark ix. 33-37; Luke ix. 46-48.

[3] Mark ix. 38-40; Luke ix. 49-50.

[4] Luke ix. 51.

[5] N. T. ed. Coit, note 26, p. v. 128*.

[6] Heb. and Talm. Exerc. upon St. Luke, viii. 51, Works, vol. ii. p. 418.

It has been seen that from the time when Herod Antipas filled the measure of his crimes by the murder of John the Baptist, our Lord retired into the dominions of his brother Philip, and thenceforward Capernaum ceased to be his ordinary residence. No instance of his return thither is mentioned, save when He crossed the lake to the land of Gennesareth on his way to the third passover, and during his journey from Cæsarea Philippi to attend the feast of Pentecost, of which we are now speaking. It is to be presumed, therefore, that, if he did go thither again, it was only on his passage to the other side of the Jordan. The appointment of the seventy or seventy-two disciples seems now to have been made as that of the twelve was, after the feast of Dedication at the end of the preceding December; and that for the same reason. As He sent the Twelve two and two into Judæa when it was no longer safe for him to walk in Jewry, so now He sent the Seventy into Samaria and Galilee, "two and two before his face, into every city and place whither He himself would come, because it was no longer safe for him to walk openly in Galilee."[1] In this way his benevolence provided for the wants of the people, and at the same time, attention would be in some measure turned from himself, and He could travel more privately. St. Matthew and St. Mark are both entirely silent concerning any events which preceded the feast of Tabernacles. Neither of them says a word respecting the appointment of the Seventy; and St. Luke is almost equally silent with regard to that of the Apostles. The charge in both cases is nearly the same; and the blasphemy of the Pharisees against the Holy Ghost, follows both very much in the same order. Yet the two commissions are clearly distinguishable, by the diversity of time as well as of persons, and concurrent circumstances. Still this similarity may account for the dislocation of Luke xi. 14-54, which I have placed in connexion with Matthew xii. 22-45. With these observations, I proceed to consider St. Luke's narrative.

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[1] Luke x. 1.

Our Saviour having retired to the dominions of Philip, the Seventy, when they had performed their commission, returned before the feast of Tabernacles, to give him an account of their proceedings.[1]

The subsequent narratives, therefore, from chap. x. 25 to chap xiii. 22, must all be referred to the period intervening between the return of the Seventy, and the commencement of our Lord's journey to Jerusalem. He appears now to have crossed the lake, and made his last circuit within the dominions of Herod Antipas; for St. Luke says[2] that "He went through the cities and villages,[3] teaching and journeying towards Jerusalem"; and that this was in Galilee, on the western side of the Jordan, is evident from chap. xiii. 31: "The same day there came certain of the Pharisees, saying unto him, Get thee out, and depart hence; for Herod will kill thee." Macknight justly remarks, that this apparent interest of the Pharisees was probably feigned, in order to induce him to hasten into Judæa, where they knew there was a design to put him to death; and that the plot was with Herod's connivance.[4] Hence our Lord sent a message by them to the tyrant, which shewed that He understood the motive of both, and was not ignorant of the designs against him. "Go ye, and tell that fox, Behold I cast out devils, and I do cures to-day and to-morrow, and the third day I shall be perfected."[5] His time for doing mighty deeds was now short; but a prophet could not perish out of Jerusalem. During this circuit, the various events recorded by St. Luke, from chap xiii. 22 to chap. xvii. 10, must have taken place. If we allow the months of June and July for the mission of the Seventy, and August and a part of September for our Lord's circuit in Galilee, it will bring him into Samaria not far from the great day of Atonement, the tenth of Tisri, or Friday the 26th of September. His object was now to travel as rapidly and privately as possible; but it happened that "as He entered into a certain village, there met him ten men that were lepers."[1]

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[1] Luke x. 17-24.

[2] Luke xiii. 22.

[3] Two hundred and four cities and villages.—Josephus Vita, § 45.

[4] Harm. § 91.

[5] Luke xiii. 32-35.

Although the language of St. Luke,[2] "as he went to Jerusalem," seems to imply that he was then on his way thither, yet, as he says immediately after that Jesus "was passing through the midst of Samaria and Galilee," the order of place seems to require that he was then on his return from Jerusalem. Ἐν τῷ πορεύεσθαι ἀυτὸν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, "as He went" or during His journey "to Jerusalem," may possibly have the more comprehensive meaning "during his journey TO and FROM Jerusalem." So the same Evangelist says,[3] ἐν τῷ εγγίζειν αὐτὸν ἐις Ἰεριχὼ, "as He was come nigh *unto* Jericho;" whereas St. Matthew says, speaking of the same fact,[4] καὶ ἐκπορευομένων αὐτῶν ἀπὸ Ἱεριχὼ, "as they departed *from* Jericho;" and St. Mark, very accurately,[5] καὶ ἔρχονται ἐις Ἱεριχώ καὶ ἐκπορευομένου αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ Ἱεριχὼ, "and they came to Jericho, and as He went out of Jericho." As St. Luke only relates the cure of the ten lepers, we have not the same benefit of exposition by the other Evangelists in the passage under consideration; but I see not why we may not argue from analogy, that as St. Luke says in the one case, "as He was come nigh unto Jericho," meaning that "He came to Jericho, and went out of it," so in the other, "as he went to Jerusalem," may mean "during the journey to and from Jerusalem."

If there be any force in this suggestion, it will remove all the difficulty which has so much embarrassed commentators, of accounting for the collocation of Samaria before Galilee. In either case, as lepers were obliged by the law to keep at a distance from all towns or places of great resort, as may be inferred, I think, from Levit. xiii. 46, the circumstance of being met by them, shows that our Lord had left the highway for the purpose of being concealed the better from observation. If the cure of the lepers took place on his way *to* Jerusalem, it occurred in the last week of September; if on his return *from* Jerusalem, it cannot be placed earlier than Wednesday the 15th, or Thursday the 16th of October. For our Lord, though He had probably arrived in or near Jerusalem, did not appear in the Temple till "about the midst of the feast,"[6] and was also present "in the last day, that great day of the feast."[1] The feast of Tabernacles began, as we have seen, on Wednesday the 1st of October: consequently its octave, "the great day of the feast," was on Wednesday the 8th of October. That night[2] "Jesus went unto the mount of Olives, and early in the morning," that is the morning of Thursday the 9th, "he came again into the Temple and taught the people." Then followed the case of the adultress,[3] the conference with the Pharisees in the treasury,[4] and the subsequent conversation which ended in the attempt to stone him.[5] All this may well be supposed to have occurred in the same day. The cure of the man born blind, related by St. John in the ninth chapter, took place, he expressly informs us,[6] on "the Sabbath-day." It may well have been therefore on the following Sabbath, or Saturday the 11th of October. The meeting of the Sanhedrim for the purpose of deliberating on the subject of this miracle[7] took place probably the following day, and the examination of the witnesses, the consequent debates, and the final excommunication of the man,[8] cannot have occupied less than the whole day. We may allow the next day, Monday the 13th of October, for our Saviour's interview with him, his confession of Christ, the question of the Pharisees, and our Lord's answer;[9] but the miracle and its results so exasperated the Jewish rulers that He cannot be supposed to have remained longer in Jerusalem. I place his departure therefore on his return to Galilee through Samaria, on Tuesday the 14th of October. To reach Bethel, the frontier town of Judæa, He would have to travel only about twelve miles, and therefore might easily arrive in Samaria on Wednesday the 15th.* If then the expression of St. Luke[10] admit of the construction here suggested, the cure of the ten lepers may have taken place about the middle of October, on our Lord's return from the feast of Tabernacles. With this construction, the circumstances of the narrative would, it seems to me, harmonize much better than with any other; for our Lord would be more likely to charge the Jewish lepers to go and show themselves unto the priests, as the law of the leprosy demanded, after he had left Jerusalem, than before He entered into it.

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[1] Ibid. xvii. 11-19.

[2] Luke xvii. 11

[3] Luke xviii. 35.

[4] Matt. xx. 29.

[5] Mark x. 46.

[6] John vii. 14.

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[1] John vii. 37.

[2] Ibid. viii. 1, 2.

[3] Ibid. viii. 3-11.

[4] Ibid. viii. 12-20.

[5] John viii. 21-59.

[6] Ibid. ix. 14.

[7] Ibid. ix. 13.

[8] John ix. 15-34.

[9] Ibid. ix. 35-41.

* For these computations, I refer to the elaborate work of Reland. He has rifled the stores of antiquity with such accurate and extensive research, and has reasoned upon them with such good judgment, as to leave little or nothing to be done by those who have come after him. His Palæstina is a noble monument of learning, and can never be superseded. See tom. i. p. 155-6, compared with p. 413 and tom. ii. p. 636.

[10] Luke xvii. 11.

His journey through Samaria, on account of the refusal of the Samaritans to receive him when on the preceding journey at Pentecost,[1] was now, probably, rapid. On his arrival in Galilee, also, He appears to have merely passed through the midst of it, and having crossed the lake, went down on the farther side to that region which St. Matthew and St. Mark both call *τὰ ὅρια τῆς Ἰουδαίας πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου*, "the coasts of Judæa beyond or by the farther side of Jordan."[2] I infer this, because if He had crossed the Jordan at Scythopolis, He would not have come into Galilee at all, that being the frontier town. This region is mentioned by Josephus,[3] and, probably, as Reland has shown, in Joshua xix. 34. It was bounded by Galilee, near where the Jordan issues from the lake, and included the region of Hippo and Gadara.[4]

Here our Lord passed about a month and a half, from his return in October till it was time to set out on his journey to Jerusalem, to attend the feast of the Dedication, which began that year on Tuesday the ninth of December. As the whole journey might be performed with ease in a very few days, we may place his arrival in Jericho during the week preceding the fourth sabbath in Casleu, or Saturday the sixth of December.

In this interval of a month and a half, we must, therefore, place the following events; in the order of which, as far as each mentions them, all the Evangelists agree:

1. Our Lord's discourse with the Pharisees and his disciples, concerning the time and manner in which his kingdom should come.[5]
2. His parable, that men ought always to pray, and not to faint.[6]
3. His parable of the Pharisee and Publican praying in the Temple.[7]
4. His answer to the question of the Pharisees concerning divorce, and the subsequent conversation with his disciples about marriage.[8]
5. His receiving and blessing the little children.[9]
6. The conduct of the young ruler; our Lord's caution on the

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[1] Luke ix. 52-56.
[2] Matt. xix. 1; Mark x. 1.
[3] Antiq. lib. xii. c. 5.
[4] Reland Palæstina, tom. i. p. 33.
[5] Luke xvii. 20-37.
[6] Ibid. xviii. 1-8.
[7] Ibid. xviii. 9-14.
[8] Matt. xix. 3-12; Mark x. 2-12.
[9] Matt. xix. 13-16; Mark x. 13-16; Luke xviii. 15-17.

danger of wealth; and his promise to all who forsake worldly things to become his followers.[1]

7. The parable of the labourers in the vineyard, hired at various hours from the first to the eleventh.[2]

The feast of Dedication being nigh at hand, our Lord commenced his journey with his disciples; and then, as during the two preceding journeys, He clearly predicted to them the ignominy He would have to endure, his sufferings, death, and resurrection: "Behold we go up to Jerusalem, and all things that are written by the prophets concerning the Son of Man shall be accomplished.[3]

It deserves to be remarked, that from the confession of the disciples' faith at Cæsarea Philippi, which St. Matthew emphatically mentions[4] as "that time," from which our Lord began to speak openly of his passion, his predictions continually increased in plainness and particularity. Yet in every instance, and never more so than on the present occasion, the disciples are represented as not understanding his words. It is a record, for our admonition, of the influence in the human mind of *will* over *understanding*. They were unwilling to believe, and therefore could not comprehend.[5]

John and James, as if to dispel the mournful thoughts occasioned by his words, asked, through their mother, that He would give them the principal offices of government in his kingdom. This request was heard by the other ten with the greatest indignation; and therefore our Lord rebuked them, by referring to his own example of humility and disinterestedness in becoming a servant to others, and giving his life a ransom for many.[6]

Having come to Jericho, a great multitude of people followed Him as He left that city on his way to Jerusalem.[7] Two blind men, one of whom was surnamed Bartimæus, sat by the way side; and hearing the noise of so many persons passing, they asked what it meant. Being told that it was Jesus and his followers, they cried out for mercy, confessing their faith in him as the Son of David. Both were healed, and both joined themselves to the train who accompanied him.[8]

St. Matthew speaks of two blind men; St. Mark and St. Luke of one only. Here is no contrariety. "Le Clerc's maxim," says Archbishop Newcome, "is undoubtedly true: 'He who relates the greater number includes the smaller; he who records the smaller, does not deny the greater.' Bartimæus may have been the more remarkable of the two, or more eminent for his faith."[1]

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[1] Matt. xix. 16-30; Mark x. 17-31; Luke xviii. 18-30.

[2] Matt. xx. 1-16.

[3] Matt. xx. 17-19; Mark x. 32-34; Luke xviii. 31-33.

[4] Matt. xvi. 21.

[5] Luke xviii. 34.

[6] Matt. xx. 20-28; Mark x. 35-45.

[7] Matt. xx. 29; Mark x. 46.

[8] Matt. xx. 30-34; Mark x. 46-52; Luke xviii. 35–xix. 1.

The discrepancy between St. Luke and the other two Evangelists, as to the time and the side of Jericho where the blind men were healed, is more real and more difficult of solution. St. Luke says the action took place as our Lord *drew near to Jericho,* from beyond Jordan. And a few verses farther on,[2] that He entered and passed through Jericho, plainly on the road to Jerusalem. St. Matthew and St Mark are both very explicit in saying that it was after He had passed through Jericho, and was going from it. The attention of the reader has been already called to this difference, as illustrating the time when the ten lepers were cured. It is barely a conjecture; but in the absence of certainty, probable conjecture is all that can be given or demanded.

The narrative of Zacchæus, the rich but righteous chief-publican, occasions no difficulty, either as to place or time. It was on the road from Jericho to Jerusalem, and on the same day in which our Lord left the former city. If He spent the fourth sabbath in Casleu, or Saturday December the 6th, in Jericho, his visit to Zacchæus may have taken place on the Sunday or Monday following. The parable of the nobleman who was going "into a far country to receive for himself a kingdom and to return," was spoken while He was a guest in the house of the chief-publican; after which He resumed his journey, and arrived probably at Bethany or Jerusalem, on the eve of the feast.[3]

Nothing is recorded of the transactions during the feast of Dedication, excepting what is contained in the tenth chapter of St. John's Gospel. The violence offered to our Lord's person, caused him to escape beyond Jordan, to the place where John at first baptized.[4] There He remained till He was sent for to Bethany; and after the resurrection of Lazarus He retired, to avoid the persecution of the Sanhedrim, "unto a country near to the wilderness, into a city called Ephraim." There He abode "with his disciples," till the Passover was nigh at hand,[1] at which He was crucified.

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[1] Harm. notes, § 51, § 108.

[2] Luke xix. 1.

[3] Ibid. xix. 2-28.

[4] John x. 39-42.

Having thus, in the present and preceding chapter, carefully investigated the time, both of our Lord's ministry and the ministry of his Precursor, nothing remains, in order to complete this part of our subject, but to lay before the reader a very summary view of the remaining period.

At the third hour, or nine o'clock in the morning of Friday the 26th of March, the seventh before the calends of April, the hour when the lamb of the daily morning sacrifice was offered in the Temple, our Lord was nailed to the accursed tree; and at the ninth hour, or three o'clock in the afternoon, the moment in which the lamb of the daily evening sacrifice was offered in the Temple, He expired. About the eleventh hour, or five o'clock in the afternoon, his body was taken down from the cross, and deposited in the tomb of Joseph of Arimathæa.

The difficulties in adjusting the narrative of the burial and resurrection of our Lord, have been so fully explained by Doddridge, West, and Pilkington; so accurately revised by Dr. Townson, Mr. Cranfield, and Mr. Townsend; and the whole subject so ably summed up by Dr. Horne, in his Introduction to the critical study of the Holy Scriptures, that to add anything here would be superfluous. But the result of their labours will be followed in the outlines of the chronological harmony which will form one of the subsequent chapters. It will be sufficient here to add, that on Sunday morning, the fifth before the calends of April, or the 28th of March, about the beginning of the morning watch, or not far from three o'clock, our Lord rose from the dead. It was the morrow after the sabbath, when, according to the law, the first sheaf of the earliest ripe grain was waved in the Temple, by which the whole harvest was sanctified; and Christ, the first fruits, rose from the dead, as a type and pledge of the future resurrection of his faithful followers.

Counting forty days from the resurrection, we come to Thursday the 6th of May, the day before the nones, as the day of our Lord's ascension; and fifty days from the resurrection, to the Pentecost,

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[1] John xi. 53-55.

Sunday the 16th day of May, or the seventeenth before the calends of June, as that great day on which the Holy Ghost descended, fitting the apostles for the great work of founding the Church, and thus calling the world, by their ministry, to the faith and knowledge of Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER IX.

OUR LORD'S AGE AT THE TIME OF HIS BAPTISM.

Question stated.—Greek text of Luke iii. 23.—Versions ancient and modern.—Four varieties.—Solution of the difficulty, not from pure Greek, but Hellenistic idioms.—Modern criticisms.—Bishop Pearce, Schleusner, Rosenmüller, Kuinoel, Dr. Campbell, and Heylyn, Grotius and others.—Ancient commentators, except Epiphanius, consider our Lord as having completed his thirtieth year.—Irenæus, Origen, St. Jerome, Theophylact, St. Chrysostom.—The judgment of the ancient Church, therefore, accords with that of the best modern critics, that our Lord had passed the birthday which completed His thirtieth year when He came to His baptism.

The year of our Lord's baptism being ascertained, a question now arises of considerable difficulty, and, as regards chronology, of great importance. St. Luke states[1] that Jesus, at the time of his baptism, the receiving of which was the commencement of his ministry, was ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα ἀρχόμενος, which following the Greek order, may be literally translated thus: *about thirty years beginning.* The question at once arises, What is meant by the word *Beginning?* Is it to be applied to his age, or to his ministry? Was Jesus then beginning to be thirty years of age? Or was He full thirty years of age, when He began to proclaim the Gospel? In the one case twenty-nine solid years had elapsed from his birth to his baptism; in the other, thirty. The question, therefore, involves a difference of one whole year.

On examining the Greek text, it appears that six manuscripts, two of which are in uncial letters, and one of these is the celebrated Codex Vaticanus, 1209, invert the order thus: καὶ ἀυτὸς ἦν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀρχόμενος ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τρῖάκοντα. Three MSS. read καὶ ἀυτὸς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἦν ἀρχόμενος ἐ͂ιναι ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα. With the exception of these nine, it is fair to infer that all read according to the ordinary arrangement; and therefore, although various readings are to be weighed, and not numbered, yet the balance, even of the best authorities, is greatly in favour of the received text.

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[1] Luke iii. 23.

If we examine the versions, ancient and modern, we find four varieties. 1. Some translate in the same order, and thus decide nothing. Of the ante-Hieronymian versions given by Sabatier and Bianchini, the Codd. Cantabrigiensis, Vercellensis, and Corbejensis, translate ἀρχόμενος by *incipiens*, but put it last in the sentence, rendering the whole passage thus: "Cod. Cantab. Erat autem Jesus quasi annorum xxx incipiens. Codd. Vercel. and Corbej. Et ipse Jesus erat fere annorum xxx incipiens."

2. On the other hand, some have considered the word ἀρχόμενος as transposed and connected with ἦν. Thus the Codex Veronensis reads, "Et ipse Jesus erat incipiens fere annorum ....." The MS. S. Germanensis I. and the Evangeliarium Forojuliense read: "Et ipse Jesus erat incipiens quasi annorum triginta." This arrangement St. Jerome adopted, and consequently the modern Latin Vulgate retains it. All the versions influenced by the Latin, such as the Arabic, Luther's German version, Archbishop Cranmer's, the Bishops' Bible, the Geneva Puritan, the received English, all read, "And Jesus himself began to be about thirty years of age." The Rheims version reads: "And Jesus himself was beginning to be about thirtie yeres old." So the Bible de Martin: "Et Jesus commençoit d'avoir environ trente ans." And so Diodati's Italian: "E Jesù cominciava ad esser come di trenta anni;" but he explains it in a note as meaning that our Lord had completed his thirtieth, and had recently entered into his thirty-first year: "*Come di.* pare che il senso sia, ch' egli entrava recentemente nel suo trentunesimo anno. *Trenta* ch'era l'età nella quale i sacerdoti entravano in servigio (Num. iv. 3, 35, 39, 43, 47) il che pare essere stato imitato dal Signore, gran sacerdote spirituale."[1]

3. Some versions leave out ἀρχόμενος altogether. Thus the Peshito or ancient Syriac,

ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ ܐܝܟ ܒܪ ܫܢܝܢ ܬܠܬܝܢ

"Now Jesus himself was about thirty years old," literally, "was, as it were, the son of thirty years." The Ethiopic, as represented by the Latin in Walton's Polyglott, seems to convey the same meaning: "Et sufficiebat trigesimus annus Domino Jesu;" the thirtieth year of the Lord Jesus was complete. So the Persian, as there translated: "Et erat Jesus circiter triginta annos natus." Of the ante-Hieronymian versions the Codd. Brixianus and S. Martini Turonensis read, "erat fere annorum triginta.' Of the modern translations, the Bible des Pasteurs de Genève, Paris, 1805, omits ἀρχόμενος, rendering the passage thus: "Et Jésus étoit alors âgé d'environ trente ans."

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[1] Bibblia stampata in Geneva, per Pietro Chouet, MDCXLI.

4. A fourth variety of translations refers the word ἀρχόμενος to some other subject than our Lord's age. Thus Le Maistre de Sacy, though professing to follow the Vulgate, translates as follows: "Jésus avoit environ trente ans lorsqu'il commença d'exercer son ministère"; referring it to our Lord's ministry. The author of "A Critical Examination of the Holy Gospel, &c." published in 1738, thinks that ἦν ἀρχόμενος signifies the same as in chap. ii. 51, ἦν ὑποτασσόμενος; "for as ἄρχειν signifies a governor, so ἀρχόμενος here means one governed." Heylyn, and after him Campbell, adopt this suggestion; the one rendering the passage in question, "Jesus himself had then lived in subjection about thirty years"; the other, "Now Jesus was himself about thirty years in subjection."

These are all the varieties of which I am aware; and they serve to show the embarrassment which the construction of this sentence has occasioned to all who have sought a solution from pure Greek idioms. In vain have critics searched in classic authors for similar phraseology. In vain have the best Greek scholars tortured the construction into ἦν ἀρχόμενος εἶναι and ἦν ἀρχόμενος ὤν, as a substitute for ἤρχετο ὤν. In vain have they had recourse to conjecture, and substituted ἐρχόμενος for ἀρχόμενος. Grotius, no mean judge on such a subject, is obliged to confess that the true construction would be ἄρχομαι ἔτους τριακοστοῦ, if it meant the commencement of the thirtieth year;[1] and Langius, as quoted by Bowyer, says, "Though we say ἤρχετο ὤν, yet ἦν ἀρχόμενος ὤν is not Greek just as in English, *He began speaking*, *He began being*, &c.; but not, *He was beginning speaking*, *He was beginning being*; but *He began to be*. Whatever construction the Greek will bear, it is not agreeable to sense in any language to say, *Jesus* BEGAN *to be* ABOUT *thirty years old*; it is being precise and indeterminate at the same time."[2]

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[1] Annot. ad Luc. cap. 3, v. 23, Opera, Theol. tom. ii. p. 362.

[2] Bowyer's conjectures on the N. T. in loc. Lond. 1812, 4to, p. 197.

If, instead of hunting for similar phraseology in classic authors, the critics had confined themselves to the Hellenistic idioms of the Septuagint, they would have succeeded better. The Hebrew expression בֶּן־שְׁלֹשִׁים שָׁנָה out of eight places where it occurs, is only three times rendered fully *υἱὸς ἐτῶν τριάκοντα*, the son of thirty years, viz: 2 Sam. v. 4, 1 Kings xxii. 42, 2 Kings viii. 17. In the other five, viz: Gen. xli. 46, 2 Chron. xx. 31, xxi. 5, 20, xxiv. 15, it is rendered either *ἦν ἐτῶν τριάκοντα*, or *ὢν ἐτῶν τριάκοντα*. It is evidently an elliptical expression, *υἱὸς* being understood; and so it ought to be viewed in the passage we are considering. The Syriac, therefore, renders it most accurately, "Jesus was the son of thirty years, or thereabouts; *ὡσεὶ* ܐܝܟ (Heb. אֵיךְ How? Chald. and Rab. הֵיךְ) quomodo, sicut, quasi, tanquam circiter, being rendered, *as it were*, or *about*. The Evangelist means by this qualifying expression, as Grotius justly observes, that our Lord was not baptized on his birth-day. As far as the force of this word goes, it might have been a little earlier or a little later. But this very force excludes the possibility of understanding the word *ἀρχόμενος* with regard to our Lord's age. "When," says Dr. Campbell, "we say, a man is about such an age, we are always understood to denote, that we cannot say whether it be exactly so, or a little more or a little less; but this will never suit the expression, *began to be*, which admits no such latitude. To combine, in this manner, a definite with an indefinite term, confounds the meaning, and leaves the reader entirely at a loss."[1]

There is, therefore, but one alternative left; either with the Syriac interpreter and the other versions mentioned under the third variety, to consider *ἀρχόμενος* as a pleonasm; or with those mentioned under the fourth variety, to regard it as referring to a different subject.

To prove that it is a pleonasm, Bishop Pearce has the following note: "The words *ἀρχόμενος ὢν* (or, as I rather think that we should read, *εἶναι*) signify here *he was*, as in verse 8, *μὴ ἀρξησθε λέγειν* means *do not say*; and Luke uses the word *ἄρχομαι* after this manner in the following places: ch. v. 21, and xi. 29, and xii. 45, and xiii. 25, 26, and xiv. 9, and xxiii. 30. Acts i. 1, and ii. 4. Mark does the same in ch. x. 32, and so does Matthew in ch. xii. 1, compared with Luke vi. 1. The like use of the word *τολμᾶν* is observed in note on John xxi. 12, and of *δοκεῖν* in note on Mark x. 42.[1]

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[1] Campbell's four Gospels translated, Edin. 1812, vol. iii. p. 286.

There can be no doubt that the word is thus pleonastically used; but I prefer, as the most natural solution, the opinion of Schleusner, Rosenmüller and Kuinoel, that it means here *the commencement of our Lord's ministry.*

Notwithstanding all that Dr. Campbell has said in defence of the interpretation adopted by Heylyn and himself, no subsequent critic, as far as I can find, has ever embraced it. What possible connexion can there be between our Lord's subjection to Joseph and Mary, and his coming to baptism at the age of thirty? The very idea is forced and unnatural. But on the other hand, what remark more apposite, than that He began his ministry by coming to baptism when he was about thirty? This was the age in which the priests under the law entered upon their ministry: "From thirty years old and upward, even until fifty years old."[2] No other anointing or consecrating to the office of the Messiah is spoken of but this; and the object of the Evangelist seems to have been to show that our blessed Lord conformed to the law of Moses even as to the particular age when He entered on his ministry. And this exact fulfilment of the law seems also to show that in this place *ὡσει* means *a little more* rather than *a little less,* that He was *somewhat above* thirty, rather than *somewhat under* it; because the rule was, "from thirty years old and *upward.*" Hence Grotius, and the greater part of those critics who suppose *ἀρχόμενος* to refer to our Lord's age, explain it as Diodati has in the note already cited, of his entering on his thirty-first year:[3] "I begin now to be a person of thirty years of age, which is never said till the thirtieth year is complete; just as any one is said by the writers on the Roman law to be *anniculus,* one year old, not as soon as he is born, but on the three hundred and sixty-fifth day." And therefore in commenting on the force of the particle *ὡσεὶ,* he adds, "Significat ergo Lucas Christum non ipso natali die, sed aliquot post diebus venisse ad baptismum, quod ipsi auspicandi muneris initium fuit:"—Luke intimates that Christ came to baptism, by which He began the exercise of his office, not on his birthday, but some days after."[1]

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[1] Pearce's Commentary, Lond. 1777, 4to, vol. i. p. 321-2.

[2] Numb. iv. 3.

[3] At *ἄρχομαι ὢν ἐτῶν τριάκοντα* [*incipio esse annorum triginta*] est incipio jam esse tricenarius, quod non dicetur nisi post impletum annum tricesimum: sicut *anniculus* quis dicitur Juris Romani auctoribus non statim ut natus est, sed trecentesimo sexagesimo quinto die.

That our Lord's baptism took place early in his thirty-first year, may, I think, be justly inferred from the language of the few ancient writers who have at all adverted to the subject. With the single exception of Epiphanius, whose computation and the motive leading to it have been already noticed,[2] all speak of our Lord as having, at the time of his baptism, completed his thirtieth year; which age they consider as the earliest limit of intellectual and bodily perfection.

Such, if I mistake not, is the testimony of Irenæus, of which very inconsistent and even contradictory representations have been made by modern authors. It occurs in that part of his work in which he exposes the absurdities of the Valentinian heresy. In support of their wild imaginations concerning the existence of thirty æons, they alleged the authority of Luke iii. 23, giving it the arrangement and construction of some modern critics, that Jesus at the time of his baptism had completed his twenty-ninth, and was just entering on his thirtieth year. They maintained that his ministry continued during what they called, by a perversion of Isaiah lxi. 2, "the acceptable year of the Lord, and the day of vengeance" or retribution. Hence they inferred that his ministry continued but one year, and that having been baptized in the first month, his crucifixion took place in the twelfth. To this Irenæus replies: "It is very wonderful that when they say they have discovered the deep things of God, they have not searched in the Gospels how many times the Lord went up to Jerusalem, after his baptism, at the time of the Passover, according to the custom of the Jews from every region, and in every year, to assemble at this time in Jerusalem and there celebrate the paschal feast-day."[3] He then clearly recognizes four Passovers as mentioned in the Gospel: 1. After He had changed water into wine at Cana in Galilee,[4] when many believed, seeing the miracles which He did. 2. When He cured the paralytic who had been lying near the pool thirty-eight years, ordering him to take up his bed and walk: plainly referring to John v. 1-9. 3. When He went over the sea of Tiberias and fed the five thousand: referring as plainly to John vi. 1-14. And 4. When He had raised up Lazarus, had retired to the city of Ephrem, and thence, 'six days before the Passover, came to Bethany.'[1] Having thus proved that our Lord's ministry continued more than one year, to refute their supposition as to the month in which the crucifixion occurred, he adds: "They who boast of knowing all things, might, if they are ignorant, learn also from Moses, that the month in which the Passover is celebrated, in which the Lord suffered, was the first and not the twelfth.[2]

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[1] Grotius ad Lucam, Opera, tom. ii. p. 362.

[2] Part II. chap. iv. p. 403, and v. p. 417.

[3] Est autem valde admirari, quonam modo profunda Dei adinvenisse se dicentes, non scrutati sunt in Evangeliis, quoties secundum tempus Paschæ Dominus post Baptisma ascenderit in Hierusalem, secundùm quod moris erat Judæis ex omni regione, omni anno, tempore hoc convenire in Hierusalem, et illic diem festum Paschæ celebrare.

[4] John ii. 23.

It seems to have been the opinion of Irenæus that after our Lord's baptism, to which He came when He was thirty years old, He must have passed a number of years in retirement; for he adds, that He came to Jerusalem when He had obtained the perfect age of a master.[3] This perfect age Irenæus supposes to be between the fortieth and fiftieth year of a man's life; "for thirty years is the first age of the youthful constitution, and it extends, as every one will admit, to the fortieth year; but from the fortieth and fiftieth year it declines into the age of seniority."[4] Then, on the authority of certain presbyters, who said they had it from St. John, and others who said they had learned the same thing from the other Apostles, and also from the expression of the Jews, 'Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham?'[5] Irenæus concludes, that our Lord, when He taught, had passed his fortieth and had not attained his fiftieth year. "To him who was but thirty they would have said, Thou art not yet forty years old."[6] —"For it is altogether unreasonable to suppose that they would falsely have added twenty years, in their wish to make him younger than the times of Abraham."[7] Hence Irenæus concludes that He was not much short of fifty, and consequently that He neither preached one year only, nor suffered in the twelfth month of that year. "For the time from thirty to fifty years (he sarcastically adds) would never be reckoned as one year, unless among the Æons their great years are so counted."[1]

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[1] John xii. 1.

[2] Et ipsum autem mensem in quo Pascha celebratur, in quo et passus est Dominus, non duodecimum sed primum esse, qui omnia se scire jactant, si nesciunt, a Moyse possunt discere.

[3] Triginta quidem annorum existens cum veniret ad Baptismum, deinde magistri ætatem perfectam habens, venit Hierusalem, ita ut ab omnibus juste audiret [ed. Oxon. audiretur] magister.

[4] Quia autem triginta annorum ætas prima indolis est juvenis, et extenditur usque ad quadragesimum annum omnis quilibet confitebitur; à quadragesimo autem, et quinquagesimo anno declinat jam in ætatem seniorem.

[5] John viii. 57.

[6] Ei autem qui sit XXX annorum, diceretur utique quadraginta annorum nondum es.

[7] Irrationabile est enim omnino, viginti annos mentiri eos, volentes eum juniorem ostendere temporibus Abrahæ.

From this last expression one might infer, that Irenæus supposed our Lord's ministry to have continued for nearly twenty years; a supposition so extravagant, so solitary, so entirely unsupported by any thing contained in the Evangelical narrative, that it would be a waste of time and pains seriously to refute it. All that is essential to the purpose for which this ancient and venerable author is here cited, is to show that he evidently considered our Lord as full thirty years old when he was baptized, and not at the beginning of his thirtieth year. Any moderns, who quote the authority of Irenæus in support of the latter opinion, mistake his argument. Its object was to confute this very opinion, because it was held by the Valentinians; and the martyr, in his zeal to oppose it, runs into the opposite extreme, that our Lord exercised His ministry between the ages of forty and fifty.

Origen, in his Commentary on the Genealogy of our Saviour, speaks of his baptism as showing his generation from God. Matthew gives his carnal descent, whence he always uses the word "begat"; whereas Luke says "being, as was supposed, the son of Joseph." In Matthew it is not written, "He began"; but in Luke, because, instead of descent, He was about to ascend from His baptism, it is read in the Scripture, "Jesus was beginning." He then proceeds as follows:—"For when He was baptized and assumed the mystery of the second birth, that thou also mayest abolish (καταργήσῃς destruas) the former birth, and ascend to the second by the regeneration (καὶ ἀναβῇς δευτέραν διὰ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας); it is then said that He began. And as the people of the Jews when in Egypt had no beginning of months, but on their leaving Egypt received the command 'This month shall be unto you the beginning of months, the first month of the year to you;'[2] so he who is not yet baptized is not yet said to have begun. Wherefore we must not imagine that "*beginning*," the word which follows, is added without meaning (frustra) to what is before said, 'Jesus himself was'; but we must take into consideration also the expression 'about thirty years of age.' Joseph was thirty years old when, being released from chains and having interpreted the dream of Pharaoh, he was made Prince of Egypt, and in the time of plenty gathered together wheat, that he might have wherewithal to distribute in the time of famine. I think that the thirty years of Joseph prefigured the thirty years of the Saviour.[1] For this Joseph did not gather together such wheat as that Joseph did in Egypt, but the true and heavenly wheat; so that the wheat being gathered in the time of plenty, he might have wherewith to distribute when the famine should be sent upon Egypt; not a famine of bread or thirst of water, but the famine of hearing the word of God.[2]

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[1] Non ergo anno uno prædicavit, nec duodecimo mense anni passus est. Tempus enim a trigesimo anno usque ad quinquagesimum numquam erit unus annus, nisi si apud Æones eorum tam magni anni sunt deputati his, qui apud Bythum in pleromate ex ordine resident, &c.—S. Irenæi contra Hæreses, lib. ii. c. 22, ed. Benedict. Paris, 1710, p. 146-148; ed. Oxon. 1702, lib. ii. c. 38, 39, 40, p. 159-162.

[2] Exod. xii. 2.

Our business is not with Origen's mode of interpreting the Scriptures, but solely with the fact that he understood ἀρχόμενος, the *beginning* of which St. Luke speaks, as *a beginning of our Lord's ministry*, and his age as being at that time fully thirty. This, the whole force of his comment shows. Jesus was beginning, because when "He assumed the mystery of the second birth," it was typical of the ascension of Christians, who, in the second birth of baptism, begin the Christian life. Jesus was beginning at the age of thirty, because being prefigured by Joseph, who at that age began to collect wheat into the storehouses, He also began to lay up wheat in the Apostolic granary. The comparison with Joseph is a proof that he thought our Lord was full thirty years old at that time,

St. Jerome held the sentiment of Irenæus, as to the commencement of the perfect age of man at thirty; and that of Origen, that the age of Joseph, when he began *his* ministry, was intended to prefigure the age of the Messiah at the commencement of *his*. For in his commentary on Ezechiel i. 1, "Now it came to pass in the thirtieth year," &c. he says: "But in the higher sense, the Lord and Saviour is prefigured, who came to his baptism

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[1] Ego puto quod triginta anni Joseph, in triginta annorum præcesserint Salvatoris.

[2] Origen in Lucam, Hom. xxviii. Opera, ed. Bened. tom. iii. p. 965-6.

There are but few fragments remaining of the original Greek, and the Latin translation which has come down to us is but a poor representative. The whole passage is too long for insertion, but the English translation here given conveys what appears to me to be the sense of the author when He was thirty years old, which is the perfect age in man. Wherefore in the Book of Numbers, according to the Hebrews, it is contained, not as in the LXX. from the twenty-fifth year of their age, but from the thirtieth, do the priests begin to minister in the Tabernacle. This was presignified by Joseph, when he bountifully bestowed corn on the famished people in Egypt; and John the Baptist came to the streams of Jordan, and preached the baptism of repentance."[1] The age of the priests under the law, when they began to minister, was *thirty years old and upward;* "and this," says St. Jerome, "was a prefiguration of the age of the Messiah, when at his baptism He entered on the ministry of the Gospel."

So Theophylact in loc.: "The Lord was baptized when He was thirty years old, because that is the most perfect age; and in that a man is" ἢ δόκιμος ἢ ἀδόκιμος, "either of tried merit, or after being tried, rejected as not abiding the proof."[2]

St. Chrysostom evidently considered the thirtieth year of our Lord's life, not as *begun*, but as *completed*, at the time of his baptism; for[3] he asks the question, τίνος ἕνεκεν κ. τ. λ. "Why, *after* thirty years, did Jesus come to baptism?" And then he answers: "Because after his baptism He was about to annul or abrogate the law. On this account He continued fulfilling all things, even to that age which comprehends and is susceptible of all kinds of sin; so that no one might say that He abrogated the law because He was unable to fulfil it. For all the passions are not laid upon us all at once; but in the first age there is much folly and imbecility; in the next, excessive pleasure; in the following, the cupidity of wealth. On this account, having continued during that whole age, and having fulfilled the law during the whole, thus He cometh to his baptism."

These citations from the writers of the ancient Church are sufficient to show, that their judgment as to the meaning of the passage in question, accords perfectly with that of the best modern critics.

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[1] Secundum anagogen verò præfiguratur Dominus atque Salvator, qui triginta annos natus venit ad baptismum, quæ in homine perfecta ætas est. Unde et in Numerorum volumine juxta Hebræos, non ut in LXX. continetur, à vicesimo quinto ætatis anno, sed à tricesimo incipiunt Sacerdotes in tabernaculo ministrare. In quod signum præcessit et Joseph, quando in Ægypto esurienti populo frumenta largitus est; et Johannes Baptista venit ad fluenta Jordanis, prædicavitque baptismum pœnitentiæ."—Com. S. Hieron. lib. i. in Ezech. Opera, ed. Bened. tom. iii. col. 699.

[2] Theoph. Op. tom. i. p. 296, Ven. 1754, fol.

[3] In Matth. Hom. x. Opera, ed. Bened. tom. vii. p. 139-140.

We may safely therefore consider the point as decided by reason and authority, that our Lord came to his baptism when He had passed the birth-day on which He had completed his thirtieth year, and consequently that He was then in the thirty-first year of his age. We proceed now to consider the question, in what month, and on what day of the month He was born. But as this is a question on which, in modern times at least, there has been a great diversity of opinion, it will be proper to make it the subject of a distinct chapter.

CHAPTER X.

THE DAY OF OUR LORD'S NATIVITY.

The Question to be considered in two ways. 1st, As history. 2nd, As computation.—As history, the inquiry limited by two dates.—1. Epiphany, or Jan. 6.—Meaning of the word.—How applied in the Greek Church.—No evidence of a settled belief among the early Greeks that our Lord was born on that day.—Clemens Alexandrinus—Justin Martyr.—Among the later Greeks, the custom of commemorating His birth on the Epiphany, made them take it for granted.—Testimony and practice of the western Church founded on the archives.—Tertullian's evidence about the enrolment.—St. Ambrose—St. Augustine.—His age when Rome was sacked by the Goths.—Practice of the western Church adopted by the eastern in the fourth century. Sermon of St. Chrysostom, Dec. 25, A.D. 386.—Observations on his testimony.—Practice general in the east before the council of Ephesus.—The whole question as a matter of fact turns on the testimony of the enrolment.——The question considered as to computation.—Remainder of St. Chrysostom's sermon.—His computations inaccurate.—Taken from the supposed high-priesthood of Zacharias.—Same error fallen into by St. Ambrose.—No evidence that others of the early Christian writers held this opinion.—Moderns have neglected testimony and followed computation. Their hypotheses, and the grounds of them, examined.—So contradictory, that no reliance can be placed on them.—Preference given to history.—And the date being taken of December 25, by reckoning back 30 years from his baptism, we come to his birth, A.J.P. 4707, six years before the common æra.

The question as to the day of our Lord's nativity is to be considered,

First, as a matter of history, and, as such, depending upon testimony;

Secondly, as a matter of computation, and, as such, the subject of probable conjecture and argument.

In considering it as a question of history, our inquiry is limited to two dates only, the 25th of December and the 6th of January; for whatever may have been the opinion of individuals, the Church, as a body, has not at any time, or in any part of the world, sanctioned any other.

Nor is there any evidence that the Oriental Church, at whatever time the festival of the Epiphany was instituted, meant by that act to pronounce a decided belief that our Lord's nativity happened on the 6th of January.

The word Epiphany (ἐπιφανεία) is used in the New Testament to denote the twofold manifestation of the Lord Jesus Christ; the first, as the Saviour; the second, as the Judge of the world. In the first of these senses it is used in 2 Tim. i. 10, and illustrated by Titus iii. 4-7; in the last, 2 Thess. ii. 8, 1 Tim. vi. 14, 2 Tim. iv. 1, 8; in both, Titus ii. 11-14. In all these texts it is rendered in the English version by the word "appearing," except in 2 Thess. ii. 8, where it is rendered "brightness." It means properly, the radiation of a luminous body; and every instance of peculiar glory in the life of our blessed Lord would be such an appearing or manifestation. But the special incidents to which it was applied in the early Church, were, the incarnation, the nativity, the manifestation by the leading of a star to the eastern Magi, the baptism and its attendant glories, and the first miracle wrought at Cana. All these distant events were alluded to, and in fact commemorated in the Eastern Church on the 6th of January. But it is plain from the testimony of St. Clemens Alexandrinus, already laid before the reader,[1] that in the year 194 of the common æra no practice of the Church existed, which, in the opinion of that eminent and learned writer, defined the time of our Saviour's birth. For he calls those "over-curious persons who wish to fix, not only the year, but the day of our Saviour's birth, which they say was in the 28th year of Augustus, on the 25th of the Egyptian month Pachon [May 20]........Nay, some of them say that He was born on the 24th or 25th of Pharmuthi."[2] [April 19th or 20th.]

In fact the condition of the early Eastern Church was such, that it had no way of ascertaining these dates with precision. It is true that Justin Martyr, in the year 140 of the common æra, referred the Emperor Antoninus Pius and his successors, and the whole Roman senate, to the census made at Bethlehem, as a sure proof of the date of Christ's birth. "There is a certain village," he said, "in the land of Judæa, distant thirty-five stadia from Jerusalem, in which Christ Jesus was born, *as ye can learn from the enrolments completed under Cyrenius, your first procurator in Judæa*."[1] But Justin was at Rome,[2] and there probably wrote both his Apologies for the Christians. He had an opportunity therefore to consult the Archives, and doubtless did consult them himself, or he would not have dared to refer the Emperor and the Senate to them so boldly. Yet it must always be remembered, that few eastern Christians could enjoy a like privilege; for at that early period few persons professed themselves Christians who were not of humble rank and parentage. Consequently little intercourse could exist between the Eastern and Western Churches; and that intercourse was much impeded by the persecutions inflicted on them from the time of Nero to that of Constantine. To say, therefore, that the Greek or other Eastern writers, from the first to the fourth century, were generally ignorant on these points of chronology, would in no wise be derogatory to their character. Among the later writers, the very observance of the Epiphany on the sixth of January, would lead to the presumptive inference that our Lord was born on the same day of the month in which, thirty years after, He was baptized; and any assertion to that effect in such writers, as for example by Epiphanius, in the passage heretofore given,[3] ought not to have much weight attached to it.

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[1] Part II. chap. iv. p. 389.

[2] Εἰσὶ δὲ ὁι περιεργότερον τῇ γενέσει τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν οὐ μόνον τὸ ἔτος, ἀλλὰ καὶ την ἡμέραν προστιθέντες· ἣν φασὶν ἔτους κη΄ Αὐγούστου ἐν πέμπτῃ Πάχων καὶ εἰκάδι........ναὶ μὴν τινὲς αὐτῶν φασὶ φαρμουθι γετεννῆσθαι κδ΄ ἢ κέ.—Clem. Alexand. Stromatum, lib. i. 340, ed. Potter, tom. i. p. 407-8.

The state of the Western Church was far different. From the first establishment of Christianity at Rome, it was easy for any Christian to consult the Archives. These, as we have seen in a former chapter, were preserved, at least for the first four centuries of the Christian æra, in the Palatine and Ulpian libraries, and that of the house of Tiberius; all of which, in the fourth century, were collected together in the baths of Dioclesian. Our evidence on this point comes down certainly as late as the commencement of the fifth century, when the city was sacked by the Goths under Alaric. Let us proceed then to consider the testimony of the Latin Christians during that same period.

Our first witness, of course, must be Tertullian. His character as a witness has been already considered, in treating of the true date of our Lord's death.

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[1] κώμη δὲ τίς ἐϛὶν ἐν τῇ χώρα Ἰουδαίων ἀπέχουσα ϛαδίȣς τριακοντα πέντε Ἱεροσολύμων, ἐν ᾗ εγεννήθη Ιησοῦς Χριϛος, ὡς καὶ μαθεῖν δύνασθε ἐκ τῶν ἀπογραφῶν τῶν γενομένων ἐπὶ Κυρηνίου τοῦ ὑμετέρου ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ πρώτου ἐπιτρόπου·—Apol. prima, ed. Thirlbii, 1722. fol. p. 55.

[2] Euseb. lib. iv. c. 16.

[3] Part II. chap. iv. p. 403.

In his book against Marcion, contending against the absurd construction of Luke iii. 1 and iv. 31, by that heretic, he uses these words: Finally, concerning the census [or enrolment] of Augustus, which the Roman Archives preserve, as a faithful witness of the Lord's nativity.[1]

Tertullian here appeals to the Roman Archives in which the registry was kept of the census, because that of itself exhibited a most indubitable proof of the date of our Lord's nativity, just as he appealed to th esame Archives with regard to the narrative of our Lord's crucifixion sent by Pilate to Tiberius. And it deserves to be remarked that this testimony is incidental, and therefore stronger than if it were direct. It was not brought to prove that our Lord was born on the twenty-fifth of December, as if that date had been called in question; but it was to prove that our Lord was born in infancy in the ordinary way of man's birth, which Marcion denied.

So again, in his treatise against the Jews, commenting on Isaiah xi. 1, 2, he speaks of the Virgin Mary as that root of Jesse out of which Christ should grow, and then adds, that being reckoned of the root of Jesse, he was therefore enregistered, namely, by Mary. For He was of the country of Bethlehem, and of the house of David, *as among the Romans she is described in the census*, MARY, FROM WHOM CHRIST IS BORN.[2]

I take the expression, "Mary from whom Christ is born," *Maria ex qua nascitur Christus*, to be the very words of the census or enrolment, as Tertullian found and transcribed them in the Roman Archives.*

The connexion of the census with the birth of our Saviour, is often dwelt upon by subsequent Latin writers; one of these subjects, by the great law of association, constantly suggesting the thought of the other. Thus St. Ambrose, in his commentary on the Gospel according to St. Luke, speaking of the time in which our Lord was born, says that "while the secular enrolment was going on, the spiritual was also accomplished; the profession or enrolment of faith being the Census of souls."[1] And again a little farther forward: "To show that the Census was not of Augustus but of Christ, the whole world is ordered to be enregistered. Who could demand the enrolment of the whole world, but He who had the empire of the whole world?"[2] The aim of the commentary is to show that Augustus acted only as an agent of the Almighty; that the birth of Christ at Bethlehem was the important object to be accomplished; and that the census itself was designed by infinite wisdom, as a solemn and indubitable record of that great event.

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[1] De censu denique August, quem testem fidelissimum dominicæ nativitatis Romana archiva custodiunt.—Tert. adv. Marc. lib. iv. c. 7, ed. Semler, tom. i. p. 200, ed. 2 Rigalt. p. 507, D.

[2] Ex stirpe autem Jesse deputatum, per Mariam scilicet inde censendum. Fuit enim de patria Bethlehem et de domo David, *sicut apud Romanos in censu descripta est* MARIA EX QUA NASCITUR CHRISTUS.—Tert. adv. Judæos, ed. Sem. tom, ii. p. 311; ed. 2 Rigalt. p. 219, C.

* The objection has been raised, that Christus was not our Lord's name, but his designation as God's anointed. It is true; and the objection strengthens the argument. The name Jesus was not given to him until his circumcision; and therefore *on the day of his birth*, when the Roman notary enrolled Him, with his mother, Joseph could only have answered his inquiry, by simply calling the child, the Messiah, the Christ.

The testimony of St. Augustine has been occasionally anticipated, in the extracts formerly given from his writings, relative to the time of our Lord's death. Referring the reader to what was then said, we proceed to a more complete examination of his evidence as to the date of our Lord's birth.

Among his sermons there are thirteen on the festival of the Nativity; and it is very observable that in every one of them he merely asserts the fact of its being our Lord's birth-day, as well known and established, but never attempts to prove it.

In one of them he asserts that "our Lord Jesus Christ, who was with the Father before He was born of his mother, chose not only the virgin from whom He should be born, but also the day on which He should be born." Erring men, he observes, choose days for the various purposes of building, travelling, marrying, &c., but "no one can choose the day of his birth. He only could choose both, who was able to create both."[3]

[1] Dum professio sæcularis obtenditur, spiritalis impletur, non terrarum regi dicenda, sed cœli. Professio ista fidei, census est animorum.—Opera, ed. Bened. tom. i. col. 1293, C.

To make St. Ambrose's comment perfectly intelligible, it is necessary to remark, that in the old Latin version which he used, the Greek word ἀπογράφεσϑαι is rendered ut censum profiteretur. "Factum est autem in diebus illis exiit edictum a Cæsare Augusto, ut censum profiteretur universus orbis terræ." Hence the play upon the words professio and census, as being synonymes.

[2] *Denique ut scias censum non Augusti esse sed Christi, totus orbis profiteri jubetur.* Quando nascitur Christus, omnes profitentur: quando mundus concluditur, omnes periclitantur. *Quis ergo poterat professionem totius orbis exigere, nisi qui totius habebat orbis imperium?*—Expos. Evang. Sec. Luc. lib. ii. c. 37, tom. i. ut sup. 1293, E. 1294, A.

[3] Nemo tamen potest eligere diem quo ipse nascatur. Sed ille potuit utrumque eligere, qui utrumque potuit et creare.—Serm. CXC. In Nat. Dom. vii. ed. Bened. Antverpiæ, tom. v. col. 620.

Whenever, therefore, he gives any decided testimony on the subject, it is introduced incidentally, and where you would least expect to find it. Thus in his questions upon Exodus, commenting on the law in Exodus xxiii. 19, "Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk," he gives an interpretation of it as referring to the passion of Christ, which took place at the same time of the year as his conception. "For women are said to collect milk from the time they have conceived; but that Christ was conceived and suffered in the same month is shown both by the observance of Easter and by the day of his nativity, which is perfectly well known to the Churches. For he who was born in the ninth month, on the eighth before the calends of January, (December 25th), was conceived certainly in the first month, about the eighth before the calends of April, (March 25th), which was also the time of his passion in his mother's milk, that is, in the days of his mother."[1] Our concern is not with the interpretation, but the testimony. It is but just however to observe, that St. Augustine does not give this as his own, but as the interpretation of others; and he introduces it with the remark, that "perhaps it is not absurd."

Again, commenting on the 133d Psalm, though with no obvious connexion, he says: "The dispensation of man became less and less; which was signified in John; the dispensation of God in our Lord Jesus Christ increased. And this is shown even by their birth-days. For, as the Church hath delivered down, John was born on the eighth before the calends of July, (June 24), when the days begin to be diminished; but the Lord was born on the eighth before the calends of January, (December 25), when now the days begin to increase. Hear John himself confessing, He must increase, but I must decrease."[2]

The same idea is expressed in his first sermon on the nativity of St. John the Baptist. After observing that the Church celebrates only two birth-days, of St. John and of Christ, he says, "John was born to-day, and from this day the days are diminished. But Christ was born on the eighth before the calends of January, and from that day the days increase."[1]

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[1] Dicuntur enim feminæ ex quo conceperint lac colligere: illo autem mense conceptum et passum esse Christum, et Paschæ observatio, et dies ecclesiis notissimus nativitatis ejus ostendit. Qui enim mense nono natus est octavo kalendas Januarias, profecto mense primo conceptus est circa octavum kalendas Aprilis, quod tempus etiam passionis ejus fuit in lacte matris suæ hoc est in diebus matris suæ.—Opera, ed. Ben. ut sup. tom. iii. P. I. col. 337, D. Quæ. XC.

[2] Hominis dispensatio minus minusque fiebat: quæ significabatur in Johanne; Dei dispensatio in Domino nostro Jesu Christo crescebat: quod et natalibus eorum ostenditur. Nam ille natus est, sicut tradit Ecclesia, octavo kalendas Julias, cum jam incipiunt minui dies. Dominus autem natus octavo kalendas Januarias, quando jam dies incipiunt crescere. Audi ipsum Johannem confitentem: Illum oportet crescere, me autem minui.—Enarratio in Psal. CXXXII. (Eng. ver. 133) tom. iv. col. 1113, F.

Other passages, in which the fact of our Lord's birth on the 25th of December is incidentallymentioned, are, Lib. de divers. Quæst. 83, tom. vi. col. 19. quæst. 56; De Trinitate, lib. iv. cap. 5, tom. viii. col. 578; Contra Cresconium Donatistam, lib. iv. cap. 37, tom. ix. col. 344. These are merely referred to, because it is useless to swell this work by citing them at large.

St. Augustine was fifty-six years old when Rome was sacked by the Goths, at which time the Roman Archives were certainly in existence. And having thus brought down the testimony of the Latin Christians to the same period with that of the safe keeping of the Roman Archives, that is, down to the end of the fourth century, I proceed to show when the Eastern Church adopted the practice of the western in celebrating the nativity of our Lord on the twenty-fifth of December. For this purpose, I shall lay before the reader part of a sermon of St. Chrysostom, which treats expressly on this subject. It was preached in Antioch, when he was a presbyter in that city, on the 25th of December, in the year of the common æra 386. Notwithstanding its length, I prefer giving a translation rather than an abstract, as being the language of the witness himself.

"Homily for the birth-day of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which day was unknown until a few years since, when some persons coming from the west made it known, and publicly announced it.

"Those things for which Patriarchs formerly travailed in birth, which prophets predicted, and just men desired to behold,—these came to pass and had their completion on this day; and God was beheld in the flesh upon earth, conversing with men. Beloved, let us now rejoice and exult for gladness. For if John in his mother's womb leaped for joy when Mary came in unto Elizabeth, how much more should we leap and exult, beholding not Mary, but our Saviour himself born this day! How should we wonder and be struck with amazement at the greatness of this dispensation (τῆς οἰκονομίας) which passeth all understanding! For consider what it would be, should you behold the sun descending from Heaven, rolling on upon the earth, and thence casting forth his rays upon all things. Should such an event happen to that material luminary, all who should see it would be struck with astonishment. Consider then, and ponder with me, how much greater would be the wonder to behold the Sun of righteousness shedding his rays from our flesh, and illuminating our souls with his splendour. Long have I desired to see this day, and not merely to see it, but to see it with such an assembly. And I could wish that our theatre* might be perpetually thronged, as I do now see it thronged. This my desire, therefore, is accomplished and fulfilled.

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[1] Serm. cclxxxvii. tom. v. col. 804.

" Although it is not yet the tenth year since the very day became surely known to us, nevertheless through your zeal it hath been so celebrated as if it had been from the beginning (ἄνωθεν) handed down by the tradition of many years. Wherefore he would not err who should call this day both new and old: new, because the knowledge of it hath newly come to us; old and primitive [παλαιὰν δὲ καὶ ἀρχαίαν] because it hath quickly become the fellow of those more ancient, and hath, as it were, attained the same age with them. For as vigorous and healthy plants, so soon as they are set in the earth, shoot upward to a great height and are laden with fruit, so this day, known from the beginning (ἄνωθεν) to the dwellers in the west, and but lately brought to us, hath so suddenly sprung forward, and borne such fruit as ye behold: our courts being every where filled, and every church crowded with the multitude. Wherefore, ye may expect a worthy reward of this your zeal from Christ who to-day was born in the flesh. He will abundantly reward this your eagerness; for your loving care of this day is the greatest proof of love to him who this day was born. And if it becomes us, your fellow-servants, to bring to you things relating to it, we will do so according to our ability; or rather, whatsoever Divine Grace may give us to speak for your improvement.

" Of what then do you wish to hear this day? Of what else but of the day itself? For I well know that many are even yet disputing with one another about it, some calling it in question, others defending it. And indeed there is everywhere much discourse concerning this day; by those on the one hand who argue against it, as being something new and recent, and lately introduced; and those on the other, who defend it as ancient and primitive (*παλαιὰ καὶ ἀρχαὶι*), because the prophets had predicted concerning his birth, and from the beginning (*ἄνωθεν*) it has been clearly known, and greatly celebrated, by those who dwell from Thrace to Gades (Cadiz). Suffer me, then, to discourse upon these things; for if while in dispute it enjoys so much of your goodwill, should it become better known it will manifestly enjoy the fruits of still greater zeal, wrought in you by the more complete teaching of the evidence of that institution.

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* The word theatre is here used, as in Acts xix. 29-31, to denote the public place of concourse, and not in the restricted sense of modern times. It is probable that S. Chrysostom delivered this sermon in the public theatre or city hall, because it could contain a larger assembly than any one of the churches.

"I have now therefore to declare three proofs, by which we shall absolutely know that this is the time in which our Lord Jesus Christ, God the Word (*ὁ ϑεὸς λόγος*) was born.

"I. And the first of these three proofs is, that this festival hath been everywhere proclaimed so rapidly, and hath risen and flourished to so great a height. That which Gamaliel said concerning the preaching, that 'if it be of men, it will come to nought, but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it, lest haply ye be found even to fight against God,'[1] the same might I also confidently assert concerning this day; that because God the Word is of God, there fore it shall not only not be overthrown, but every year be more widely observed and more clearly known (*λαμπροτέρα*). Even as that preaching in a few years convinced the whole world, although it was borne about everywhere by rude and illiterate fishermen and tent-makers; the meanness of its ministers doing no injury, because the power of Him who was preached, seized beforehand upon all things, removing all obstacles, and showing forth its own indwelling might.

"II. But if any one of those who are fond of contention, should not be deterred from it by what has been said, there is a second to be proposed. And what is that? It is taken from the enrolment (*ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπογραφῆς*) contained in the Gospels. For 'it came to pass,' says the Evangelist, 'in those days that there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus that all the world should be taxed, (*ἀπογρὰφεσϑαι* enrolled.') And this taxing (enrolment) was first made (first took effect*) when Cyrenius was governor of Syria. And all went to be taxed (enrolled) every one into his own city. And Joseph also went up from Galilee, out of the city of Nazareth, into Judæa unto the City of David, which is called Bethlehem (because He was of the house and lineage of David), to be taxed (ἀπογράψασϑαι, Chrys. ἀπογράφεσϑαι, enrolled), with Mary his espoused wife, being great with child. And so it was, that while they were there, the days were accomplished that she should be delivered. And she brought forth her first-born Son, and wrapped him in swaddling clothes, and laid him in a manger; because there was no room for them in the inn.'[2] Whence it is manifest that He was born at the time of this first enrolment: *and it is lawful for any one who wishes to know accurately, to search the ancient records publicly deposited in Rome, and there learn the time of that enrolment.*[2]

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[1] Acts v. 38, 39.

"But what is that to us, it is said, who are not, and never have been, there? Listen, and be not unbelieving; for we have received this day from those who have accurately examined these things, and are inhabitants of that city. For they who have tarried there, having celebrated it from the beginning (ἄνωϑεν) and from ancient tradition, have now themselves transmitted the knowledge of it to us. Neither hath the evangelist simply indicated the season, but he hath so done it as to make even the very day manifest and known to us, and so as to point out the divine dispensation (τοῦ ϑεοῦ τήν οἰκονομίαν). For not of his own motion, nor of himself, did Augustus then send forth his decree, but God, moving his soul that even involuntarily he might minister to the coming of the only Begotten. But of what profit is this to this dispensation (πρὸς τὴν οἰκονομίαν ταύτην), it is asked? Beloved, it is neither small nor fortuitous, but exceeding great, and one of things necessary and deeply interesting. And what is that? Galilee is a certain region in Palestine, and Nazareth a city of Galilee. Again, Judæa is a certain region so called by its inhabitants, and Bethlehem a city of Judæa. But all the prophets had predicted that the Christ should come forth not from Nazareth but from Bethlehem, and should be born there: for thus it is written: 'And thou Bethlehem, in the land of Juda, art not the least among the princes of Juda; for out of thee shall come a Governor that shall rule my people Israel.'[1] And the Jews, who were then inquired of by Herod where Christ should be born, declared to him this testimony. For this reason also when Nathanael, in answer to Philip's expression, We have found Jesus of Nazareth, said to him, Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth? Christ saith concerning him, 'Behold an Israelite indeed in whom is no guile.' If it be asked why He praised him? it was because he was not hurried away by that announcement of Philip; for he knew clearly and accurately that not in Nazareth, nor in Galilee, ought Christ to be born, but in Judæa and in Bethlehem. This, therefore, came to pass. Seeing then that Philip was ignorant of this, and that Nathanael, being instructed in the law, returned for answer what had been said according to the ancient prophecy, well knowing that Christ should not come from Nazareth; therefore Christ also said, Behold an Israelite indeed in whom is no guile.[2] For this reason also some of the Jews said to Nicodemus, 'Search and look; for out of Galilee ariseth no prophet.'[3] And again in another place: 'Doth not Christ come out of the town of Bethlehem, where David was?'[4] It was the common suffrage of all that He must by all means come from thence, and not from Galilee. But seeing that Joseph and Mary, being citizens of Bethlehem, had left it, and established themselves in Nazareth and dwelt there; as often happens to many men, who leave the cities in which they were born and dwell in other cities in which they were not born and brought up; and seeing that it was necessary that Christ should be born in Bethlehem; the decree went forth, and they were compelled even against their will, to return to that city (*τοῦ ϑεοῦ ὄντως οἰκονομοῦντος*) such being God's dispensation. For the law which commanded each person to be enrolled in his own country, forced them, I say, to rise up thence from Nazareth and come into Bethlehem, for the purpose of being enrolled. This the Evangelist intimates when he says, 'And

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* But Chrysostom evidently takes πρώτη in this place to be an adjective, and not an adverb. His reading, therefore, is αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη—this first enrolment, and not πρώτη ἐγενετο—was first made or first took effect, according to our version; but this makes no difference in the argument.

[1] Luke ii. 1-7.

[2] Καὶ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τοῖς δημοσία κειμένοις κώδιξιν ἐπὶ τῆς Ρώμης ἔξεστιν ἐντυχόντα, καὶ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἀπογραφῆς μαϑόντα ἀκριβῶς εἰδέναι τὸν βουλόμενον.—Chrys. Op. tom. ii. p. 356, ed. Montf. In the later Greek writers, Κωδιξ is used to signify a collection of laws. It is here used in the plural in the sense of public records. See Du Cange Glossarium Mediæ et infimæ Græcitatis, voce Κώδιξ.

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[1] Matt. ii. 6, quoting Micah v. 2.

[2] John i. 45, 46, 47.

[3] John vii. 52.

[4] Ibid. vii. 42.

Joseph also went up from Galilee, out of the city of Nazareth into Judæa, unto the city of David which is called Bethlehem, because he was of the house and lineage of David, to be taxed (enrolled) with Mary his espoused wife, being great with child. And so it was, that while they were there the days were accomplished that she should be delivered, and she brought forth her first-born son.'[1]

"You see therefore, beloved, (*οἰκονομίαν ϑεοῦ*) the divine dispensation, God arranging his own purposes (*τὰ καϑ’ ἑαυτὸν οἰκονομοῦντος*) by means of believers and unbelievers, that they who are estranged from godliness may learn his might and power. The star brought the Magi from the East; the law drew Mary to the country predicted by the prophets. Hence it is clear to us that the Virgin was of the lineage of David, because she was of Bethlehem; it being thereby manifest that she was also of the house and family of David. This the Evangelist has shown above in what he said: 'And Joseph also went up from Galilee with Mary, because he was of the house and lineage of David.'[2] But since the genealogy of Joseph only is here given, and no one hath counted her ancestors to us as being also his; that there may be no doubt or inquiry how it is manifest that she also was of David, hear [what is said Luke i. 26]: 'In the sixth month, the angel Gabriel was sent from God unto a city of Galilee named Nazareth, to a virgin espoused to a man whose name was Joseph, of the house of David.' This expression 'of the house of David,' must be taken as being spoken of the Virgin, as is here plainly manifested. On this account that decree and law was promulgated which led them both to Bethlehem. For they went both together up to the city, and Jesus was immediately brought forth. Wherefore He was laid also in a manger, there being so great a concourse from all quarters, who had preoccupied all places and produced a great scarcity of room. And hence the Magi also worshipped Him there."[3]

The third division of the sermon and the peroration consist chiefly of computations, which it will be proper to reserve till we come to the second head of our inquiry, and of arguments concerning the necessity of the incarnation, which would be foreign from its purpose. I pass by the whole, therefore, for the present, and proceed to make some remarks upon the nature and value of the testimony of St. Chrysostom. It appears—

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[1] Luke ii. 4-7. [2] Ibid. ii. 4.

[3] S. Jo. Chrys. in diem Natalem D. N. J. Christi, Opera, ed. Montf. tom. ii. p. 354-358.

First, that the observance of the festival of the Nativity on the 25th of December had been introduced into the Church of Antioch about ten years before this sermon was preached,—that is, about the year 376 of the common æra.

Secondly, that though lately introduced into the Eastern Church, the observance of it was old and primitive in the West, because to them it was known from the beginning.

Thirdly, that when introduced into the East, it had been everywhere received with great rapidity, so that the practice had become general.

Fourthly, that notwithstanding this general reception, it had met with some opposition from those who considered it as an innovation upon established practice.

On this last account he proceeds to assign three reasons for the observance of it, of which two only have yet been laid before the reader.

First, its triumphant progress, which was a proof of its truth, because it would not have been so generally and immediately received, if the evidence in its favour had not been most conclusive; and

Secondly, the evidence itself, drawn from the Roman Archives, where the enrolment ordered by Augustus was still in being. Christ being born and enrolled there, the very day of his birth could thereby be ascertained. The enrolment was lying in a place of public deposit, and could be easily examined, being accessible to any persons desirous of accurate investigation. And this was ordered by Divine Providence, who arranges all events according to the counsel of His own will.

No one can read the sermon without being struck with the perfect conviction of its author that our Saviour was born on the 25th of December,—a conviction arising not merely from the celebration of the festival even from apostolic times, for such is the force of the expression ἄνωθεν, "from the beginning," but also from a written document in the Roman archives, concerning which there could be no error, because the very day of Christ's birth was proved by the register. If the modern records of births are considered in our courts of judicature as indubitable testimony, why were not the Roman records equally indubitable?

St. Chrysostom appeals to the fact of the general admission of this testimony. But would the bishops of the Eastern Churches have altered their practice, and adopted that of the West, unless they had been clearly convinced of its truth? Most assuredly not. The very contentions about the right day of observing Easter show the contrary.

It is very observable also that St. Chrysostom never speaks of the Epiphany as having been supposed in the Eastern Church to have been the actual day of Christ's birth. His birth was commemorated on that day, not because they believed it to be the real birthday, but because they were ignorant of the real birthday. The expression of the evangelist that when Jesus was baptized he was about thirty years old, showed that the 6th of January was near the time of his birth, but was not the exact time.

It is evident also that when St. Chrysostom speaks of the debates in Antioch concerning the observance of the 25th of December, they are debates among the people, growing out of the change of observance and the dread of novelty. He speaks of these debates as being confined to the ignorant; and in the confidence which conviction of the truth alone can impart, he predicts the wider and wider extension of this festival, and the clearer brightness of its truth.

That it was generally observed throughout the Christian world before the Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431) is evident from two facts; first, that there is annexed to the Acts of that council a sermon by Paul, bishop of Emesa, preached that year on the 29th of the Egyptian month Choïac (December 25) in the great church of Alexandria, in the presence of Cyril, the archbishop of that see (*εἰς τὴν γέννησιν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν* Ιησοῦ Χριϛοῦ) for the birth of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ;[1] and secondly, that notwithstanding the unhappy schisms which have since that period divided the Catholic Church, the same festival on the same day has been ever observed by all the contending parties. None of them would have changed their practice after the time of that Council, and before it there must have been sufficient time to establish the practice among all. This serves as collateral testimony to the fact asserted by St. Chrysostom, that the introduction of the practice among all the Eastern Churches was very rapid, after they had received from the West the grounds on which it was founded.

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[1] Concilia, ed. Labbe et Cossart, tom. iii. col. 1095.

There is, I believe, but one exception on record to the truth of this remark, and that occurs in the work of Cosmas Indicopleustes, a Nestorian writer of the sixth century.* He finished his work about A.D. 536; and he states it as a matter of much surprise that when he visited Jerusalem he found that they celebrated the Nativity on the festival of the Epiphany,—a practice which he regarded as singular, all others observing it on the 28th (29th) of Choïac, (December 25).[1]

With this single exception, the practice continued general, constant, and uniform, until the sixteenth century. It is still the same, although the difference of the Julian and Gregorian calendars has introduced a variation, amounting at present to twelve days. But this is a variation only in the computation of time; all agreeing to observe the 25th of December. The observance of this festival extends to all who call themselves Protestant or Reformed, except a comparatively small number in England, Scotland, and America; and this exception has arisen rather from the heats of controversy, than from any other motive.

Before concluding this part of the inquiry, it may be proper to remark, that no notice has been taken of the Apostolical Constitutions, or of the letter said to have been written by Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, to Julius, the Bishop of Rome. The learned reader is referred for the former to the Patres Apostolici of Cotelerius, edited by Le Clerc, tom. i. p. 315, and for the latter to the Benedictine edition of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, p. 370. The reason for omitting them is, that the former being probably a work of the fifth century, could add no weight to the testimony already given; and the latter is a miserable forgery, deserving no place in a work the object of which is to elicit truth. As a matter of history the whole inquiry turns upon the fact of the enrolment ordered by Augustus.

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* The discovery of the Nestorianism of Cosmas was reserved for the sagacity of La Croze. See his Histoire du Christianisme des Indes, tom. i. p. 41. The proofs he produces are so strong, that the fact is now generally admitted. Yet Montfaucon was not aware of it as he would have been, says La Croze, si les dogmes de cette secte ressembloient un peu moins à ceux de la religion orthodoxe.

[1] Cosmæ Indic. Chris. Topog. lib. v. ap. Montf. collection. nov. Patrum, tom. ii. p. 194.

And I think the impartial reader must have seen that there is an unbroken chain of testimony as to the existence of that document, and the reference constantly made to it from the age of Justin Martyr down to that of St. John Chrysostom. At this period the Universal Church, relying upon its authority, adopted one uniform practice, observing the 25th of December as the day of our Lord's Nativity. To all succeeding ages this very uniformity and universality becomes a permanent and competent witness to the truth, and as such ought not to be lightly regarded. With this remark we proceed to consider,

In the second place, the subject of the day of our Lord's Nativity as one of computation and argument, founded on the conjectures of the learned.

And here it will be proper to introduce the third division of St. Chrysostom's sermon to the people of Antioch, because it rests wholly on computation. I shall not attempt to translate it entire, because it is verbose and rhetorical, and enters into details with regard to the Mosaic Law which might be necessary for the congregation he was addressing, but certainly are not so to us who have the Bible in our hands. An abstract of it only is all that will here be attempted.

After describing the division of the Jewish Sanctuary by a veil into the Holy place, and the Holy of holies, the last being a type of Heaven, St. Chrysostom proceeds to show, from the ninth chapter of Hebrews, that the entrance of the high-priest into the Holy of holies, once a year, with the blood of atonement, was intended to represent the Ascension of Christ into Heaven. He then assumes that Zechariah was the high-priest, and that he saw the vision and received the promise of the birth of St. John, as he was entering the Holy of holies, on the great day of Atonement. This, he says, quoting Leviticus xvi. was on the tenth day of the seventh month, (ver. 29), five days before the feast of Tabernacles, which feast, according to his calculation, occurred about the end of September. "If then," he proceeds, "after the month Gorpiæus (September) Elizabeth's conception began, we must reckon the six intermediate months, Hyperberetæus (October), Dius (November), Apellæus (December), Audonæus (January), Peritius (February), Dystrus (March). After this sixth month Mary's conception began; whence, counting nine months, we arrive at this present month.

The first month therefore of our Lord's conception was April, or Xanticus. After this were Artemisius (May), Desius, (June), Panemus (July), Loïus (August), Gorpiæus (September), Hyperberetæus (October), Dius (November), and Apellæus (December), which is the present month, and in which we celebrate this day." He then sums up his argument as follows: "Once a year the high-priest entered alone into the Holy of holies, in the month Gorpiæus. Zacharias therefore entered then into the Holy of holies, and then received the glad tidings concerning John. Thence he departed, and the conception of his wife began. After Gorpiæus, when Elizabeth was in her sixth month, which was Dystrus, the conception of Mary began. From Xanticus, therefore, counting nine months, we shall come to this present month, in which our Lord Jesus Christ was born."[1]

The whole of this computation is loose and inaccurate; for the Jewish months did not coincide with the Greek or Roman months, and consequently the great day of Atonement, and the following feast of Tabernacles, might occur sometimes earlier sometimes later. By the tables of John the Baptist's and our Lord's ministry, it has been seen, that in four successive years, the day of Atonement occurred September 29, September 18, October 7, and September 26, exhibiting a variation, in two contiguous years, of nineteen days.

But if it had been ever so accurate, it rests upon the false assumption, that *Zechariah was the high-priest*; whereas it is evident from St. Luke's narrative, as well as from Josephus, that Zachariah was NOT the high-priest. St. Luke says that he was "a priest of the course of Abia," or Abijah; that "he executed the priest's office before God in the order of his course;" that "according to the custom of the priest's office, his lot was to burn incense when he went into the Temple of the Lord;" and that the angel appeared unto him, not in the Holy of holies, but in the Holy place, in which all the priests went always,[2] "standing on the right side of the altar of incense."[3] The whole description shows that it was an ordinary ministration of the priesthood. From 1 Chronicles xxiv. it appears that the priests were divided by David into twenty-four lots or courses, of which that of Abijah was the eighth;[1] and these were appointed to assist the high-priest.[2]

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[1] S. Joan. Chrys. Op. ed. Montf. tom. ii. p. 358 c. to p. 362 D.

[2] Heb. ix. 6.

[3] Luke i. 5, 8, 9, 11.

After the extinction of the Asmonæan dynasty (A.J.P. 4676) by the death of Antigonus, four high-priests only are mentioned by Josephus during the reign of Herod,—Ananelus, Aristobulus, Matthias, and Joazar. Matthias must have been the high-priest at the time in which the vision appeared to Zechariah; for Josephus says he was deprived of the high-priesthood, and Joazar appointed in his stead, just before Herod's death, on the day of the lunar eclipse.[3] We know, therefore, that Matthias was deposed March 12th, A.J.P. 4710. And though Josephus speaks of another person who, in the time of Matthias, was made high-priest for a single day, and that day also the great day of Atonement, yet the name of the person thus appointed was not Zechariah, but Joseph. There is not the least ground, therefore, for the assumption that Zechariah ever executed the office of high priest.

St. Chrysostom, however, is not the only one among the ancients who fell into this error. St. Ambrose, in his commentary on Luke i. 8-10, observes that holy Zacharias seems here to be designated as high-priest.[4] But I am not aware that any other of the early Latin and Greek fathers entertained this hypothesis. After the time of Chrysostom, it ought not to occasion surprise if later writers, resting on his authority, should advance as direct proof what he considered and advanced only as collateral evidence. Thus we find Cosmas Indicopleustes, in the passage above cited, speaking with certainty of the high-priesthood of Zacharias; and the forged correspondence between Cyril of Jerusalem and Julius of Rome, to which I have merely referred the learned reader, does the same thing. But in general, the Ancients reasoned in a very different manner. They first established the fact of our Lord's nativity on the twenty-fifth of December by the unerring testimony of the Roman Archives. They then entered into a computation from the data afforded by St. Luke, as to the time of his incarnation; and following out the subject, they computed also the time of the birth and conception of John the Baptist. This appears to be logical and consistent with sound philosophy. The idea that

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[1] 1 Chron. xxiv. 10.

[2] Ibid. v. 19.

[3] Antiq. lib. xvii. c. vi. § 4.

[4] Videtur hic sanctus Zacharias summus designari Sacerdos.—S. Ambr. Exp. Evang. sec. Luc. Op. ed. Bened. tom. i. col. 1273, B.

Zechariah was the high priest, and the time of his vision the day of expiation, was an after-thought; the result of hasty computation and a lively imagination. And it is truly curious to observe what important consequences have flowed from it. The cold, and I may even say sceptical, distrust of modern criticism, has reversed the whole order of ratiocination. Neglecting entirely the evidence of the Roman Archives, and assuming that the ancients, in arranging the festivals of the Church, were guided by computations from this untenable hypothesis, they have run into the region of conjecture, have thrown the reins upon the neck of fancy, and suffered her to carry them wherever her caprice listed. The consequence has been, that there is scarcely a month in the year in which some modern writer has not placed our Lord's birth. Fabricius, in his Bibliographia Antiquaria, enumerating the discordant opinions of learned men, has mentioned, besides December and January, the middle of February, March, April, May, June, the last of August, September, the beginning of October, and the sixth or eighteenth of November.[1]

The very contrariety of these opinions destroys their force; and when you come to examine the reasons assigned for these bold assertions, nothing can be more unsatisfactory. Spanheim, in his useful work on the doubtful points in the Gospels, has given a concise view of the reasons assigned by Beroaldus, Scaliger, Calvisius, and other modern chronologers, for believing that our Saviour was born about the autumnal equinox, towards the end of September, and near the feast of Tabernacles. The reasons, he says, for this opinion may be arranged under two heads; first, that He could not have been born in the winter, and secondly, that He was born in September. Under the first head they assert—1. That the winter was an inconvenient time for the Jews to go to their respective cities to be enrolled; and 2. That Bethlehem being a cold and mountainous region, it was not the proper season for shepherds to be watching their flocks by night in the open air. Under the second head, that Christ was born in September, the arguments are partly conjectural and partly demonstrative. The conjectural arguments are, 1. That the autumnal equinox was a very suitable time for the birth of Christ—the more suitable because the Passover had the paschal lamb, and Pentecost, the pouring out of the spirit and giving the law, while the feast of Tabernacles in September had only the completion of the vintage and the ingathering of the fruits, all of which aptly represented the occasion of our Saviour's coming: 2. That the world was created about the same time, and consequently the generation and regeneration of the world, the first when it was created, and the second when Christ should be born, would be effected at the same time: 3. That for this last reason, the ancient Churches began their year at this time, that the Indictions began in September, that the Egyptians began their first month, Thoth, at the end of August, and the year of Jubilee began with the day of expiation in September.

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[1] Bib. Ant. cap. x. Festa Christianorum, Hamb. 1760, 4to, tom. i. p. 480-481.

The demonstrative arguments are drawn,—1st, from the seventy weeks of Daniel, and 2nd, from calculations concerning the ministration of the course of Abia, to which Zechariah belonged. This last point forms the principal argument of Scaliger; and Calvisius, following in his footsteps, has endeavoured to support the same by other calculations.[1]

Spanheim speaks of two opinions only as generally prevailing; the one of the ancient Church in favour of the twenty-fifth of December, the other, that which we are now considering.[2] Omitting, therefore, the rest, because the consideration of all would be tedious and unprofitable, let us confine ourselves to the reasons just alleged, most of which Spanheim himself has well answered.

Supposing the month of December ever so inconvenient for the enrolment, it depended on the will of the emperor, and that of his subordinates. The convenience of the Jews would not be taken into consideration. But there is no evidence that it was so very inconvenient, as far as it applies to Joseph and Mary. The journey from Nazareth to Bethlehem was from north to south, in a temperate region, and would take but three days even on foot. December was also a time of leisure from all rural employments, and as such more convenient for the whole nation than any other.

As to the shepherds' watching their flocks by night, and the supposed inconsistency of this fact with the birth of Christ in December, the whole argument rests upon a false assumption. Bethlehem, though an elevated, is not a cold region. St. Jerome, who lived there for many years, described its temperature in winter as being milder than that of Rome. "If it be the time of wintry cold and snow, I will buy no wood, and yet be warmer than you at Rome, whether sleeping or waking. At least I am sure I shall guard myself from cold with less fuel."[1]

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[1] Fred. Spanhemii Dubia Evangelica, P. II. p. 203-206, tom. i. 4to, Genev. 1700.
[2] Ibid. p. 197.

Dr. Russell observes that in Aleppo, the climate of which resembles that of Jerusalem, "the most delicate never make fires till about the end of November, and some few pass the whole winter without them." In the thirteen years he resided there, the ice was not above three times of sufficient strength to bear a man. Excepting three years, snow never laid above a day."[2] In Buhle's Economical Calendar of Palestine, which forms the 454th number of Fragments illustrating Scripture, annexed to Calmet's Dictionary, the reader will find a very satisfactory account of the climate during every month in the year. In December, although the cold is sometimes extremely piercing, yet in general rains are more usual than snows. When the easterly winds blow, the weather is dry, although they sometimes bring a mist and hoar frost. The mercury usually stands all the month at 46°. It frequently gets up in the afternoon, if there is no rain, three degrees. Còrn is sown during this month; and the grass and herbs again springing up out of the ground after the rains, *the Arabs drive their flocks down from the mountains into the plains*."[3] "Even in England," as Casaubon observes, "where there is no fear of wolves or other noxious animals, flocks pass the night through the whole year in the fields, and are never housed on account of cold, rain, or winds. Wherefore the ancient tradition of the Church is not to be by us rashly rejected."[4]

The mere statement of the conjectural arguments in favour of the month of September, is sufficient to show their weakness. I pass them over therefore without comment, and proceed to those which are called demonstrative. Both are founded upon computations. The first, from the seventy weeks of Daniel, Spanheim himself dismisses with the remark, that so long as the beginning and end of the seventy weeks is a subject of controversy, it cannot possibly throw any light on that of our Saviour's nativity.[1]

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[1] Si frigus fuerit et brumales nives, ligna non coëmam; et calidius vigilabo vel dormiam. Certe quod sciam, vilius non algebo. —Ep. ad Marcellam, Op. ed. Ben. tom. iv. c. 553.

[2] Descr. of Aleppo, Harmer's Obs. vol. i. p. 130-132.

[3] Calmet, vol. iii. p, 501, 4to.—The author spent a part of three successive winters at Rome. It was never cold in December, and in January he saw roses in bloom in gardens, and often sat with his windows open. In the month of February, however, when the Tramontana blew, the cold was intense; and the fountains in the front of St. Peter's froze as they fell. Bethlehem, according to St. Jerome's account, was milder than Rome.

[4] Exerc. ad Ann. Bar. vii. Lond. 1614, p. 174.

But the second cannot be passed over in silence, because it is founded on calculations concerning the ministration of the course of Abia.

Josephus, speaking of the twenty-four families of the priests as arranged by David, says, that "he ordered one family to minister to God for eight days, that is, from one sabbath to another; and thus all the families were distributed by lot. The family whose lot came out first was recorded as the first." "And this division," he adds, "hath continued even unto this day."[2]

It appears also from 1 Macc. ii. 1, that Mattathias, the father of Judas Maccabæus, was "a priest of the sons of Joiarib," which was the first lot in the twenty-four courses appointed by David.[3] It appears also from 1 Macc. i. 54-59, compared with chap. iv. 52-59, that the Temple was profaned by Antiochus Epiphanes, with idolatrous worship, just three years from the twenty-fifth of Casleu, in the year of the Greeks or Seleucidæ 145, to the twenty-fifth of the same month in the year 148. With this account Josephus perfectly agrees; and he adds, moreover, that "this desolation of the Temple by Antiochus, happened in the 153d olympiad, and the restoration of divine worship in the 154th olympiad."[4]

The first year of the first olympiad began at the first full moon after the summer solstice, A.J.P. 3938. To this add 612 years, and it brings us to the summer solstice of A.J.P. 4550, as the end of the 153d and the beginning of the 154th olympiad.

Again: Petavius has fully shown,[5] that the computation of time in the first book of Maccabees begins from the month Nisan, A.J.P. 4402. To this add 148 years, and we are brought to the month Nisan, A.J.P. 4550, as the beginning of the 148th year of the Greeks. The twenty-fifth of Casleu that year fell on Sunday the 23d of November; consequently, it was in the fifth month of the first year of the 154th olympiad when the public worship of the Temple was renewed by the Asmonæan family.

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[1] Dub. Evang. P. II. p. 204.

[2] Antiq. Jud. lib. vii. c. 14, § 7.

[3] 1 Chron. xxiv. 7.

[4] Antiq. Jud. lib. xii. cap. 7, § 6.—Let not the English reader be here led into error by Whiston's translation of this passage. That runs thus: "*on the first year of* the 153rd olymp.;" and again, "*on the fourth year of* the 154th olymp." In the Greek text, there is nothing to warrant the words in italics; and they falsify the meaning of the author. My edition was published at Boston, 1821, in 2 vols. 4to. The error is in vol. i. p. 445.

[5] De Doc. Temp. lib. x. cap. 45.

On this Scaliger founded his computation; and as Petavius has clearly and concisely stated his argument, it shall be given nearly in his words.

According to Scaliger's computation, Christ was born A.J.P. 4711, in the forty-third year of Julius Cæsar's reformed calendar. The message to Zechariah, as appears from the Gospel narrative, preceded the birth of Christ fourteen months; for immediately after the time of his ministration was fulfilled, Elizabeth conceived[1] and hid herself five months. The sixth month after, Gabriel was sent to Mary,[2] and in the ninth month after that annunciation, Christ was born. The order of the priests' courses must, therefore, be computed from the restoration of the Temple worship by Judas Maccabæus to the announcement of the birth of John made to Zechariah.

A.J.P. 4549, the new moon of Casleu happened on Thursday October 30th, and consequently the 25th of Casleu fell on Sunday the 23d of November. The day before was the Sabbath, and then, without doubt began the ministration of the first lot, or the family of Joiarib, to which the Asmonæans belonged. As there were twenty-four courses, and each course ministered seven days, $24 \times 7 = 168$ days, may be called the sacerdotal revolution or period. The family of Abia being the eighth, was preceded by seven families; and therefore $7 \times 7 = 49$ days must elapse before the course of Abia began its ministrations; viz. from the Sabbath Nov. 22nd, A.J.P. 4549, to the Sabbath January 10th, A.J.P. 4550. From the Sabbath January 10th, A.J.P. 4550, to the Sabbath which fell on the 21st of July, A.J.P. 4710, comprehending 160 years and 192 days, there were precisely 349 sacerdotal periods of the family of Abia. Consequently the ministration of Zechariah continued from July 21st to July 28th, A.J.P. 4710. Within that week the birth of John was announced to Zechariah, and after the 28th of July, Elizabeth conceived and hid herself five months. At the commencement of the sixth month, Gabriel appeared to Mary, viz. about the end of December; and, therefore, the birth of Christ took place about the end of September.[3]

[1] Luke i. 24.

[2] Ibid. i. 26.

[3] Petav. Doct. Temp. lib. xii. c. 7; Spanhemii Dubia Evang. P. II. p. 209.

In this argument Scaliger made two assumptions, the one false, the other uncertain.

He falsely assumed that Christ was born A.J.P. 4711. This could not be, for Christ was born during the lifetime of Herod the Great, and Herod died A.J.P. 4710.

He assumed further that when the Temple was cleansed and dedicated by Judas Maccabæus, the family of Joiarib without doubt began the sacerdotal ministrations. But this must be uncertain. What evidence had he, or could he have, of the fact? After the Babylonish captivity, the services of the second Temple were renewed on the first day of the seventh month, or Tisri.[1] On the twenty-fourth of that month, two days after the feast of Tabernacles was ended, the covenant was renewed and the priests separated according to their courses.[2] At this time there were enumerated only twenty-two courses of priests, and shortly after only twenty-one. In the first, Abia or Abijah is the twelfth, and Joiarib the seventeenth; in the second, Abijah is the eleventh, and Joiarib the fifteenth.[3] When therefore Josephus says that David's division of the priests had continued even to his day, that is even to the destruction of the second Temple, his words must be understood of the general arrangement only, without excluding those modifications which the changes of times and circumstances would necessarily produce. As the interruption of divine worship by the tyranny of Antiochus lasted but three years, it was easy to compute and preserve the series of ministrations as they had previously existed. Or the interruption might be considered as a mere suspension of the previous order; and so the family next to that which served last might be considered as having the right of precedence. Or the whole question may have been determined, as it was at the beginning, by lot; and that family whose lot came up first, would be called upon to serve first. On any of these suppositions the whole series would be altered. It is impossible, therefore, to argue with any certainty, from such uncertain premises.

Indeed the utter uncertainty of such calculations is best shown by exhibiting the contradictory conclusions to which they have led.

Thus the learned Allix, admitting the general accuracy of Scaliger's computations, has argued from them, that in the year of the Julian Period 4708, the course of Abia would enter on its ministry the 13th of March, and end on the 5th of April. The conception of John might therefore have taken place on the 7th or 8th of April, A.J.P. 4708, and his birth about the 1st of January, A.J.P. 4709. Consequently the conception of Christ might have taken place about the tenth of October, A.J.P. 4708, and his birth about the 11th or 12th of April, A.J.P. 4709.[1]

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[1] Nehem. viii. 2.

[2] Ezra iii. 1-11, comp. with Neh. ix. 38; x. 1-8.

[3] Neh. xii. 1-7, comp. with 12-21.

So Mr. Mann, arguing from Ezra iii. 6, that the public worship of the second Temple began on the 1st of Tisri, which he says was the 24th of September, A.J.P. 4178, calculates as follows: The whole distance of time from September 24, A.J.P. 4178, to the destruction of the second Temple on the 9th of the month Ab, or August 4, A.J.P. 4783, was 220,927 days, or 1315 sacerdotal revolutions, ending with the course of Joarib. From these two epochs, calculating either backward or forward, we shall find the course of Abia, the eighth in order, having its ministrations from the sabbath December 21st, to the Sabbath December 28th, A.U.C. 745, A.J.P. 4705. Zechariah then returned to Hebron, twenty-four miles from Jerusalem, and the conception of John took place. Calculating thence, the sixth month would end June 29, A.U.C. 746, two or three weeks perhaps after the annunciation to Mary; and so her blessed delivery would fall about the 21st of March, A.U.C. 747.[2]

Petavius, on the other hand, taking the same calculations, argues as follows: Assuming the opinion which he preferred, that Christ was born in the year 41 of the reformed calendar of Julius Cæsar, A.J.P. 4709, he says that from the Sabbath, Nov. 22, A.J.P. 4549, to Friday, September 17, A.J.P. 4708, are 58,009 days, which, being divided by seven, give 8287 weeks, equal to 345 sacerdotal revolutions, and 49 days over, or seven entire courses. Therefore the eighth course, or that of Abia, began on the sabbath September 18th, in the year of the Julian period 4708, lunar cycle 15, solar cycle 4, Sunday letter C. Towards the end of that week Gabriel announced the birth of John to Zechariah, as he was offering incense. His ministrations being ended, he returned home after the 24th of September. Elizabeth conceived not long after, and brought forth John towards the end of the ninth month from that date, A.J.P. 4709, in which year six months after our Lord was born on the 25th of December. Therefore the conjecture of Scaliger aids the common and ancient tradition concerning the birthday of Christ, and proves the assertion to be unnecessary that he was born in the autumn.[1]

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[1] Allix de J. C. natali, Lond. 1707, 8vo, p. 46.

[2] Mann de An. Nat. Christi, cap. 12, Lond. 1752, 8vo, p. 87-90

Here then there are four utterly discordant conclusions, drawn from the same premises, by men of intelligence, learning, and accuracy. Well therefore does Bishop Marsh conclude, in the language of Dr. Körner, that "all attempts (I would rather say all *such* attempts,) to discover the real day on which Christ was born, must be fruitless."[2]

I am not aware of any other arguments, or rather assertions, on this subject which require a passing notice, excepting two; first, that the festival of the Nativity of Christ, on the 25th of December, was substituted for the heathen festival on that day, called the Nativity of the Invincible,—Nativitas (or rather Natalis) Invicti. And secondly, that this, as well as other Christian festivals, was founded on a sort of astronomical allegory, descriptive of the progress of the sun in the zodiac.

The first is affirmed by Michaelis. Having asserted in his harmony that the conception of John took place in August, and his birth in May, and that our Lord was born in October, he adds in a note, that "our festivals were not arranged according to the time in which the several events intended to be celebrated really happened; for they were substituted in the place of heathen festivals, in order to annihilate even the traces of heathenism. Thus the festival called Nativitas Invicti was converted into Nativitas Christi."[3]

To this Bishop Marsh well answers: 1. That the festival called Natalis (not Nativitas) Invicti, was introduced into the Roman calendar, A.D. 351, in honour of the emperor Constantius. And 2. That it was celebrated, not on the eighth before the calends of January, or December 25th, but on the eighth before the ides, or the 6th of January. He adds, that this is "a modern opinion, for none of the ancient fathers have given the least hint of it. It was first hazarded as a conjecture, by John, Metropolitan of Nicæa.

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[1] Petav. Doc. Tem. lib. xii. c. 7.

[2] Marsh's Michaelis, vol. v. p. 52.

[3] Marsh's Michaelis, Harm. of the Gospels, § 7. vol. iv. p. 37.

about the tenth century; was revived and defended in this last century by Hardouin and Pétau: and was finally brought into more general notoriety by professor Hamberger of Göttingen, in 1751. No man has dressed this notion in more fanciful array than Dupuis, in his Origine de tous les Cultes, v. 114-139, the object of which work is to derive all religions from the twelve signs of the zodiac."[1]

Sir Isaac Newton seems to have been the first who hazarded the fanciful opinion, that the arrangement of all the Christian festivals was made by mathematicians, and derived from astronomy. "The times of the birth and passion of *Christ*," he observes, "were little regarded by the *Christians* of the first age. They who began first to celebrate them, placed them at the cardinal points of the year; as the annunciation of the virgin *Mary* on the 25th of *March*, which, when *Julius Cæsar* corrected the calendar, was the vernal equinox; the feast of *John* the Baptist, on the 24th of *June*, which was the summer solstice; the feast of *St. Michael* on *September* 29, which was the autumnal equinox; and the birth of *Christ* on the winter solstice, *December* 25, with the feasts of *St. Stephen*, *St. John*, and the *Innocents*, as near it as they could place them. And because the solstice in time removed from the 25th of *December* to the 24th, the 23rd, the 22nd, and so on backwards, hence some in the following centuries placed the birth of *Christ* on *December* 23, and at length on *December* 20; and for the same reason they seem to have set the feast of *St. Thomas* on *December* 21, and that of *St. Matthew* on *September* 21. So also, at the entrance of the sun into all the signs in the *Julian* calendar, they placed the days of other saints: as the conversion of *St. Paul* on *January* 25, when the sun entered ♒ *Aquarius*; *St. Matthias* on *February* 25, when he entered ♓ *Pisces*; *St. Mark* on *April* 25, when he entered ♉ *Taurus*; *Corpus Christi* on *May* 26, when he entered ♊ *Gemini*; *St. James* on *July* 25, when he entered ♋ *Cancer*; *St. Bartholomew* on *August* 24, when he entered ♍ *Virgo*; *St. Simon* and *St. Jude* on *October* 28, when he entered ♏ *Scorpio*: and if there were any other remarkable days in the *Julian* calendar, they placed the saints upon them, as *St. Barnabas* on *June* 11, where *Ovid* seems to place the feast of *Vesta* and *Fortuna*, and the goddess *Matuta*; and *St. Philip* and *St. James* on the 1st of *May*, a day dedicated both to the *Bona Dea*, or *Magna Mater*, and to the goddess *Flora*, and still celebrated with her rites. All which shows that these days were fixed in the first *Christian* calendars by mathematicians at pleasure, without any ground in tradition; and that the *Christians* afterwards took up with what they found in the calendars."[1]

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[1] Marsh's Mich. vol. v. p. 33-56.

By all the civilized world, Newton is allowed to have been the parent of the modern system of natural philosophy. His power of invention, his intensity of thought, his patience of investigation, were unrivalled. What is more, he was a Christian, deeply convinced of the truth of revelation, acting with justice and benevolence towards man, and walking humbly before God. But aside from the qualities of mind enumerated, his powers were those of ordinary men; and he lived at a period in which there was at work in England a latent spirit of unbelief, tending in its progress towards the refined deism of the last and present age. How else can we account for the fact, that a mind like his, so accustomed to the severity of mathematical calculation, so exercised in the investigation of natural phenomena, so methodical and wise in his most adventurous speculations, so experienced in all the requisites for the discovery of truth, should have made assertions so unfounded, and hazarded conjectures so false and extravagant, as are crowded into the paragraph here quoted?

In the region of history, he seemed to be shorn of his strength. Without any profound investigation, which attention to other studies and pursuits forbade, he might have learned from Hospinian, a Protestant and a Calvinist, that most of the festivals he has named were appointed on the day in which the persons commemorated actually suffered, or were supposed to have suffered martyrdom, and that such was the established rule and theory of their institution. He might have learned, that the festival of St. Paul's conversion is of such recent date, that even in the time of Innocent III. or the beginning of the thirteenth century, it was not everywhere celebrated; that the festival of Corpus Christi, as is confessed by all, was instituted by Urban IV. about A.D. 1264; and that concerning the festival of St Michael the archangel, authors are not agreed whether it was instituted under Felix, A.D. 480, or under Anastasius, about A.D. 500, or under Pelagius, after A.D. 560.[2]

But a distrust of antiquity was the prevailing temper of the times; and the great Newton carelessly threw out an unfounded opinion, which Dupuis and Volney, and other French infidels, followed into its legitimate consequences, that the whole arrangements of the ancient Church were only an astronomical allegory.

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[1] Sir Isaac Newton's Observations upon Daniel and the Apocalypse, Lond. 1733, 4to, p. 144-5.

[2] Hospin. de Origine Festorum Christianorum. Opp. tom. ii. pp. 49, 113, 147.

We cannot but lament, that the influence of great names has established it almost as an axiom of modern times, that the date of our Saviour's birth is a subject of mere conjecture. We cannot but lament the cold, heartless indifference with which even such a critic as Abp. Newcome could say, "Jesus was born, says Lardner, between the middle of August and the middle of November, A.U.C. 748 or 749. (Cred. i. 796, 9, 3rd ed.) We will take the mean time, Oct. 1." !!!

We cannot but lament that THE BLESSED EVENT, which the Holy Spirit from the beginning predicted,—the blessed event which patriarchs and prophets beheld afar off, and were glad,—the blessed event on which the whole history of a ruined world is dependent,—should be, even in thought, so shrouded in dark oblivion!

Instead of these ingenious conjectures, by which the ground of all truth is made to crumble from beneath our feet, it is better for us at once to go back to the devout simplicity and historic faith, which, long before the existence of ignorant legends and impudent interpolations, characterised the purest ages of Christianity.

Jesus completed his thirtieth year on the twenty-fifth of December preceding his baptism, in the year of the Julian Period 4737; the sixth month of the fourth year of the 200th Olympiad; on the fifth day of the ninth month A.U.C. 777; the sixty-ninth year of the Julian calendar, which was Bissextile; and when M. Asinius Agrippa and Cossus Cornelius Lentulus were consuls.

Consequently (4737—30) HE WAS BORN on the twenty-fifth of December A.J.P. 4707; the sixth month of the second year of the 193rd Olympiad; on the fifth day of the ninth month A.U.C. 747; the thirty-ninth year of the Julian Calendar; when D. Lælius Balbus and C. Antistius Vetus were consuls; on the twenty-third day in the fourth month of the twenty-sixth year after the battle of Actium; about the tenth day of the seventh month in the 35th year of Herod, from the time he was made king by the Roman senate; and, exactly as Orosius states the fact, though he has erred in his date,[1] in the very same year in which Augustus shut the temple of Janus the third time, in token of UNIVERSAL PEACE.

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[1] Lib. vi. c. 18.

CHAPTER XI.

A NEW HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

This harmony a suitable conclusion of the present work.—Its general divisions, and use.

By determining the day and year of our Saviour's birth in connexion with the year of his baptism and his death, it becomes practicable to arrange the four Gospels in the order of time; and by means of the following chapter and the general chronological tables which follow it, of the hundred years between the birth of Augustus and the death of Tiberius, any one of my readers will be enabled to form a Harmony of the Gospels for himself in any language he pleases, and with regard to most of the recorded events of our Lord's life, in the exact order of time. The method of doing this has been tested by experiment; for it has long been my practice to recommend to my parishioners, and especially the teachers of my Sunday school, what is now made public.

Two cheap copies of the Gospels, in sheets, having been procured, they are to be cut according to the verses, as they will here be found arranged. It is obvious that two will be necessary, unless a copy can be obtained printed only on one side of a sheet. These copies must be pasted on blank paper, in four parallel columns, under their respective sections. The notes of time and place can be inserted in ruled marginal columns, and a wide margin may be left for annotations and remarks, and for the synchronisms of profane history. Any general division of subjects may be adopted; but if the plan be followed which I have given in the preceding chapters of Part II. the whole will be easily arranged under the following general sections:—

Sect. I.—The prefatory parts of the Gospels of St. John and St. Luke, comprehending all that is related of St. John the Baptist previous to his ministry.

Sect. II.—Our Lord's incarnation, birth, infancy, and childhood; containing all that is recorded till the time of his baptism.

Sect. III.—From the commencement of St. John the Baptist's ministry to our Lord's baptism, with which act *His ministry* began as a *prophet* sent to the lost sheep of the house of Israel.

Sect. IV.—Our Lord's ministry, principally in Judæa, until the imprisonment of John the Baptist.

Sect. V.—Our Lord's ministry in Galilee, the dominions of Herod Antipas, from his taking up his abode in Capernaum to the death of St. John the Baptist.

Sect. VI.—Our Lord's ministry in the country beyond Jordan, or the dominions of Herod Philip, from the death of John the Baptist until the death and resurrection of Lazarus; after which he retired to Ephraim in Samaria, where He remained till He went to be crucified.

Sect. VII.—Our Lord's Passion; or his acts as *Priest*, and his sufferings as *Victim*, for the sins of the whole world.

Sect. VIII.—Our Lord's Resurrection, declaring Him to be *King* as well as *Priest;* his ascension into heaven in his regal and sacerdotal character, and the descent of the Holy Ghost to abide with his Church, till He shall come again to judge the world. With this great event the History of the Christian Church commences.

NEW HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

Time.	Place.	The Eternity of God the Word.	Matt.	Mark.	Luke.	John.
		The supplementary Gospel of St. John, proclaims the eternity of God the Word, his incarnation, and mediation between God and man.				i. 1 to 18
		A.J.P. 4706, *Ref. Cal. Jul: Cæsar* 38.				
		St. Luke's preface to his gospel, stating the motives and reasons for his writing.			i. 1 to 4	
		The introductory narrative concerning Zachariah and Elizabeth.			i. 5, 6, 7	
	Jerusalem	Zachariah's ministration in the temple as one of the priests of the course of Abia, and his vision; the punishment of his want of faith in God's promise of a son.			i. 8 to 22	
Sep. 24	Hill country of Judæa	He returns to his house after the days of his ministration are accomplished, and Elizabeth conceives.			i. 23 to 25	
		A.J.P. 4707, *Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæsar* 39.				
Mar. 25	Nazareth	The angel Gabriel sent to the blessed Virgin, in the sixth month after the conception of Elizabeth, to announce the incarnation of our Lord.			i. 26 to 38	
		In those days, probably soon after the incarnation, Mary went *with haste* into the hill country to the city of Juda, where Zachariah lived. As she entered into the house and saluted Elizabeth, the unborn John leaped for joy. The prophetic songs of Elizabeth and Mary.			i. 39 to 55	
		Mary abode with her cousin Elizabeth about three months, from the last of March to the last of June, when she returned to her own house in Nazareth.			i. 56	
June 24		John the Baptist born.			i. 57-8	
July 1		John the Baptist circumcised.			i. 59 to 63	
		Zachariah names his son John, and immediately recovers his speech, to the astonishment and fear of all present. His prophetic song.			i. 64 to	
		John continues during his infancy and childhood in the country.			80	
		§ II. Introductory remarks of St. Matthew concerning our Lord's birth.	i 18 to 24			
	Rome	The decree is issued by Augustus for a univeral census of the Roman empire; each person to be enrolled in the city of his birth-place.			ii. 1 to 3	
Dec.		Joseph and Mary go up from Nazareth to Bethlehem.			ii. 4-5	
Dec. 25	Bethlehem	BIRTH OF OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST.	i. 25		ii. 6-7	

Time.	Place.	A.J.P. 4707, Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæsar 39, continued.	Matt.	Mark.	Luke.	John.
		The genealogy of our Lord Jesus Christ, on the reputed father's side, by St. Matthew; on the mother's side, by St. Luke.	i. 1 to 17		iii. 38 to 23	
		An angel appears to the shepherds, who visit Jesus.			ii. 8 to 20	
		A.J.P. 4708, *Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæsar* 40.				
Jan. 1		The circumcision of our Lord Jesus Christ.	i. 25		ii. 21	
Feb. 2	Jerusalem	The presentation of our Lord in the Temple, the fortieth day after his birth, when his mother was purified according to the law. Joseph and Mary then returned to Nazareth with the child Jesus. No further particulars recorded concerning this year.			ii. 22 to 40	
		A.J.P. 4709, *Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæsar* 41.				
Jan. 6	Bethlehem	Joseph and Mary appear to have left Nazareth, and returned to Bethlehem to reside. There the magi, directed by the guiding of a star, do homage to our Lord when he was one y. 12d. old, and consequently in his second year.	ii. 1 to 11			
		The magi, being warned in a dream not to return to Herod, go another way on their return. Joseph, being also warned, goes down into Egypt with the virgin and child.	ii. 12 to 15			
Jan. or Feb.	Bethlehem	Herod, finding himself deceived by the magi, in his wrath, orders all the children in Bethlehem to be put to death.	ii. 16 to 18			
		A.J.P. 4710, *Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæsar* 42.				
Mar. 21 April 12 to 18	Jericho	Herod dies Mar. 21. The Passover celebrated from Apl. 12 to 18, after which Archelaus sails for Rome, to be confirmed in his kingdom.				
		A.J.P. 4711, *Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæsar* 43.				
		According to Athanasius, our Lord came out of Egypt Dec. 25, *in the consulship of Silvanus*, when he had completed his fourth year. This consulship was in the year after Herod's death. We have no further account of our Lord till he was twelve years of age.				
		A.J.P. 4719, *Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæsar* 51.				
June July Aug.		Archelaus banished in June of this year, and Judæa reduced to a Roman province. Census now carried into effect by Cyrenius. On the 25th of Dec. this year our Lord completed his twelfth year.				
		A.J.P. 4720, *Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæsar* 52.				
April 18 to 25	Jerusalem	At the passover this year Jesus tarried in the temple and sat with the doctors. "His parents fulfilled the days," that is, they remained till the octave of the passover. They went a day's journey, supposing him to have been in the company, April 26. Their return took up another day, April 27. After three days, April 29 or 30, they found him in the temple, sitting among the doctors, "both hearing them, and asking them questions." After this, he returned with them to Nazareth.			ii. 41 to 52	

Time.	Place.	A.J.P. 4737, Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæsar 69.	Matt.	Mark.	Luke.	John.
		A.J.P. 4737, *Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæsar* 69.				
Sept.	The wilderness of Judæa	St. John the Baptist commences his ministry on the great day of atonement, the 10th of the Jewish month Tisri, or the 29th of Sept.	iii. 1	i. 1	iii. 1	
Oct. to Dec.	Bethabara	After the feast of tabernacles, which continued from the 15th to the 22d of Tisri, or from Oct. 4 to 11, great multitudes of the Jewish nation are baptized of him in Jordan, confessing their sins.	to 12	to 8	to 17	
		A.J.P. 4738, *Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæsar* 70.				
Jan. 6	Bethabara	Our Lord comes from Nazareth to Galilee, and is baptized of John in Jordan the third sabbath in Tebeth, or Saturday the 6th of Jan.	iii. 13 to 17	i. 9 to 11	iii. 21 to 23	
Feb.	Wilderness of the temptation	He is immediately led by the Spirit from Jordan into the wilderness, where he fasts forty days and forty nights, until Thursday the 15th of February. The three recorded temptations take place on Friday the 16th of that month; and on Saturday the 17th, or the first sabbath in Adar, "Angels came and administered unto him."	iv. 1 to 11	i. 12 to 13	iv. 1 to 13	
	Bethabara	The testimony of John concerning Jesus.				i. 15 to 28
		After the temptation, our Lord returns to Bethabara, and appears to have arrived there on the day following the testimony of John to the deputation of the Sanhedrim.				i. 29 to 34
		John again bears testimony of him to his own disciples.				i. 35-6
	uncertain	The disciples of John follow and converse with our Lord. Andrew, Philip, Simon, and Nathanael, join with him.				i. 37 to 52
Mar.	Cana	The marriage at Cana in Galilee, possibly at the feast of Purim, the 14th or 15th of Adar, the 28th of February or the 1st of March.				ii. 1 to 11
	Capernaum	Our Lord goes down to Capernaum, with his mother, brethren, and disciples, but remains there only a few days.				ii. 12
	Through Galilee and Samaria	The passover being nigh, our Lord went up to Jerusalem. The journey would not occupy more than three or four days, and may, therefore, have been made from the 25th to the 28th of March.				ii. 13
		THE FIRST PASSOVER, Thursday March 29.				
	Jerusalem	The driving the buyers and sellers out of the temple, took place, probably, on the 14th of Nisan, before he had shown any miraculous signs of his prophetic character.				ii. 14 to 22
April	Jerusalem	During the feast of unleavened bread, from Friday March 30th to Thursday April 5th, our Lord wrought many miracles, and many believed in his name.				ii. 23 to 25
to		The consultations of the Sanhedrim led one of their number to pay our Lord a secret visit. The conversation with Nicodemus, therefore, probably took place in Jerusalem, during the feast.				iii. 1 to 21
May	Country of Judæa	Our Lord and his disciples left Jerusalem after the feast, and went into the country of Judæa, where he taught, and, by the ministry of his disciples, baptized.				iii. 22

Time.	Place.	A J.P. 4738, Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæsar 70, continued.	Matt.	Mark.	Luke.	John.
April		In the meantime John was baptizing at Ænon, near to Salim, in the dominions of Herod Antipas.				iii. 23 to 24
to		Our Lord's teaching and baptizing, causes a discussion between the Jews and John's disciples, which leads John again to give his solemn testimony concerning Jesus.			iii. 18	iii. 25 to 36
May to Sept. to	Jerusalem Country of Judæa Jerusalem	Our Lord and his disciples return to Jerusalem at the feast of pentecost, May 20th ; and that ended, return into the country of Judæa, probably near Bethabara. They remain there until the middle of September, when they again return to Jerusalem, to be present at the great day of atonement, September 18th, and the feast of tabernacles, from the 23d to the 30th of September.				
Oct.	Country of Judæa	On the 1st of October they return to the country, with the multitudes who had resorted to the feast, and continue there till the end of November.				
to		John the Baptist imprisoned by Herod about the end of November, his public ministry having continued about fourteen months.			iii. 19-20	
Dec.	Jerusalem	Our Lord and his disciples attend the feast of dedication, from Dec. 1st to Dec. 8th. The rising jealousy of the pharisees, and the imprisonment of John, cause him, instead of returning to the country of Judæa towards Jordan, to go through Samaria to Galilee.	iv. 12	i. 14		iv. 1-2
	Journey from Jerusalem to Sychar in Samaria	Leaving Jerusalem about the 9th of December, our Lord travels leisurely, and arrives near Sychar in Samaria, about the middle of the month. His interview with the Samaritan woman, occasions his remaining two days at Sychar. It was now about four months before the earliest harvest.				iv. 3 to 42
	Journey from Samaria to Galilee	After two days he departed thence, and went into Galilee, where he was favourably received, on account of the report of those who had witnessed his miracles at the feast in Jerusalem.		i. 14-15	iv. 14-15	iv 43 to 45
	Cana	Our Lord arrives again at Cana, and there heals the son of the nobleman, then lying sick at Capernaum. This was his second miracle in Galilee.				iv. 46 to 54
	Nazareth	He proceeds from Cana to his own city, Nazareth, where he suffers great violence, but preserves his life by a miracle.			iv. 16 to 30	
	Capernaum	Leaving Nazareth he comes to Capernaum, which thenceforward becomes his stated residence. His arrival at Capernaum may be placed at the close of December.	iv. 13 to 17		iv. 31	
		A.J.P. 4739, *Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæsar* 71.				
Jan.	Near Capernaum, on the lake of Tiberias	Jesus, walking by the sea of Galilee, soon after his arrival in Capernaum, calls from their nets Simon, Andrew, James, and John.	iv. 18 to 22	i. 16 to 20		
	Capernaum	He goes with them into Capernaum, and, on the first sabbath in Shebet, the 5th of Jan.,		i. 21-2	iv. 31-2	

Time	Place.	A.J.P. 4739, Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæsar, 71, continued.	Matt.	Mark.	Luke.	John.
Jan.	Capernaum	teaches in the synagogue, to the astonishment of all who heard him. The sabbaths in Jan., February, and March, were thirteen. How many of these he passed in Capernaum is uncertain.				
		Cure of the man with the unclean spirit, perhaps on the same sabbath. This spreads his fame throughout Galilee.		i. 23 to 28	iv. 33 to 37	
		From the synagogue our Lord entered into Simon's house, and cured his wife's mother.	viii. 14-15	i. 29 to 31	iv. 38-39	
		At the setting of the sun, when the sabbath was ended, great numbers of diseased persons and demoniacs were brought to him, and were healed by the laying on of his hands. All the city were gathered together at the door.	viii. 16-17	i. 32 to 34	iv. 40-41	
	The other side of the lake	Early on Sunday, Jan. 6, our Lord retired to the other side of the lake. It was the anniversary of His baptism. The people followed, and urged him to stay with them; but this he declined, because he must preach in other cities.	viii. 18	i. 35 to 38	iv. 42-43	
	Galilee I. Circuit	Our Lord's first circuit in Galilee.	iv. 23-5	i. 39	iv. 44	
		During this circuit, in one of the cities, he heals a leper.	viii. 1 to 4	i. 40 to 45	v. 12 to 15	
		[*St. Matthew, if he means to speak of any one discourse, places here the sermon on the mount.*]				
	Capernaum	After his return to Capernaum, occurs the miraculous draught of fishes.			v. 1 to 11	
	The other side of the lake	Our Lord withdraws for private prayer into the wilderness; probably a solitary place on the other side of the lake.			v. 16	
	Capernaum	After some days, he again entered into Capernaum; and, when it was made known, great crowds, from all parts of the country, surrounded the door.		ii. 1-2	v. 17	
	Capernaum	The paralytic man, let down from the house top before him, healed.	ix. 1 to 8	ii. 3 to 12	v. 18 to 26	
	On the shore of the lake	Our Lord taught again by the side of the lake, and, as he returned, Matthew, otherwise called Levi, was called from the receipt of custom.	ix. 9	ii. 13-14	v. 27-28	
		As our Lord sat at meat in Levi's house, many publicans and sinners being present, the pharisees found fault, and were reproved.	ix. 10 to 13	ii. 15 to 17	v. 29 to 32	
		Our Lord's discourse concerning fasting, occasioned by the difference between the practice of his disciples and that of St. John's.	ix. 14-15	ii. 18 to 20	v. 33 to 35	
		The parables concerning new cloth sewed into old garments, new wine put into old wine-skins, &c.	ix. 16-17	ii. 21-22	v. 36 to 39	
April	Journey to Jerusalem	Our Lord now prepares to go up to the second Passover which occurred during his ministry.				v. 1
		The second Passover, Wednesday Apl. 17.				
		The cure of the impotent man at the pool of Bethesda on the great Paschal Sabbath, the 20th of April.				v. 2 to 14
		This occasions the persecution of Jesus; and his healing on the Sabbath day, and saying that God was his father, occasions an attempt to kill him.				v. 15 to 18

Time.	Place.	A.J.P. 4739, Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæsar 71, continued.	Matt.	Mark.	Luke.	John.
April	Jerusalem	The discourse of our Lord in the Temple on that occasion.				v. 19 to 47
	Journey from Jerusalem to Galilee	Our Lord, therefore, left Jerusalem as soon as the feast was ended, that is, on Thursday the 25th of April.				
		The next Sabbath (April 27th) was "the second first Sabbath" mentioned by St. Luke, when the disciples plucked the ears of corn, that is, of barley.	xii. 1 to 8	ii. 23 to 28	vi. 1 to 5	
May	Galilee	"Upon another Sabbath," perhaps on Saturday the 4th of May, occurred the cure of the man with the withered hand.	xii. 9 to 13	iii. 1 to 5	vi. 6 to 10	
		The pharisees are filled with such madness, that they take counsel with the Herodians how they might destroy him.	xii. 14	iii. 6	vi. 11	
		Our Lord, therefore, withdrew, and went with his disciples to the lake of Tiberias. Thither he was followed by great multitudes.	xii. 15 to 21	iii. 7 to 12		
		After this, he went up into a mountain to pray, and having continued all night in prayer, the next day he chose his twelve disciples.	x. 1 to 4	iii. 13 to 19	vi. 12 to 16	
		Here many harmonizers introduce the sermon on the mount (St. Matt.), or sermon on the plain (St. Luke). Probably on a level place on the side of the mountain.	v. 1 to vii. 29		vi. 17 to 49	
	Capernaum	When he was come down from the mountain, he entered into Capernaum, and there cured the servant of the centurion.	viii. 5 to 13		vii. 1 to 10	
		The day after he had cured the centurion's servant, our Lord went into the city of Nain, and there raised the widow's son.			vii. 11 to 17	
	On his way to Jerusalem	Being now on his way to Jerusalem, at the feast of Pentecost, he may have arrived at Nain about Friday the 31st of May.				
June		The fame of his miracles, and of this especially, led John to send two of his disciples to him.	xi. 2 to 6		vii. 18 to 23	
		Our Lord's testimony to the character of St. John the Baptist, and reflections on the manner in which He and His forerunner had been received.	xi. 7 to 19		vii. 24 to 35	
		He upbraids the cities which had witnessed his mighty works for their unbelief, and commends his meek and faithful followers.	xi. 20 to 30			
	Jerusalem	Our Lord arrives in Jerusalem, to attend the feast of Pentecost, on Thursday the 6th, or Friday the 7th, of June.				
		During the feast, invited by Simon the pharisee. His feet anointed by the penitent woman.			vii. 36 to 50	
June to Sept.	II. Circuit through Galilee	On Monday, June 10th, our Lord leaves Jerusalem, accompanied by his disciples and several women whom he had healed, and who now gratefully ministered to his necessities. He takes his second circuit "throughout every city and village, preaching, and showing the glad tidings of the kingdom of God." No particulars of this circuit are recorded; but it occupied the whole time till October.			viii. 1 to 3	

Time.	Place.	A.J.P. 4739, Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæsar 71, continued.	Matt.	Mark.	Luke.	ohn.
Oct.	Jerusalem	On Friday the 4th of October, our Lord arrived in Jerusalem. Monday the 7th, was the day of Atonement; and the feast of Tabernacles, falling that year on the Sabbath, continued from Saturday the 12th to Saturday the 19th of October.				
	Capernaum	Our Lord left Jerusalem on Sunday the 20th of October, and returned directly to Capernaum. Such crowds immediately assembled, that our Lord had not time to eat.		iii. 20-21		
		A deputation of scribes sent from Jerusalem, by the Sanhedrim, to counteract his influence.		iii. 22		
		On the occasion of his healing a blind and dumb demoniac, these scribes attribute the miracle to the power of Satan.	xii. 22 to 30	iii. 22 to 27	xi. 14 to 28	
		Our Lord denounces eternal woe to these blasphemers of the Holy Ghost.	xii. 31 to 37	iii 28 to 30		
		He utters similar denunciations when they ask him to work a miracle expressly for them.	xii. 38 to 45		xi. 29 to 32	
		His mother and his brethren seek to see him, and he turns the circumstance to a moral use.	xii. 46 to 50	iii. 31 to 35	viii. 19 to 21	
		Being invited by a pharisee to meet his enemies at dinner, he accepts the invitation, and boldly rebukes them for their hypocrisy and wickedness.			xi. 37 to 54	
	Lake or sea of Tiberias	The same day he went to the lake, and, entering into one of the vessels on it, taught the multitude, as they stood on the shore, in parables.	xiii. 1-2	iv, 1-2		
		The parable of the sower suggested by seeing a sower; it being now just seed time.	xiii. 3 to 23	iv. 3 to 20	viii 4 to 15	
Oct. or Nov.	Lake or sea of Tiberias	Many other parables uttered by our Lord on the same occasion, suggested by surrounding objects.	xiii. 24 to 52	iv. 21 to 34	viii. 16 to 18	
		Spent with fatigue, our Lord crosses the lake, and, lying down in the vessel, falls asleep. A storm arises, which, on his being roused from sleep, he calms by a word.	viii. 23 to 27	iv. 35 to 41	viii. 22 to 25	
		He arrives in the country of the Gadarenes, or Gergesenes, "over against Galilee," and there is met by two demoniacs, whom he heals. The devils enter into the herd of swine.	viii. 28 to 34	v. 1 to 20	viii. 26 to 39	
	Capernaum	Being requested by the frightened inhabitants to leave their country, he again crossed the lake, and returned to his own city.	ix. 1	v. 21	viii. 40	
		The woman afflicted with the issue of blood healed; and the daughter of Jairus, the ruler of the synagogue, raised from the dead.	ix. 18 to 26	v. 22 to 43	viii. 41 to 56	
		The cure of the two blind men, who followed him from the ruler's house, and came to him at Capernaum.	ix. 27 to 31			
		As they went out, a dumb demoniac was brought to him, and cured. The pharisees repeat the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost.	ix. 32 to 34			
	Nazareth	Our Lord's second and last recorded visit to Nazareth. He enters into their synagogue on the Sabbath and teaches; but could there do no mighty work, on account of their unbelief.		vi. 1 to 6		

Time	Place.	A.J P. 4739, Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæsar 71, continued.	Matt.	Mark.	Luke.	John.
Dec.	Jerusalem	The feast of Dedication occurring this year on Friday the 20th, and continuing till Friday the 27th of December, our Lord probably left Galilee about Sunday the 15th of that month, and left Jerusalem again, on his return, Sunday the 29th of December. He did not arrive in Galilee, therefore, till the end of the year.				
		A.J.P. 4740, *Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæsar* 72.				
Jan.	Galilee	Our Lord, having returned from the feast of Dedication, accompanied by great multitudes from Judæa, is moved with compassion on them, and sends his Apostles two and two into Judæa, giving them also miraculous powers.	ix. 36 to xi. 1	vi. 7 to 13	ix. 1 to 6	
	III. Circuit through Galilee	At the same time, He himself sets out on his third circuit through "all the cities and villages" of Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, and working miraculous cures.	ix. 35	vi. 6		
Mar.	Machærus	Early in March, about two months after the Apostles were sent forth, and during our Lord's third circuit, St. John the Baptist is put to death by Herod Antipas.	xiv. 1 to 12	vi. 14 to 29	ix. 7 to 9	
		Our Lord returns from his circuit; and, about the same time, the Apostles return, and give an account of their ministry.		vi. 30	ix. 10	
	Dominions of Herod Philip beyond Jordan	Having heard of the murder of John, and the crowds who were coming and going leaving them no leisure even to eat, our Lord thought it prudent to retire with his disciples to a solitary place on the other side of the lake, near Bethsaida. But the crowds, aware of their intention, went round the lake, and arrived before them.	xiv. 13	vi. 31 to 33	ix. 10-11	vi. 1 to 4
		Moved with compassion, Jesus taught them, healed their sick, and then wrought the signal miracle of feeding the five thousand. This probably took place on Thursday the 27th of March.	xiv. 14 to 21	vi. 34 to 44	ix. 11 to 17	vi. 5 to 13
		The multitude, inferring from this miracle that Jesus was the Messiah, determined to proclaim him king. Our Lord, therefore, sent away the disciples that same night, to go by water to Bethsaida, while he went alone to the mountain.	xiv. 22 to 24	vi. 45 to 47		vi. 14 to 16
		The next morning (Friday March 28th), between three and six o'clock, he walked to them on the sea, and, instead of going to Bethsaida, they arrived at the opposite shore.	xiv. 25 to 33	vi. 48 to 52		vi. 17 to 21
	Gennesareth	They landed in Gennesareth, a region of which Capernaum was the town. Immediately his coming was made known in the surrounding villages, the sick were brought to him, and permission being asked to touch the border of his garment, as many as touched him were made whole.	xiv. 34 to 36	vi. 53 to 56		vi. 17
		On the same day, the people whom he had fed on the other side, returned to Capernaum.				vi. 2 to 24

Time.	Place.	A.J.P. 4740, Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæsar 72, continued.	Matt.	Mark.	Luke.	John.
Mar.	Capernaum	On Saturday the 29th of March, the conversation occurred in the synagogue at Capernaum, which caused many of his disciples to forsake him, and tried the constancy of the apostles.				vi. 25 to 71
April		Immediately after this, our Lord commenced his journey for Jerusalem, where he arrived probably on the 4th of April.				
	Jerusalem	THE THIRD PASSOVER, Sunday April 6th.				
		The feast of Unleavened Bread being ended on Saturday the 12th of April, and the First Fruits offered on Sunday the 13th, our Lord left Jerusalem on Monday the 14th.				
		The attack upon his life during the feast, alluded to John vii. 1, not having succeeded, the Pharisees again sent their emissaries after him, and these overtook him in his progress.	xv. 1	vii 1		vii. 1
		They question him about eating with unwashen hands. The severity of his reply, and his warning the people not to substitute outward for inward purity, give them great offence, and alarm his timid disciples.	xv. 2 to 20	vii. 2 to 23		
	Region of Tyre and Sidon	To avoid them, our Lord left the dominions of Herod, and went into the region of Tyre and Sidon.	xv 21	vii. 24		
		Here He healed the daughter of the Syro-Phœnician woman.	xv. 22 to 28	vii. 25 to 30		
April or May	Tetrarchy of Herod Philip beyond Jordan	From the region of Tyre and Sidon, our Lord crossed the country near the sources of Jordan, and came down through Decapolis to the lower extremity of the lake of Tiberias.	xv. 29	vii. 31		
		On his way through Decapolis, He cured a deaf man, who had an impediment in his speech.	— 29	vii. 32 to 37		
	Sea of Galilee	Having arrived at the sea of Galilee, He went to the same mountain where He had before fed the five thousand, and there fed, in like manner, four thousand men, beside women and children.	xv. 30 to 38	viii. 1 to 9		
	Magdala	Fearing a repetition of the conduct of the five thousand, He straightway took ship with his disciples, and went to the parts of Magdala or Dalmanutha.	xv. 39	viii. 10		
	Bethsaida	Here He again encountered the Pharisees, and with them the Sadducees, who urged him to work a miracle. He left them, and went to the other extremity of the lake, to Bethsaida.	xvi. 1 to 5	viii. 11 to 13		
May		On the way, the disciples having forgotten to take bread, our Lord discourses with them concerning the leaven of the Pharisees and of Herod.	xvi 6 to 12	viii. 14 to 21		
		At Bethsaida He cures a blind man, but privately, that his arrival there might not be known.		viii. 22 to 26		
	Cæsarea Philippi	Ascending along the eastern bank of the Jordan, our Lord came into the region of Cæsaræa Philippi, and during this journey occurred the memorable confession of St. Peter,	xvi. 13 to 28	viii. 27 to ix.	ix. 18 to 27	

Time.	Place.	A.J.P. 4740, Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæsar 72, continued.	Matt.	Mark.	Luke.	John.
May	Tetrarchy of Herod Philip near Cæsarea Philippi	which forms an epoch in the history of our Saviour's ministry. It occurred about the middle of May. From this time forth He began to speak of his approaching passion.				
		On Thursday the 22d of May, eight days from Thursday the 15th of May, or six days excluding the extremes, ten days before Pentecost, and therefore forty days from the morrow after the Sabbath of the first fruits, occurred the Transfiguration, exactly one year before our Lord's Ascension.	xvii. 1 to 13	ix. 2 to 13	ix. 28 to 36	
		On Friday the 23d of May, our Lord, on his descent from the mountain, healed the demoniac boy, whom his disciples, during his absence, had attempted in vain to cure.	xvii. 14 to 21	ix. 14 to 29	ix 37 to 42	
		While all were amazed at the mighty power of God, our Lord again predicted still more clearly his approaching sufferings; but his disciples would not understand, and feared to ask. He then departed, through Galilee, on his way to attend the feast of Pentecost, but would not that any man should know it.	xvii. 22 23	ix. 30 to 32	ix. 43 to 45	
	Capernaum	When our Lord and his disciples "were come to Capernaum," the half-shekel tax or didrachma was demanded, and paid by a miracle.	xvii. 24 to 27			
		The disciples during their journey having disputed which among them were greatest, our Lord reproved their worldly ambition by setting a little child before them.	xviii. 1 to 5	ix. 33 to 37	ix. 46 to 48	
		John is reproved for having forbidden one who cast out devils in the name of Jesus.		ix. 38 to 40	ix. 49 50	
		Various conversations on the sacrifice of worldly affections, tenderness for those who have gone astray, forgiveness of injuries, and meekness toward the artless and the ignorant, occur during this journey, either going to or returning from Jerusalem.	xviii. 7 to 35	ix. 41 to 50		
	Samaria	Our Lord, passing through Samaria, reproves James and John for their vindictive spirit, because the Samaritans, in the bitterness of their zeal against Jerusalem, would not receive him.			ix. 51 to 56	
		He also reproved certain persons who were half inclined to follow him, but deterred by worldly occupations and interests.	viii 19 to 22		ix. 57 to 62	
	Jerusalem	On Friday the 30th of May, our Lord arrived in Jerusalem. The next day was the Sabbath, and Sunday the 1st of June the day of Pentecost.				
	Journey from Jerusalem through Galilee to the other side of Jordan	Our Lord left Jerusalem on Monday the second of June; and as He had not resided in Capernaum since the death of John the Baptist, He merely passed through Galilee and retired to the other side of Jordan, the dominions of Philip.				
	Tetrarchy of Herod Philip	He now appointed the Seventy, and sent them two and two before his face into every			x. 1	

Time.	Place.	A.J.P. 4740, Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæsar 72, continued.	Matt.	Mark.	Luke.	John.
June	Tetrarchy of Herod Philip.	city and place in Galilee, whither He himself would come. He gave them a charge similar to that which he had given five months before to the Apostles, and endued them also with the like power of working miracles.			x. 1 to 16	
		During their mission occurred the following events:—				
		1. The parable of the good Samaritan.			x. 25-37	
		2. His visit to Martha and Mary. Where is uncertain, as the evangelists are silent. If at Bethany, our Lord may have made a circuit at this time in the country beyond Jordan, and afterwards have crossed the country to Bethany.			x. 38 to 42	
		3. He teaches his disciples to pray, as John taught his disciples.			xi. 1 to 13	
		4. His discourse, cautioning "an innumerable multitude of people" to beware of hypocrisy, the leaven of the Pharisees, and to remember the all-searching and all-protecting character of God's power.			xii. 1 to 12	
		5. Our Lord's refusal to act as a judge in worldly matters; his reproof of covetousness and an anxious spirit; his advice to be always ready, to be faithful and wise stewards, and his predictions as to the effect of his doctrine upon a sinful world.			xii. 13 to 59	
June and July		6. The discourse occasioned by the slaughter of the Galileans, and the death of the persons crushed by the fall of the tower of Siloam.			xiii. 1 to 5	
		7. The parable of the barren fig-tree.			xiii. 6-10	
		8. Our Lord's cure on the Sabbath of the woman who had an infirmity eighteen years.			xiii. 11 to 17	
		9. The parables repeated of the grain of mustard seed, and of leaven hid in three measures of meal.			xiii. 18 to 21	
Aug.		Allowing two months for the circuit of the seventy disciples, they return and give an account of their mission to our Lord early in August.			x. 17	
		Jesus rejoices in spirit at their success, renews their commission, and speaks of the privileges his disciples enjoyed.			x. 18 to 24	
	Galilee IV. Circuit	Our Lord now commences his fourth and final circuit in Galilee, previous to his going to Jerusalem to attend the feast of Tabernacles.			xiii. 22	
		The facts recorded which probably took place during this circuit are:—				
		1. Our Lord's reproof to one who asked if few should be saved.			xiii. 23 to 30	
		2. The stratagem of the Pharisees, connived at by Herod, to induce him to leave Galilee, that He might go to Jerusalem before the feast, and there be apprehended and put to death.			xiii. 31 to 35	
		3. His being watched as He entered into the house of one of the chief Pharisees to eat bread on the Sabbath day, the cure of the			xiv. 1 to 24	

Time.	Place.	A.J.P. 4740, Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæsar 72, continued.	Matt.	Mark.	Luke.	John.
Aug.	Galilee IV. Circuit	man who had the dropsy, and the various parables and conversations which there took place.				
Aug. and Sept.		4. His address to the great multitudes who followed him, on counting the cost of becoming his disciples.			xiv. 25 to 35	
		5. The parables uttered when the Pharisees and Scribes murmured, because all the publicans and sinners drew near to hear him: the lost sheep, the piece of silver, the prodigal son.			xv. 1 to 32	
		6. The parable of the unjust steward addressed to his disciples.			xvi. 1 to 13	
		7. The reproof addressed to the covetous Pharisees who derided him, and the parable of the rich man and the beggar.			xvi. 14 to 31	
		8. The woe denounced against those who cause offences, and the answer to the apostles' request, that our Lord would increase their faith.			xvii. 1 to 10	
		Towards the close of September our Lord left Galilee, and proceeded as privately as possible on his way to Jerusalem. Previous to his leaving Galilee, He had sent forward his "brethren" and disciples, without disclosing to them his intentions. He then went up also, "not openly, but as it were in secret."				vii. 2 to 13
Oct.	Jerusalem	The feast of Tabernacles began on Wednesday the 1st, and continued until Wednesday the 8th of Oct. "About the midst of the feast," that is on the Sabbath, or Saturday the 4th of Oct. "Jesus went up into the Temple and taught."				vii 14
		A cure wrought by him offended the Jews, because it was wrought on the Sabbath. Our Lord justified himself by appealing to the law. His enemies sought to apprehend him, but could not.				vii. 15 to 31
		The Chief Priests and Pharisees sent officers to take him.				vii. 32 to 36
		On the octave, the last and greatest day of the feast, Jesus cried, If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink, speaking of the Holy Spirit.				vii. 37 to 39
		Opinions are divided concerning him. The officers sent to apprehend him are charmed with his eloquence, and return to the Chief Priests and Pharisees without executing their commission.				vii. 40 to 53
		On the night of the 8th of October, our Lord retired to the Mount of Olives, and early the next morning came again into the Temple and taught.				viii. 1-2
		The Scribes and Pharisees bring to him a woman taken in adultery.				viii. 3 to 11
		His conversation with the Pharisees in the treasury.				viii. 12 to 20
		A subsequent conversation with the Jews, which ended in the attempt to stone him. All				viii. 21 to 59

Time.	Place.	A.J.P. 4739, Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæsar 72, continued.	Matt.	Mark.	Luke.	John.
Oct.	Jerusalem	these events may easily have occurred in the course of this one day, Thursday the 9th of Oct.				
		On the following Sabbath, the twenty-fifth of Tisri, or Saturday the eleventh of October, as Jesus was passing by, going probably to the Temple, "he saw a man which was blind from his birth," and gave him sight, first anointing his eyes with clay, and then ordering him to wash in the pool of Siloam.				ix. 1 to 12
		The next day (Sunday, Oct. 12th), the man born blind is brought before the Sanhedrim and examined. His having been cured on the Sabbath day, creates a division in the council concerning the character of our Lord. The man's parents are examined, and the truth of the miracle is established; but the party opposed to Jesus prevails, and as the man persists in confessing Jesus to be a prophet sent from God, he is excommunicated.				ix. 13 to 34
		The next day (Monday, Oct. 13th), our Lord found the man who had thus been cast out, and being, therefore, shunned by all who knew him, was alone and in distress. He revealed himself to him as the Messiah, and received his confession of faith.				ix. 35 to 38
		During that day, as our Lord was discoursing on the subject of this miracle, and its effect in hardening the hearts of those who were determined not to believe, occurred the question of the Pharisees, whether they also were blind, and our Lord's reproving answer.				ix. 39 to 41
	Journey from Jerusalem through Samaria and Galilee	The Jewish rulers being so exasperated by this miracle and its results, it was no longer safe for our Lord to remain in Jerusalem. He therefore left it that night, or the next morning, and on Tuesday, Oct. the 14th, set out on his way "through the midst of Samaria and Galilee."			xvii. 11	
		As his object was now to travel as privately as possible, He probably left the high road, and passed through by-ways and the smaller villages. Here He was met by the ten lepers who cried to him for mercy. Jesus commanded them to go to Jerusalem, and shew themselves to the priests, and as they went they were cleansed. This event took place on Wednesday the 15th, or Thursday the 16th of Oct., the last of Tisri, or the first of Marchesvan.			xvii. 12 to 19	
Oct. and Nov.	Judæa beyond Jordan	Having passed rapidly "through the midst of Samaria and Galilee," our Lord crossed the Lake, and went down "by the further side of Jordan," to "the coasts of Judæa beyond Jordan."	xix. 1	x. 1		
		Here He remained about a month and a-half, it being a region which He had rarely if ever before visited. During this period we must place the following events:	xix. 2	x. 1		

Time.	Place.	A.J.P. 4740, Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæsar 72, continued.	Matt.	Mark.	Luke.	John.
Oct. and Nov.	Judæa beyond Jordan	1. Our Lord's discourse with the Pharisees and his disciples concerning the time and manner in which his kingdom should come.			xvii. 20 to 37	
		2. His parable that men ought always to pray and not to faint.			xviii. 1 to 8	
		3. His parable of the Pharisee and Publican praying in the Temple.			xviii. 9 to 14	
		4. His answer to the question of the Pharisees concerning divorce, and the subsequent conversation with his disciples concerning marriage.	xix. 3 to 12	x. 2 to 12		
		5. His receiving and blessing the little children.	xix. 13 to 15	x. 13 to 16	xviii. 15 to 17	
		6. The conduct of the young ruler; our Lord's caution on the danger of wealth, and his promise to all who forsake worldly things to become his followers.	xix. 16 to 30	x. 17 to 31	xviii. 18 to 30	
		7. The parable of the labourers in the vineyard, hired at various hours, from the first to the eleventh.	xx. 1 to 16			
Dec.	Journey to Jerusalem	The feast of Dedication being nigh at hand, our Lord commenced his journey with his disciples, and, as He had done during the two preceding journeys, but with still greater force and clearness, predicted his sufferings, death and resurrection.	xx. 17 to 19	x. 32 to 34	xviii. 31 to 33	
		James and John ask, through their mother, to sit on his right hand and on his left, in our Lord's kingdom. The other ten Apostles hear the request with indignation. Our Lord rebukes them by his own example.	xx. 20 to 28	x. 35 to 45		
	Jericho	On Friday the 5th of Dec. our Lord arrived at Jericho. It is his first and only recorded visit to that city. He probably spent there the next day, the fourth Sabbath in Casleu, teaching, as his manner was, in their Synagogue, and working miraculous cures.		x. 46	xviii. 35	
		On Sunday the 7th of December, "as He went out of Jericho with his disciples and a great number of people," on his way to Jerusalem, two blind men, one of whom was the son of Timæus, cried to him for mercy. Both received their sight, and followed him.	xx. 29 to 34	x. 46 to 52	xviii. 35 to xix. 1	
	Journey from Jericho to Jerusalem	As our Lord was passing along the highway, a rich, but righteous, Chief Publican, named Zacchæus, being small of stature, had climbed up into a tree to see him. Jesus having come to the place, called him by name to come down, and became his guest for the remainder of the day.			xix. 2 to 10	
		At his house, "because he was nigh to Jerusalem," and his followers "thought that the kingdom of God should immediately appear," our Lord spake the parable of the "Nobleman" who was going "into a far country to receive for himself a kingdom and to return."			xix. 11 to 27	
		After this He resumed his journey, and arrived probably, at Bethany or Jerusalem, on the eve of the feast, Monday Dec. 8th.			xix. 28	

Time.	Place.	A.J.P. 4741, Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæsar 72, continued.	Matt	Mark.	Luke.	John.
Dec	Jerusalem	The feast of Dedication continued eight days, from Tuesday, Dec. 9th, to Tuesday, Dec. 16th.				
		Our Lord's parable of the good shepherd, ending with the application of it to himself, and the declaration that his Father loved him because He laid down his life willingly for his sheep, may have been uttered in the Temple on the last Sabbath in Casleu, or Saturday Dec. 13th.				x 1 to 21
		The conversation in Solomon's porch, which ended in the attempt to stone him as guilty of blasphemy, may be assigned to the Octave, or last day, which was always of high solemnity.				x. 22 to 39
	Bethabara beyond Jordan	Having escaped from their violence, our Lord now went away again to Bethabara beyond Jordan, where John at first baptized and there abode. Thither many resorted, and there many believed on him.				x. 40 to 42
		A.J.P. 4741, *Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæsar* 73.				
Jan.	Bethabara	Our Lord passes the fourth anniversary of his baptism at Bethabara, where he was baptized, and enters there on the fourth year of his ministry.				
	Bethany	Having received a message from the sisters of Lazarus, that their brother was sick, the disciples endeavour to persuade him not to go into Judæa again, by the consideration that the Jews *of late* sought to stone him. (xi. 8.) The history of the resurrection of Lazarus, may therefore be placed at the close of January, making our Lord's residence at Bethabara nearly a month and a-half.				xi. 1 to 46
Feb.		On being informed of this miracle, the Chief Priests and Pharisees called the Sanhedrim together, and by the advice of Caïaphas, resolved from that day forth to put him to death. This event may be placed at the beginning of February.				xi. 47 to 53
	Ephraim, in Samaria	Our Lord, therefore, walked no more openly among the Jews, but went within the borders of Samaria, to a city called Ephraim, where He continued with his disciples until it was time to go to Jerusalem to celebrate the Passover. His stay at Ephraim, must therefore have been somewhat more than a month and a-half.				xi. 54
Mar.	Journey from Ephraim to Bethany	After the great body of the people had gone out of the country to Jerusalem, our Lord left Ephraim and arrived at Bethany six days before the Passover, on the evening of Friday, March 19th.				xi. 55 to xii. 1
		Having spent the Sabbath with Lazarus and his sisters, our Lord supped with them in the evening, and Mary anointed his feet.				xii. 2 to 8
	Bethany	Many of the Jews, knowing that He was there, came from curiosity to see not only him				xii. 9 to 11

Time	Place.	A.J.P. 4741, Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæsar, 72, continued.	Matt.	Mark.	Luke.	John.
Mar.	Bethany	but also Lazarus. This led the chief priests to think of putting Lazarus likewise to death.				
Passion Week. Sunday	Jerusalem	On Sunday morning, the 21st of March, the 10th of Nisan, and therefore [Exod. xii. 2] the very day on which the paschal lambs were driven into Jerusalem, our Lord made his public and triumphant entry into the Holy city, and went immediately to the Temple.	xxi. 1 to 11	xi. 1 to 10	xix. 29 to 44	xii. 12 to 19
		During the day, between and after the morning and evening sacrifice, the blind and the lame came to him and were healed.	xxi. 14			
		The Chief Priests and Scribes, seeing his miracles, and hearing the hosannas of the children, express their displeasure, and are reproved.	xxi. 15-16			
		Certain Greeks or devout proselytes of the Gentiles, who had come to worship at the feast, not being permitted to enter the court of the Jews, where our Lord was, requested Philip to obtain for them an interview.				xii. 20 to 22
		Jesus grants their request; and, as He goes out into the court of the Gentiles, predicts his glory in their future conversion, speaks of the necessity of his death, and prays to the Father. A responsive voice is heard from heaven.				xii. 23 to 28
		Being come into the court of the Gentiles, he looks around with indignation at the profanation of that part of the Temple, and casts out the buyers and sellers and money-changers.	xxi. 12-13		xix. 45-46	
		Our Lord having appealed to the voice from heaven, and spoken of his death as drawing all men unto him, the people express their unbelief, and are warned that the light would soon depart from them.				xii. 29 to 36
		St. John here introduces his reflections on the causes of this general unbelief in the Jewish nation, and asserts that many of the Chief rulers did believe, but dared not profess their belief.				xii. 37 to 43
		The conversation of our Lord on this subject of belief and unbelief may have been spoken probably in the presence of these rulers, either at this time or during the two following days.				xii. 44 to 50
	Bethany	Grieved at their hardness of heart, our Lord leaves the Temple when eventide was now come, and retires to Bethany with the twelve.	xxi. 17	xi. 11		xii. 36
Mond.		The transactions of Monday, the 22d day of March, are but few.				
		Early in the morning, as our Lord was returning from Bethany to Jerusalem, He saw a fig-tree bearing leaves but no fruit, and solemnly devoted it, as a symbol of the Jewish nation, to perpetual barrenness. Whereupon it withered away.	xxi. 18-19	xi. 12 to 14		

Time.	Place.	A.J.P. 4741, Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæsar, 73, continued.	Matt.	Mark.	Luke.	John.
Mar Passion Week. Mond.	Jerusalem	On his arrival at the Temple, He found the buyers and sellers again in the court of the Gentiles, and cast them out a second time, not permitting any one to carry any vessel through the Temple.		xi. 15 to 17		
	Jerusalem Temple	This exercise of authority exasperated the Scribes and Chief Priests, so that they sought the more to destroy him, but filled them with fear and caution because the people were attentive to his doctrine. He was allowed therefore without molestation to pass the day in acts of worship, charity, and mercy.		xi. 18	xix. 47-48	
		When even was come He went out of the city; but as it was probably dark, the disciples did not notice that the fig-tree was withered.		xi. 19		
Tuesd.	Our Lord's last day at the Temple	Tuesday, March 23d, the 12th of Nisan and the third before the Passover, was filled with events; for it was the last day in which our Lord appeared at the Temple, and his enemies had arranged their plan of attack.				
		1. Early in the morning, the disciples, on their way to the city, perceived that the fig-tree was withered to the roots, and this gave occasion to our Lord's conversation thereupon.	xxi. 20 to 22	xi. 20 to 26		
		2. After their arrival at the Temple, as our Lord was walking about and teaching the people, a deputation from the Sanhedrim publicly demanded by what authority he acted. His answer, demanding of them whether John the Baptist acted by human or divine authority, exposed their hypocrisy.	xxi. 23 to 27	xi. 27 to 33	xx. 1 to 8	
		3. The parable of the man and his two sons; the one professing to do his father's will, but doing it not; the other refusing to obey, but afterwards repenting and obedient.	xxi. 28 to 32			
		4. The parable of the vineyard let out to husbandmen, who murdered first the servants, and last of all the son of their master.	xxi. 33 to 44	xii. 1 to 11	xx. 9 to 18	
		The Chief Priests and Pharisees filled with rage at these parables, were deterred from seizing him by their fear of a popular commotion.	xxi. 45-46	xii. 12	xx. 19	
		5. The parable of the wedding feast, from which the first invited guests were excluded on account of their ingratitude.	xxii. 1 to 14			
		6. The coalition now took place of the Pharisees and Herodians, to entangle him in his talk, by the political question concerning the tribute money.	xxii. 15 to [illegible]	xii. 13 to 17	xx. 20 to 26	
		7. This device having failed, the Sadducees came and put their question concerning the law of marriage and the future state.	xxii. 23 to 33	xii. 18 to 27	xx. 27 to 38	
		8. The Sadducees being put to silence, one of the Scribes or lawyers among the Pharisees asked the question, which was the greatest commandment of the law, and	xxii. 34 to 40	xii. 28 to 34	xx. 39 40	

Time.	Place.	A.J.P. 4741, Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæsar 73, continued.	Matt.	Mark.	Luke.	John.
Mar. Passion Week. Tuesd.	Temple	was obliged to acknowledge that our Lord's answer was right.				
		9. Our Lord, in his turn, asked how the Messiah, whom they acknowledged to be the Son of David, is in Psalm cx. called his Lord. Being unable to answer him, they ceased asking any more questions.	xxii. 41 to 46	xii. 35 to 37	xx. 41 to 44	
		10. Having now silenced his enemies, our Lord turned to the people, and while He upheld the legitimate exercise of authority in them who sat in the seat of Moses, He exposed their corruption with awful severity.	xxiii. 1 to 33	xii. 38 to 40	xx. 45 to 47	
		11. As our Lord was sitting near the treasury of the Temple, at the time when the offerings were made, He saw a poor widow casting in two mites, being the whole of her substance. He pointed her out to his disciples, telling them that such a gift of a pious, faithful, and humble heart, was, in the sight of God, of more value than the most costly offerings of the rich.		xii. 41 to 44	xxi. 1 to 4	
		12. The Jewish rulers had now rejected their Saviour, and were to be abandoned to their fate. The City and Temple of God were to be left desolate. It was our Lord's last act of his ministry, as a prophet sent to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. He therefore mourned over Jerusalem with the most touching sorrow.	xxiii. 34 to 39			
		13. As He was leaving the Temple, the disciples, as if to soften the dreadful import of his words, spoke to him of its magnificence; upon which our Lord foretold its destruction.	xxiv. 1-2	xiii. 1-2	xxi. 5-6	
	Mount Olivet	14. Seated on the Mount of Olives, having the City and Temple full in view, our Lord, being asked when their destruction should take place, uttered his sublime prophecy of that event, as foreshadowing the final destruction of the world.	xxiv. 3 to 51	xiii. 3 to 37	xxi. 7 to 36	
		15. On his way to Bethany, our Lord related to his disciples,				
		a. The parable of the Ten Virgins, five of whom were wise, and five foolish.	xxv. 1 to 13			
		b. The parable of the Talents committed to the good and faithful, and to the wicked and slothful servants.	xxv. 14 to 30			
		c. The description of the day of judgment, and the different fates of the righteous and the wicked.	xxv. 31 to 46			
	Mount of Olives. Road to Bethany.	16. These discourses were ended just as the sun was setting, and therefore our Lord reminded his disciples that it was then just two days, or forty-eight hours to the Passover, when He would be betrayed to be crucified. At the same time, the chief priests and Scribes were in consultation at the hall of Caïaphas.	xxvi. 1 to 5	xiv. 1-2		

Time.	Place.	A.J.P. 4741, Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæsar 73, continued.	Matt.	Mark.	Luke.	John.
Mar. Passion Week. Tuesd.	Mount of Olives. Road to Bethany.	17. That night was spent by our Lord in the house of Simon the leper, at Bethany; and during supper, a woman anointed his head with ointment of spikenard.	xxvi. 6 to 13	xiv. 3 to 9		
		St. Luke sums up the whole of the transactions of this busy day, by stating that the people came early in the morning to the Temple, that our Lord continued there all day, and that at night only He abode in the Mount of Olives.			xxi. 37-38	
Wedn.	Mount Olivet, or in the Garden of Gethsemane, at its base.	Wednesday, the 24th of March, and the 13th of Nisan, the eve of his Passion, was, it is probable, entirely spent by our Lord on the Mount of Olives, in the Garden of Gethsemane. That evening, "while yet there was some light," it was the practice of the nation of Israel to put away leaven out of their houses; and now the perjured traitor was to be put away as an unholy leaven from among the Apostles.				
		According to Jewish computation, the first day of unleavened bread began on Wednesday at sunset, and continued until Thursday at sunset.				
		On Wednesday therefore, after sunset, when the first day of unleavened bread was begun, and "before the feast of the Passover," our Lord was at supper with the twelve.				xiii. 1
		The devil having now put it into the heart of Judas to betray him, our Lord rose from table, and washed the feet of his disciples. It is supposed that He began with Judas, and ended with Peter.				xiii. 2 to 17
		Having taken his garments again, and resumed his seat, He told them that one of their number would betray him.				xiii. 18 to 21
		The disciples being amazed at this declaration, St. John, at the request of St. Peter, asked privately who it was; and Jesus replied as privately, "He it is to whom I shall give a sop when I have dipped it." He then gave it to Judas Iscariot, saying, "that thou doest do quickly." The disciples in general imagined that by these words Jesus meant, "Buy those things that we have need of against the feast" of the Passover, which would be the next evening.				xiii. 22 to 26 xiii. 27 to 30
		A diabolical possession seized the traitor, and he immediately went out. It was night, and filled with malice he hastened into the city. The Jewish rulers were in session, and he covenanted with them to betray his Master for thirty pieces of silver.	xxvi. 14 to 16	xiv. 10-11	xxii. 1 to 5	
		After the traitor was gone out, our Lord told his disciples that his time with them was now short, exhorted them to love one another, predicted to Peter that he would deny his				xiii. 31 to 38

Time.	Place.	A.J.P. 4741, Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæsar 73, continued.	Matt.	Mark.	Luke.	John.
Mar. Passion Week. Wedn.	Garden of Gethsemane.	Master, consoled his sorrowing followers with the promises of his coming again, and his sending the Holy Ghost, and ended his discourse by saying that He should thenceforth talk but little with them. He finally added, "Arise, let us go hence;" and then probably retired, as He was wont, to solitary meditation and prayer				xiv. 1 to 31
Thurs.		Early in the morning of Thursday, the 25th of March, being until sunset "the first day of unleavened bread," the disciples enquired of our Lord where they should prepare to eat the Passover.	xxvi. 17	xiv. 12	xxii. 7	
		In answer to this inquiry, he sent Peter and John to make preparation at the house of some one of his followers. This consumed nearly the whole day.	xxvi. 18-19	xiv. 13 to 16	xxii. 8 to 13	
	Jerusalem	At sunset on Thurday evening, March the 25th, began the 15th of Nisan. No special hour was appointed for eating the Passover. The victim must be slain on the 14th of Nisan, between the evenings, that is, before sunset, but it might be eaten at any time after dark and before morning. Our Lord chose the earliest hour which the law allowed.	xxvi. 20	xiv. 17	xxii. 14 to 18	
		While they were eating the Passover, our Lord renewed the solemn warning that one of them should betray him.	xxvi. 21	xiv. 18		
		When all anxiously inquired, and even the traitor last of all was compelled to ask "Is it I?" our Lord exposed his hitherto secret design, by saying to him openly, "Thou hast said."	xxvi. 22 to 25	xiv. 19 to 21	xxii. 21 to 23	
		At the time when the third cup of wine was drunk at the Passover, called the "cup of blessing," our Lord instituted the Holy Sacrament. At this time He probably uttered what is recorded in the 15th, 16th, and 17th chapters of the Gospel according to St. John. He was then acting as the Great High Priest, devoting himself as the Lamb. All the language of the prayer (chap. xvii.) is sacerdotal and sacrificial. From the institution of the Sacrament, the commencement of our Lord's Passion must be dated; for thenceforth He was a passive sufferer.	xxvi. 26 to 29	xiv. 22 to 25	xxii. 19-20	xv. 1 to 27 xvi. 1 to 32 xvii. 1 to 26
		The mention of our Lord's kingdom led the Apostles to renew the strife, who among them should be greatest. This our Lord again condemns.			xxii. 21 to 30	
	Mount of Olives.	After they had sung a hymn, our Lord and his disciples went out to the Mount of Olives. It could not well have been later than 8 o'clock in the evening.	xxvi. 30	xiv. 26	xxii. 39	xviii. 1-2
		At the same time Judas went to the High Priests, to obtain from the Roman authorities a warrant for the apprehension of his master.				

Time.	Place.	A.J.P. 4741, Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæsar 73, continued.	Matt.	Mark.	Luke.	John.
Mar. Passion Week. Thurs.	From Jerusalem to the Garden of Gethsemane.	On their way to the Garden of Gethsemane, our Lord warned his disciples that the events of that night would shake their faith in him, as the Messiah, but that after his resurrection he would meet them again in Galilee. When Peter earnestly asserted that his faith would not fail, our Lord again predicted his denial, but exhorted him after his conversion to strengthen his brethren.	xxvi. 31 to 35	xiv. 27 to 31	xxii. 31 to 38	
	Gethsemane.	On their arrival at the garden, which was not more than a quarter of a mile distant, began our Lord's bitter and inconceivable agony. He took Peter, James, and John apart from the rest, and desiring them to watch, retired from them about a stone's cast, in prayer. It may be inferred from our Lord's subsequent reproof, that the agony did not last more than an hour.	xxvi. 36 to 46	xiv. 32 to 42	xxii. 40 to 46	
		Immediately after, while he was yet speaking with his disciples, came Judas with the band of Roman soldiers, and the chosen attendants of the chief priests. He advanced toward his master, and betrayed him with a kiss.	xxvi. 47 to 50	xiv. 43 to 45	xxii. 47-48	xviii. 3
		To show that our Lord had power to escape from their hands, on his naming himself, the soldiers and the whole multitude "went backward and fell to the ground."				xviii. 4 5 6
		Having required the condition that his disciples might be left at liberty, our Lord voluntarily yielded himself up to them.	xxvi. 55-56	xiv. 48 to 52	xxii. 52-53	xviii. 7 8 9
		Peter seeing them seize him, drew his sword and smote off the ear of Malchus, the servant of the High Priest; but our Lord restrained and reproved him, and then replaced the wounded ear with a touch, restoring it to its former soundness.	xxvi. 51 to 54	xiv. 46-47	xxii. 49 to 51	xviii. 10 11 12
		The events thus connected with the seizure of our Lord could not have occupied more than half an hour.				
	Jerusalem	The band with their commander, and the officers of the Jews, having seized and bound Jesus, led him first to the house of Annas, or Ananus, the father-in-law of Caïaphas, followed by Peter and John.			xxii. 54	xviii. 13 to 15
		The latter being known to Annas, entered with Jesus into the hall of that High Priest, while Peter stood without. Through his acquaintance with the door-keeper, John brought in Peter to the lower part of the hall where the attendants were warming themselves by a fire. Here, being charged by the door-keeper with being a follower of Jesus, he denied it in his confusion and fright, and having done so, retired without into the porch, or vestibule. It was midnight and the cock crew.	xxvi. 69-70	xiv. 66 to 68	xxii. 55 to 57	xviii. 15 to 17 xviii. 18
		In the mean time, Annas inquired of Jesus concerning his disciples and his doctrine; but				xviii. 19 to 21

Time.	Place.	A.J.P. 4741, Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæsar 73, continued.	Matt.	Mark.	Luke.	John.
Mar. Passion Week. Thurs.	Jerusalem Palace of the High Priests.	as Annas was no longer High Priest, excepting that he bore the title by courtesy, our Lord declined answering his questions, and referred him to those who had heard him.				
		One of the officers smote him for this on the face; but our Lord mildly reminded him, that if the words he had spoken were disrespectful, he could bear witness against him before the proper tribunal.				xviii. 22-23
		Annas knowing in truth that what Jesus said was right, sent him bound to his son-in-law Caïaphas, who was the actual High Priest. Peter followed him thither, and entered with the crowd into the hall of Caïaphas.	xxvi. 57-58			xviii. 24
		With these events, ended Thursday the 25th of March, or according to Roman computation, the eighth before the calends of April.				
Friday		On Friday the 26th of March, the seventh before the calends of April, occurred the events following:				
	Palace of the High Priests. Hall of Caiaphas.	Our Lord being brought into the hall of Caïaphas where the Scribes and elders of the people were gathered together, they and the whole Sanhedrim sought false witnesses against him, but could find nothing sufficient to condemn him legally to death.	xxvi. 59 to 61	xiv. 55 to 59		
	Jerusalem. Council of the Sanhedrim	Our Lord refusing to answer any of the false accusations thus brought against him, the High Priest adjured him to tell them whether He was indeed the Christ. Our Lord thus adjured, answered that He was, and quoted Daniel vii. 13 14 as finally to be fulfilled in him. This was made the pretext to condemn him to death as guilty of blasphemy.	xxvi. 62 to 64	xiv. 60 to 62		
		While our Lord was standing in the upper part of the hall, occurred the second and third denial of Peter; the former between one and two, the latter between two and three in the morning, that is during the third watch, or cock-crowing. At the third denial our Lord turned and looked upon Peter, and at the same time the cock crew.	xxvi. 71 to 75	xiv. 69 to 72	xxii. 58 to 62	xviii. 25 to 27
		The fourth watch being now come, called the morning watch, the Sanhedrim passed sentence upon our Lord, and he was given over to the brutal insults and cruel mockery of the council's officials.	xxvi. 65 to 68	xiv. 63 to 65	xxii. 63 to 71	
	Tower of Antonia.	The punishment of blasphemy under the law being stoning to death, it was necessary, in order that our Lord might be crucified, to deliver him to the Roman power. For this purpose, the Sanhedrim conducted him bound to the house of Pilate, but would not enter it, because they had not yet eaten the Passover.	xxvii. 1-2	xv. 1	xxiii. 1	xviii. 28
		Pilate therefore went forth, and having demanded the nature of their accusation, and re-			xxiii. 2	xviii. 29 to 32

Time.	Place.	A.J.P. 4741, Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæsar 73, continued.	Matt.	Mark.	Luke.	John.
Mar. Passion Week. Friday	Tower of Antonia.	ceived an evasive answer, gave them permission to judge our Lord according to their law. On this they changed their charge of blasphemy, and accused him of treason against the Roman Government.				
	Prætorium	On Pilate's return to the judgment hall, where our Lord was standing in custody of the officers, he received a message from his wife, desiring him to do nothing against that just man.	xxvii. 19			
		On examination, being convinced by our Lord's answers, that he had no designs against the Roman government, Pilate went out again to the Jewish rulers, and declared that he found no fault in him.	xxvii. 11 to 14	xv. 2 to 5	xxiii. 3-4	viii. 33 to 38
	Palace of Herod Antipas.	On this, becoming more furious, they asserted that from Galilee to Judæa, our Lord had excited sedition. Hearing that He was a Galilean, Pilate sent him to Herod Antipas, who had come to Jerusalem to keep the Passover.			xxiii. 5 to 7	
		Herod rejoicing to see our Lord, and hoping to witness some miracle, questions him, but receives no answer. He therefore treats him with the utmost scorn and contempt, and sends him back to Pilate, in the mock majesty of a gorgeous robe.			xxiii. 8 to 11	
		On this, Pilate and Herod who had been enemies, are reconciled.			xxiii. 12	
		Pilate goes forth again, declares the innocence of Jesus, but proposes to release him to them, according to the custom at the Passover, as if He were guilty of some offence against the government.	xxvii. 15 to 18	xv. 6 to 14	xxiii. 13 to 19	xviii. 39-40
		The multitudes, instigated by their rulers, ask for Barabbas, and demand that Jesus may be crucified.	xxvii. 20 to 23			
		Pilate now orders Jesus to be scourged, and in order to excite the compassion of the multitude, has him brought forth crowned with thorns, covered with blood, and arrayed in the robe sent by Herod. The multitude reject him as their king, and proclaim themselves subjects of the Roman Emperor.			xxiii. 20 to 22	xix. 1 to 6
		Pilate hearing from the Chief Priests that Jesus ought to die because he made himself the Son of God, is the more afraid, and returning to the judgment hall, again examines Jesus. Our Lord's conversation convinces him still more strongly of his innocence, and he seeks more earnestly to release him.				xix. 7 to 12
	Tower of Antonia.	Pilate wearied with their obstinacy, and fearing to be accused himself of disaffection to the Emperor, declares himself innocent of the blood of Jesus, and delivers him over to their fury. The multitude invoke the curse of his blood on themselves and their posterity. It was now about sunrise, or six o'clock, the end of the last watch.	xxvii. 24 to 26	xv. 15	xxiii. 23 to 25	xix. 13 to 16

Time.	Place.	A.J.P. 4741, Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæsar 73, continued.	Matt.	Mark.	Luke.	John.
Mar. Passion Week. Friday	Tower of Antonia.	Judas repenting of his treachery when he saw that his master was really to be put to death, solemnly declared his innocence to the Sanhedrim, cast down the money he had received, and went and hanged himself.	xxvii. 3 to 10			
	Via dolorosa.	Jesus being in the mean time delivered into the hands of the Roman soldiers, was taken back into the judgment hall, treated with scorn and mockery, and then conducted out of the city to be crucified.	xxvii. 27 to 31	xv. 16 to 20		
		Having been now, nearly twelve hours, counting from his agony in the garden, under the severest suffering of soul and body, exhausted nature could endure no longer, and our Lord sunk under the burden of his cross. Simon the Cyrenian was therefore stopped by the soldiery, and compelled to bear it for him.	xxvii. 32	xv. 21	xxiii. 26	xix. 17
		A great company of people and of women followed, bewailing and lamenting him; on which our Lord again predicted the calamities about to fall on the Jewish nation.			xxiii. 27 to 31	
	Calvary.	At the third hour, or nine o'clock in the morning, the hour when the lamb of the daily morning sacrifice was offered in the Temple, our Lord was nailed to the cross.	xxvii. 33 to 35	xv. 22 23 — 25	xxiii. 33	xix. 18
		Pilate directed a title to be put on the cross, which gave offence to the Jewish Rulers, because it called our Lord the king of their nation.	xxvii. 36 37	xv. 26	xxiii. 38	xix. 19 to 22
		The soldiers divide our Lord's garments among themselves, and cast lots for his vesture.	xxvii. 35	xv. 24	xxiii. 34	xix. 23- 24
		The Rulers of the Jews, the soldiers, and others who passed by, mocked the suffering Saviour.	xxvii. 39 to 43	xv. 29 to 32	xxiii. 35 to 37	
		One of the thieves reviled him, while the other rebuked his companion, professed his belief in Jesus as the Messiah, and received the promise of admission that day into Paradise.	xxvii. 38 — 44	xv. 27 28 — 32	xxiii. 32 — 39 to 43	
		Our Lord from the cross commends his mother to the care of his beloved disciple John.				xix. 25 to 27
		From the sixth hour, or twelve at noon, a supernatural darkness came over the whole land, and continued three hours.	xxvii. 45	xv. 33	xxiii. 44	
		At the ninth hour, or three o'clock in the afternoon, when the lamb of the daily evening service was offered, our Lord expired. The veil of the temple was rent in twain, the earth quaked, rocks were rent, and the centurion and his soldiers who watched, acknowledged Him to be the Son of God.	xxvii. 46 to 56	xv. 34 to 41	xxiii. 45 to 49	xix. 28 to 30
		About an hour after, as the Paschal Sabbath was drawing near, the Jews besought Pilate to hasten the death of the crucified persons, by breaking their legs, that the bodies might be removed before sunset. Jesus being already dead, his bones were not broken, but a soldier pierced his side.				xix. 31 to 37

Time.	Place.	A.J.P. 4741, Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæsar 73, continued.	Matt.	Mark.	Luke.	John.
Mar. Passion Week. Fr'day.	Calvary.	About five o'clock, Joseph of Arimathæa begged of Pilate to give him the body of Jesus; and with the assistance of Nicodemus it was wrapped in spices and laid in Joseph's new tomb, which was in a garden near the place of execution.	xxvii. 57 to 60	xv. 42 to 46	xxiii. 50 to 53	xix. 38 to 42
		The Sabbath was now drawing on, and among those who followed Joseph and Nicodemus, were Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of Joses, and the women who had come with Jesus from Galilee. The two Marys seated themselves opposite to the Sepulchre, and remained there till the Sabbath had set in. The Galilean women having seen how, and where, our Lord's body was laid, hastened into the city to prepare spices and ointments, and then rested on the Sabbath, according to the commandment. With these events end the recorded transactions of Friday.	xxvii. 61	xv. 47	xxiii. 54 to 56	
Satur.		Saturday, March 27th, being the Paschal Sabbath, few events are recorded.				
		Having eaten the Passover on Friday night, the beginning of the Paschal Sabbath, the Chief Priests and Pharisees came to Pilate, in the morning of the day after, to request that he would secure the sepulchre, so that the body of Jesus might not be removed by his disciples, and the story be invented of his resurrection.	xxvii. 62 to 65			
		The governor's permission obtained, on Saturday evening, when the Sabbath was ended, they sealed the door of the Sepulchre, having doubtless satisfied themselves previously that the body of Jesus was still within, and then stationed around it a guard of Roman soldiers.	xxvii. 66			
		About the same time, Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James the less and Joses, and Salomé the mother of James the greater and John, went to buy sweet spices, that they might be ready to go early the next morning, and anoint our Lord's body.		xvi. 1		
Easter day.		Sunday, March 28th, the morrow after the Paschal Sabbath, when the first fruits were offered in the temple, and from which seven sabbaths were to be counted to the feast of weeks, or Pentecost, was also the day of our Lord's RESURRECTION.				
	Jerusalem	Very early, while it was yet dark during the morning watch, that is, not far from 3 o'clock, the two Marys left their dwelling, probably calling on their way for Salomé, to carry their spices to the sepulchre.	xxviii. 1			xx. 1
		About the same time, or somewhat earlier, an angel descended and rolled away the stone from the mouth of the sepulchre. There was a great earthquake, and at the sight of the angel, the guards swooned with fear. At this moment our Lord arose from the dead.	xxviii. 2 to 4			

Time.	Place.	A.J.P. 4741, Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæsar 73, continued.	Matt.	Mark.	Luke.	John.
Mar. Easter day.	Jerusalem	Having recovered their senses, the guards, in their consternation rushed from the garden, and fled into the city.				
		From some unknown cause, the women were detained, and did not arrive at the sepulchre till the sun was rising, or about 6 o'clock, the end of the morning watch.		xvi. 2		
		They perceived that the stone was rolled away; and Mary Magdalene, imagining that the Lord's body had been treated with some indignity, went in an agony of grief to tell Peter and John.		xvi. 3-4		xx. 1-2
	Sepulchre	After she was gone, the other two women entered the outer chamber of the sepulchre, and there saw an angel sitting at the right of the entrance into the inner chamber, where the body had been deposited. He bade them not be afraid, invited them to look at the place where the Lord had lain, and then sent a message by them to the disciples and Peter. Filled with fear and joy, they hastened from the sepulchre.	xxviii. 5 to 8	xvi. 5 to 8		
		After they had departed, Peter and John came running thither, followed by Mary Magdalene. They examined the grave clothes, but saw no vision, and soon left the sepulchre in the utmost astonishment.			xxiv. 12	xx. 3 to 10
		Mary remained weeping; and as she stooped and looked into the sepulchre, saw two angels who comforted her. As she turned, our Lord himself appeared, revealed himself to her, checked her transports, and sent her with a message to his brethren.		xvi. 9		xx. 11 to 17
		She seems then to have met the other Mary and Salomé, and as they were going to tell the Apostles, our Lord met all three, and discovered himself to them.	xxviii. 9-10			
		The women from Galilee, who had set out early, but coming in greater numbers had collected more slowly, arrived after these events, bringing the spices they had brought on Friday evening. Seeing the stone rolled away, they entered, supposing that others had arrived before them, and found not the body of the Lord Jesus. While in perplexity, they also saw a vision of two angels, who reminded them of what Jesus had said to them in Galilee concerning his death and resurrection. This brought his words to remembrance, and they returned to tell the Apostles.			xxiv. 1 to 9	
		The women having assembled, related all these things to the Apostles, but their words seemed to them like idle dreams.		xvi. 10-11	xxiv. 10-11	xx. 18
		While these events were occurring, some of the guards had related to the High Priests what had befallen them at the Sepulchre. On this a council was called, and a large sum of money was given to the soldiers to spread the	xxviii. 11 to 15			

Time.	Place.	A.J.P. 4741, Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæsar 73, continued.	Matt.	Mark.	Luke.	John.
Mar. Easter day	Sepulchre	report that our Lord's body was stolen while they slept.				
	Emmaus	In the afternoon, as two of the disciples were walking to Emmaus, a village 60 stadia, or 7½ Roman miles, from Jerusalem, Jesus appeared to them in another form, and in conversation with them explained the Scriptures concerning his death and resurrection. As it was "toward evening," He supped with them, and made himself known by blessing and breaking and giving bread to them, as at the institution of the Sacrament.		xvi. 12-13	xxiv. 13 to 32	
	Jerusalem	Returning that same hour to Jerusalem, they came in the evening where the disciples were assembled with fastened doors, for fear of the Jews; and learned, as they entered, from the Apostles and other disciples, that the Lord had appeared, during their absence, to Peter.			xxiv. 33 to 35	
		As they were relating the occurrences at Emmaus, our Lord suddenly appeared in the assembly, and by shewing them his hands and his side, and eating in their presence, convinced them all that He was really and truly risen from the dead.			xxiv. 36 to 48	xx. 19-20
		With these events ended the memorable Sunday of the Resurrection, celebrated ever after as the Christian Passover.				
		During that week, the disciples seem to have been left to calm their minds, and meditate on the evidence given to them. But Thomas, who had been absent on the evening of the 28th of March, declared his unbelief, and seems to have staggered the faith of some others. Therefore—				xx. 24-25
April		On the octave of the resurrection, or Sunday the 4th of April, while the disciples were again assembled with fastened doors, our Lord appeared among them as before, upbraided those who did not fully believe, and then turning to Thomas, told him to do the very thing which, in speaking to the other disciples, he had said could alone convince him.		xvi. 14		xx. 26-27
		This double proof, addressed to his reason and his senses, led the astonished Apostle immediately to acknowledge Him as his Lord and his God.				xx. 28 29 — 30 31
		This was the second time He had shewed himself to the collected body of his disciples.				
	Lake of Tiberias	Our Lord shewed himself a third time to his disciples, at the lake of Tiberias, by another miraculous draught of fishes. The disciples may have left Jerusalem by our Lord's command, on Monday, April 5th, and have arrived at Capernaum on Thursday the 8th.				xxi. 1 to 14
		On the shore of the Lake of Tiberias, after the miraculous draught of fishes, our Lord ate with his disciples; and as Peter had denied				xxi. 15 to 25

Time	Place.	A.J.P. 4741, Ref. Cal. Jul. Cæsar, 73, continued.	Matt.	Mark.	Luke.	John.
April	Lake or sea of Tiberias	him three times, our Lord asked him three times if he loved him, directed him, as a proof of his love, to feed his lambs and his sheep, predicted the manner of his death, and rebuked his curiosity concerning John.				
	Galilee	On a mountain in Galilee, perhaps the Mount of the Transfiguration, our Lord appeared to the Eleven, and to above five hundred brethren at once. (1 Cor. xv. 6.)	xxviii.16 17			
		After that He was seen of James, then of all the Apostles. (1 Cor. xv. 7.)				
May	Jerusalem	How soon the disciples returned to Jerusalem does not appear; but our Lord continued with them until the fortieth day after his resurrection, "speaking of the things pertaining to the" Church, or "kingdom of God." (Acts i. 3.)				
		During this period, He gave "his commandments, through the Holy Ghost, unto the Apostles whom He had chosen." (Acts i. 2). His commissions appear to have been generally given on Sunday.	xxviii.18 to 20	xvi. 15 to 18		xx. 21- to 23
	Mount of Olives, confines of Bethphage and Bethany	On the fortieth day, being Thursday, the 6th of May, our Lord led his disciples out on the Mount of Olives, as far as to Bethany, and there, while He blessed them, ascended into Heaven, whence He shall come in like manner at his Second Advent. (Acts i. 2).		xvi. 19	xxiv. 50 to 53	
	Jerusalem	The election of Matthias to the Apostleship, in the place of the traitor Judas, probably occurred on Sunday the 9th of May.				
		The Apostles had been commanded to tarry in the city of Jerusalem until they should be endued with power from on high, by the descent of the Holy Ghost. This power would bring all things, which their Lord had said unto them, to their remembrance, and the gift of tongues would fit them to proclaim what He had said throughout all nations. This power descended on the Jewish feast of weeks, the day of Pentecost, Sunday the 16th of May. Aided by this power, "they went forth and preached every where, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs following. Amen."		xvi. 20	xxiv. 49	

A SYNOPTICAL TABLE

OF THE PERIOD OF TIME EMBRACED IN THIS WORK, FROM THE BIRTH OF AUGUSTUS
TO THE DEATH OF TIBERIUS; IN WHICH A CONDENSED
VIEW IS GIVEN OF ITS RESULTS.

Julian Period. Years	Julian Period. Months	Olympiads.	Years of Rome.	Roman Calendar	CONSULS.	Age of Aug. Cæsar.	Æra of Nabonassar.	REMARKABLE EVENTS.
4650	Jan.							
○ 2	Feb.			Jan. 15	M. Tullius Cicero			Conspiracy of Cataline detected and punished.
☽ 14	Mar.				C. Antonius			
Ep. 23	Apr.		690					
E	May							
	June	CLXXIX. 1						June 19 or 20.—Capture of Jerusalem by Pompey.—The Temple taken during the Olympic Games.—At this time Herod was probably 10 years old.
	July							
	Aug.							
	Sep.					1	685	Sep. 23.—Octavius, afterwards called Augustus, born.
	Oct.							
	Nov.							
	Dec.							
4651	Jan.							
○ 3	Feb.			Jan. 28	D. Junius M.F. Silanus			
☽ 15	Mar.				L. Licinius L.F. Muræna			
Ep. 4	Apr.		691					
D	May							
	June	2						
	July							
	Aug.							
	Sep.					2	686	
	Oct.							
	Nov.							
	Dec.							
4652	Jan.							
○ 4	Feb			Jan. 18	M. Pupius Piso			
☽ 16	Mar.				M. Valerius Messalla Niger			
Ep. 15	Apr.		692					
C	May							
	June	3						
	July							
	Aug.							
	Sep.					3	687	
	Oct.							
	Nov.							
	Dec.							
4653	Jan.							
○ 5	Feb.			Jan. 30	Lucius Afranius			
☽ 17	Mar.				Qu. Metellus Celer			
Ep. 26	Apr.		693					
BA	May							
	June	4						
	July							
	Aug.							
	Sep.					4	688 Sep. 7	
	Oct.							
	Nov.							
	Dec.							

Julian Period.		Olympiads.	Years of Rome.	Roman Calendar.	Consuls.	Age of Aug. Cæsar.	Æra of Nabonassar.	Remarkable Events.
Years	Months							
4654	Jan.							
○ 6	Feb.			Jan. 19	C. Julius C.F. C.N. Cæsar			
☽ 18	Mar.				M. Calpurnius Bibulus			
Ep. 7	Apr.							
G	May		694					
	June							
	July	CLXXX. 1						
	Aug.							
	Sep.						689	
	Oct.					5		
	Nov.							
	Dec.							
4655	Jan.							
○ 7	Feb.			Jan. 31	L. Calpurnius L.F. L.N. [Piso Cæsoninus			
☽ 19	Mar.				A. Gabinius A.F.			
Ep. 18	Apr.							
F	May		695					
	June	2						
	July							
	Aug.							
	Sep.					6	690	
	Oct.							
	Nov.							
	Dec.							
4656	Jan.							
○ 8	Feb.			Jan. 21	P. Cornelius P.F. Lentulus [Spinther			
☽ 1	Mar.				Q. Cæcilius Q.F. Q.N. Metellus Nepos			
Ep. 0	Apr.							
E	May		696					
	June	3						
	July							
	Aug.							
	Sep.					7	691	
	Oct.							
	Nov							
	Dec.							
4657	Jan.							
○ 9	Feb.			Feb. 2	Cn. Cornelius P.F. Lentulus Marcellinus			
☽ 2	Mar.				L. Marcius L.F. Q.N. Philippus			
Ep. 11	Apr.							
D C	May		697					
	June	4						
	July							
	Aug.							
	Sep.					8	692 Sep. 6	
	Oct.							
	Nov.							
	Dec.							

Julian Period. Years	Julian Period. Months	Olympiads.	Years of Rome.	Roman Calendar.	Consuls.	Age of Aug. Cæsar.	Æra of Nabonassar.	Remarkable Events.
4658	Jan.			Jan. 22	Cn. Pompeius Cn.F. Sex.N. [Magnus II. M. Licinius P.F. M.N. Cras- [sus II.			
☉10	Feb.							
☽ 3	Mar.							
Ep. 22	Apr.							
B	May		698					
	June							
	July	CLXXXI. 1						
	Aug.							
	Sep.						693	
	Oct.					9		
	Nov.							
	Dec.							
4659	Jan.			Jan. 12	L. Domitius Cn.F. Cn.N. [Ahenobarbus Ap. Claudius Ap.F. C.N. [Pulcher			
☉11	Feb.							
☽ 4	Mar.							
Ep. 3	Apr.							
A	May		699					
	June							
	July	2						
	Aug.							
	Sep.						694	
	Oct.					10		
	Nov.							
	Dec.							
4660	Jan.			Jan. 2	Cn. Domitius M.F. M.N. [Calvinus M. Valerius Messalla			
☉12	Feb.							
☽ 6	Mar.							
Ep. 14	Apr.							
G	May		700					
	June							
	July	3						
	Aug.							
	Sep.						695	
	Oct.					11		
	Nov.							
	Dec.							
4661	Jan.			Dec. 23	Cn. Pompeius C.F. Sex. N. [Magnus III sine [conlega Primus			
☉13	Feb.							
☽ 6	Mar.							
Ep. 25	Apr.							
FE	May		701					
	June							
	July	4			Q. Cæcilius Q.F. Q.N. Me- [tellus Pius Scipio [ex. A.D.K. Sextil.			
	Aug.							
	Sep.						696 Sep. 5	
	Oct.					12		
	Nov.							
	Dec.			Dec. 13	Ser. Sulpicius Q.F. Rufus M. Claudius M.F. M.N. [Marcellus			

Julian Period.		Olympiads.	Years of Rome.	Roman Calendar.	Consuls.	Age of Aug. Cæsar.	Æra of Nabonassar.	Remarkable Events.
Years	Months							
4662	Jan.							
○14	Feb.							
☽ 7	Mar.							
Ep. 6	Apr.							
D	May		702					
	June							
	July	CLXXXII. 1						
	Aug.							
	Sep.						697	
	Oct.					13		
	Nov.							
	Dec.			Dec. 3	L. Æmilius M.F. Paullus C. Claudius C.F. M.N. Marcellus			
4663	Jan.							
○15	Feb.							
☽ 8	Mar.							
Ep. 17	Apr.							
C	May		703					
	June							
	July	2						
	Aug.							
	Sep.						698	
	Oct.					14		
	Nov.							Nov. 28.—Year of Numa.
	Dec.			Nov. 23	C. Claudius M.F. M.N. Marcellus L. Cornelius P.F. Lentulus			
4664	Jan.							Jan. 6.—Cæsar declared by the Senate the enemy of his country.
○16	Feb.							
☽ 9	Mar.							
Ep. 28	Apr.							
B	May		704					
	June							
	July	3						
	Aug.				Towards the end of the year C. Julius Cæsar, Dictator, (his first Dictatorship, held 11 days.)			
	Sep.						699	
	Oct.					15		
	Nov.							Nov. 16.—Year of Numa, Jan. 4, Cæsar set sail for Dyrrachium.
	Dec.			Nov. 13	C. Julius C.F.C.N. Cæsar II. P. Servilius P.F. Cn. N. Vatia Isauricus			
4665	Jan.							
○17	Feb.							
☽10	Mar.							
Ep. 9	Apr.							
A G	May		705					
	June							Battle of Pharsalia about Midsummer, followed by the death of Pompey.
	July	4						
	Aug.				About the beginning of September, C. Julius Cæsar II Dictator II, appointed by the Senate for one year.			Cæsar at Alexandria, where he remained nine months.
	Sep.						700 Sep. 4	
	Oct.					16		
	Nov.			Nov. 2	C. Julius Cæsar, Dictator II			
	Dec.							

Julian Period.		Olympiads.	Years of Rome.	Roman Calendar.	Consuls.	Age of Octav. Cæsar.	Æra of Nabonassar.	Remarkable Events.
Years	Months							
4666	Jan.							
○18	Feb.							At the close of March, or beginning of April, Cæsar's expedition against Pharnaces.—He returns to Rome about the month of Sextilis; probably, therefore, about Midsummer. While in Syria, he confirms Hyrcanus in the High Priesthood, appoints Antipater Procurator of Judæa, and gives permission to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem.
☽11	Mar.							
Ep. 20	Apr.		706					
F	May							
	June				Towards the close of Cæsar's Second Dictatorship, or about the beginning of September, he caused to be elected as Consuls			
	July	CLXXXIII 1						
	Aug.							
	Sep.				Q. Fufius Q.F. Q.N. Calenus P. Vatinius P.F.	—	701	Herod Governor of Galilee.
	Oct.					17		Oct. 17 or 18.—Cæsar embarked for Africa.
	Nov.			Oct. 23	C. Julius C.F. C.N. [Cæsar III M. Æmilius M.F. [Q.N. Lepidus coss.			On the Calends of Jan. or Oct. 23, he was encamped before Ruspina.
	Dec.							
4667	Jan.							The African war lasted about six months, and was terminated by the deaths of Cato and Juba.
○19	Feb.							
☽12	Mar.							Cæsar left Utica on the Ides of June, or true time April 1; and Sardinia, June 28, or April 16. He arrived in Rome July 27, or May 14.
Ep. 1	Apr.		707		About June or July, i.e. according to true time, in the month of April, the Senate conferred on Cæsar the Dictatorship for ten years. Therefore			
E	May							
	June	2						
	July				C. Julius C.F. C.N. Cæsar, [Dictator III			At the commencement of Cæsar's third Dictatorship, he enacted the law for the reformation of the Calendar.
	Aug.							
	Sep.					—	702	Early in Nov. Cæsar arrived in Bœtica, 27 days after he left Rome.
	Oct.			Oct. 13		18		
	Nov.				C. Julius C.F. C.N. Cæsar, [Dictator III M. Æmilius Lepidus, Mas- [ter of the Horse.			Attegua taken Dec. 22, or the 11th before the Cal. of March, the 19th of the intercalary month.
	Dec.							
4668	Jan.							The Battle of Munda fought the 97th day of this year, or A.J.P. 4668, Jan. 17.
○20	Feb.				In the same year C. Julius C.F. C.N. Cæsar [IIII, Consul without a Colleague.			
☽13	Mar.							Feb. 12, the 123rd day of this year, the head of the elder Pompey brought to Cæsar at Hispalis.
Ep. 12	Apr.		708					
D	May				In the same year, he substituted for himself as Consul			
	June	3						
	July				Q. Fabius Q.F. Q.N. Maxi- [mus, with C. Trebonius.			
	Aug.							
	Sep.				Fabius died the last day of the year, and for him Cæsar substituted for a few hours only, honoris gratia,	—	703	
	Oct.					19		
	Nov.				C. Caninius C.F. C.N. Rebi- [lus			
	Dec.							
4669	Jan.			B 1	C. Julius C.F. C.N. Cæsar, [Dict. Perp. or IIII M. Æmilius M.F. Q.N. Le- [pidus, Mast. of the Horse.			
○21	Feb.			○ 1				
☽14	Mar.			☽ 1				Mar. 15.—Cæsar murdered. Denoted in the Roman Calendar as "The Parricide."
Ep. 23	Apr.		709	Ep. 0				
CB	May			GF	C. Julius C.F. C.N. [Cæsar V M. Antonius M.F. [M.N. coss.			
	June	4						
	July							
	Aug.				Cæsar being slain on the Ides of March,			
	Sep.				P. Cornelius P.F. Dolabella	—	704 Sep. 3	
	Oct.				having been designated by Cæsar as his substitute during the Parthian War, entered on the office, as of right, without waiting for the consent of the Senate and People.	20		
	Nov.							
	Dec.							

Julian Period.		Olympiads.	Years of Rome.	Æra of Nabonassar.	Reformed Calendar of Julius Cæsar.	CONSULS.	Octavianus Cæsar.				REMARKABLE EVENTS.
Years	Months						Age of	Power of		Gov. of Judæa.	
4670	Jan.				2	C. Vibius C.F. C.N. Pansa		Triumvirate 1st Period of 5 years			
○ 22	Feb.				○ 2						
☽15	Mar.				☽ 2	A. Hirtius A.F.					
Ep. 4	Apr.				Ep. 11						April 15.—Both Consuls killed in the battle of Mutina against Antony, leaving Octavianus Cæsar sole Commamder.
A	May		710		E						
	June										
	July	CLXXXIV. 1									
	Aug.					Aug. 19, Octavianus Cæsar } coss. Quintus Pedius					Aug. 19.—Octavianus Cæsar Consul before he had completed his 20th year.
	Sep.			705		On the formation of the Triumvirate, Cæsar abdicated his Consulship, and for the remainder of the year,					
	Oct.						21				
	Nov.										Nov. 27.— M. Æmilius } Triumviri for five years from Jan. 1, A.J.P. 4671. M. Antonius Imp. Cæsar
	Dec.					C. Carrinas C.F. } coss. P. Ventidius P.F.		1			
4671	Jan.				3	L. Munatius L.F. L.N. [Plancus					
○ 23	Feb.				○ 3				Birth of Tiberius, Nov. 16.		Cassius goes into Syria, where he secures the greater part of the Army, receives Herod with great favour, gives him the command of Cœle-Syria, and promises to make him King of Judæa.
☽19	Mar.				☽ 3	M. Æmilius M.F. Q.N. [Lepidus II					
Ep. 16	Apr.				Ep. 22						
G	May		711		D						
	June										
	July	2									Antipater poisoned by Malichus.
	Aug.										
	Sep.			706							Battle of Philippi; after which Antony goes into Asia.
	Oct.						22			Reign of Herod the Great begins by decree of the Roman Senate.	
	Nov.								1		
	Dec.										
4672	Jan.				4	L. Antonius M.F. M.N. [Pietas		2			
○ 24	Feb				○ 4						This year spent by Antony in Syria and Egypt. Having been the friend of Antipater, he confirmed his sons, Phasael and Herod, as Tetrarchs.
☽17	Mar.				☽ 4	P. Servilius P.F. C.N. Vatin. [Isauricus II					
Ep. 26	Apr.				Ep. 3						
F	May		712		C						
	June										
	July	3									
	Aug.										
	Sep.			707							
	Oct.						23				
	Nov.								2		
	Dec.										
4673	Jan.				B 5	C. Asinius Cn.F. Pollio		3			
○ 25	Feb.				○ 5						
☽18	Mar.				☽ 5	Cn. Domitius M.F. M.N. [Calvinus II					The Parthians invade Palestine about May 20. Pacorus, their Commander, deprives Hyrcanus, and appoints Antigonus to the High-Priesthood and Government of Judæa. Flight of Herod to Rome.
Ep. 7	Apr.				Ep. 13						
ED	May		713		B A						
	June										
	July	4									
	Aug.									1	About July 20, the important decree of the Roman Senate passed, by which Herod, at the age of 33, is made King of Judæa.
	Sep.			708 Sep. 2							
	Oct.						24				
	Nov.								3		
	Dec.										

Julian Period.		Olympiads.	Years of Rome.	Æra of Nabonassar.	Reformed Calendar of Julius Cæsar.	Consuls.	Octavianus Cæsar.		Age of Tiberius.	Herod the Great		Remarkable Events.
Years	Months						Age of	Power of		De jure, S.P.Q.	De facto.	
4674	Jan.				6	L. Marcius L.F. C.N. Censorinus C. Calvisius C.F. Sabinus		4				
○ 26	Feb.				○ 6							Short reconciliation between Sextus Pompeius and the Triumvirate. Cæsar and Antony in conjunction with him appoint Consuls for the eight following years. Immediately after which, Antony sent Ventidius into Asia to stop the progress of the Parthians.
☽ 19	Mar.				☽ 6							
Ep. 18	Apr.		714		Ep. 25							
C	May				G							
	June	CLXXXV. 1										
	July											
	Aug.									2		The Parthians expelled from Syria, and Antigonus purchases peace.
	Sep.			709								
	Oct.						25					
	Nov.								4			Antony and Octavia winter at Athens.
	Dec.											
4675	Jan.				7	Appius Claudius C.F. Pulcher C. Norbanus C.F. Flaccus		5				
○ 27	Feb.				○ 7							The Parthians again invade Syria, but are routed, and Pacorus is slain.
☽ 1	Mar.				☽ 7							
Ep. 0	Apr.		715		Ep. 6							
B	May				F							Herod had reduced the greater part of Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee to his allegiance.
	June	2										
	July											
	Aug.									3		
	Sep.			710								
	Oct.						26					
	Nov.								5			
	Dec.											Dec. 31.—The five years of the Triumvirate end.
4676	Jan.				8	M. Vipsanius L.F. Agrippa L. Caninius L.F. Gallus		1				Siege of Jerusalem by the combined forces of Herod and Sossius. City taken at the beginning of June, and Herod becomes King de facto.
○ 28	Feb.				○ 8			Second Usurped Triumvirate.				
☽ 2	Mar.				☽ 8							
Ep. 11	Apr.		716		Ep. 17							Early in the Spring, Cæsar, Antony and Octavia met at Tarentum (Taranto), and renewed the Triumvirate for five years, without asking the consent of the Senate and People.
A	May				E							
	June	3									1	
	July											
	Aug.									4		
	Sep.			711								
	Oct.						27					
	Nov.								6			
	Dec.											
4677	Jan.				B 9	L. Gellius L.F. L.N. Poplicola M. Coccejus M.F. Nerva		2				
○ 1	Feb.				○ 9							
☽ 3	Mar.				☽ 9							
Ep. 22	Apr.		717		Ep. 28							
G F	May				D C							
	June	4									2	
	July											July 1.—Expedition against Sextus Pompeius, destruction of his fleet, and subjugation of Sicily.
	Aug.									5		
	Sep.			712								
	Oct.			Sep. 1			28					Lepidus is forced to abdicate the Triumvirate.
	Nov.								7			Nov. 13.—Cæsar's ovation for the victory in Sicily.
	Dec.											

Julian Period.		Olympiads.	Years of Rome.	Æra of Nabonassar.	Reformed Calendar of Julius Cæsar.	CONSULS.	Octavianus Cæsar.		Age of Tiberius.	Herod ye Great		REMARKABLE EVENTS.
Years	Months						Age of	Power of		De jure, S.P.Q.R.	De facto.	
4678	Jan.				10	L. Cornificius L.F.		3				
○ 2	Feb.				○ 10	Sex. Pompeius Sex. F.						
☽ 4	Mar.				☽ 10							
Ep. 3	Apr.				Ep. 9							
E	May		718		B							
	June										3	
	July	CLXXXVI. 1										
	Aug.									6		
	Sep.			713								
	Oct.						29					
	Nov.								8			
	Dec.											
4679	Jan.				11	L. Scribonius L.F. Libo		4				
○ 3	Feb.				○ 11	M. Antonius M.F. M.N. II						
☽ 5	Mar.				☽ 11							
Ep. 14	Apr.				Ep. 20							
D	May		719		A							
	June	2									4	
	July											
	Aug.									7		
	Sep.			714								
	Oct.						30					
	Nov.								9			
	Dec.											
4680	Jan.				12	Imp. Cæsar Divi F.C. N̄. II		5				
○ 4	Feb.				○ 12	L. Volcatius L.F. Tullus						
☽ 6	Mar.				☽ 12							
Ep. 25	Apr.				Ep. 1							
C	May		720		G							
	June	3									5	
	July											
	Aug.									8		
	Sep.			715								
	Oct.						31					
	Nov.								10			
	Dec.											Dec. 31.—The fifth year of the second usurped Triumvirate ends.
4681	Jan.				B 13	Cn. Domitius Cn.F. Cn.N. Ahenobarbus						Jan. 1.—Sossius being a partizan of Antony, openly attacks Cæsar in the Senate, and thus the contest between Antony and Cæsar begins.
○ 5	Feb.				○ 13	C. Sossius C.F. T.N.						
☽ 7	Mar.				☽ 13							
Ep. 6	Apr.				Ep. 12							
BA	May		721		F E							The two Consuls fled, followed by not a few of the Senate.
	June	4									6	
	July											Antony adjudged an enemy of his country, and Valerius Messalla designated Consul in his stead.
	Aug.									9		
	Sep.			716 Aug. 31								
	Oct.						32					
	Nov.								11			
	Dec.											

Julian Period.		Olympiads.	Years of Rome.	Æra of Nabonassar.	Reformed Calendar of Julius Cæsar.	Consuls.	Imp. Octavianus Cæsar.			Herod ye Great		Remarkable Events.
Years	Months						Age of	Monarchy of	Age of Tiberius.	De jure, S.P.Q.R.	De facto.	
4682	Jan.				14	Imp. Cæsar Divi F. C.N. III						
○ 6	Feb.				○14	M. Valerius M.F. M.N. [Messalla Corvinus						
☽ 8	Mar.				☽14							
Ep. 17	Apr.		722		Ep. 23							
G	May				D							
	June										7	
	July	CLXXXVII 1										
	Aug.									10		
	Sep.			717				1				Sep. 2.—Battle of Actium, from which the years of Cæsar's Monarchy are counted.
	Oct.						33					
	Nov.								12			
	Dec.											
4683	Jan.				15	Imp. Cæsar Divi F.C.N. IV						
○ 7	Feb.				○15	M. Licinius M.F. M.N. [Crassus						
☽ 9	Mar.				☽15							Mar. 27.—Alexandria conquered. The death of Antony and Cleopatra soon followed.
Ep. 28	Apr.		723		Ep. 4							
F	May				C							
	June	2									8	
	July					July 1—C. Antistius substituted.						
	Aug.									11		
	Sep.			718		Sep. 13.—M. Tullius, son of the great Cicero, substituted.		2				Decrees in honour of Cæsar passed by the Senate, and those which had been passed in honour of Antony rescinded.
	Oct.						34					
	Nov.					Nov. 1.—L. Sænius substituted.			13			Cæsar established his winter-quarters at Samos.
	Dec.											
4684	Jan.				16	Imp. Cæsar Divi F. C.N. V						Jan. 1.—Decree of the Senate, by which the gates of the Temple of Janus were ordered to be shut, in token of Universal Peace.—The ceremony probably took effect March 30, a day sacred to Janus, Peace, and Concord.
○ 8	Feb.				○16	Sex. Appuleius Sex. F. Sex. [N.						
☽ 10	Mar.				☽16							
Ep. 9	Apr.		724		Ep. 15							
E	May				B							
	June	3									9	Cæsar receives the title of Emperor, as denoting supreme power.
	July											
	Aug.									12		
	Sep.			719				3				
	Oct.						35					
	Nov.								14			
	Dec.											
4685	Jan.				B 17	Imp. Cæsar Divi F. C.N. VI						
○ 9	Feb.				○17	M. Vipsanius L.F. Agrippa [II						
☽ 11	Mar.				☽17							
Ep. 20	Apr.		725		Ep. 26							
D C	May				A G							
	June	4									10	
	July											
	Aug.									13		
	Sep.			720 Aug, 30				4				
	Oct.						36					
	Nov.								15			
	Dec.											Dec. 31.—The tenth year ends from the expiration of the five years of the Triumvirate.

Julian Period. Years	Julian Period. Months	Olympiads.	Years of Rome	Æra of Nabonassar.	Reformed Calendar of Julius Cæsar.	CONSULS.	Imp. Aug. Cæsar. Age of	Imp. Aug. Cæsar. Sole reign of	Imp. Aug. Cæsar. Æra of	Age of Tiberius.	Herod ye Great. De jure, S.P.Q.R.	Herod ye Great. De facto.	REMARKABLE EVENTS.
4686	Jan.				18	Imp. Cæsar Divi F. C.N. VII			1				Jan. 1—The first Decennial period decreed to Augustus by the Senate begins. Jan. 17.—Cæsar offered to resign the Imperial dignity, but was unanimously requested to retain it. On this occasion, the title of Augustus was given to him by a decree of the Senate and People. The Provinces divided into Senatorial and Imperial.
○10	Feb.				○18								
☽12	Mar.				☽18	M. Vipsanius L.F. Agrippa [III							
Ep. 1	Apr.				Ep. 7								
B	May		726		F								
	June												
	July	CLXXXVIII 1										11	
	Aug.										14		
	Sep.			721				5					
	Oct.						37						
	Nov.									16			
	Dec.												
4687	Jan.				19	Imp. Cæsar Divi F. C.N. [Augustus VIII			2				
○11	Feb.				○19	T. Statilius T.F. Taurus II							
☽13	Mar.				☽19								
Ep. 12	Apr.				Ep. 18								
A	May		727		E								
	June												
	July	2										12	
	Aug.										15		
	Sep.			722				6					
	Oct.						38						
	Nov.									17			
	Dec.												
4688	Jan.				20	Imp. Cæsar Divi F. C.N. [Augustus IX			3				
○12	Feb.				○20	M. Junius D.F. M.N. Sila-[nus							The revolt of the Salassi in the Alps, and of the Astures and Cantabri in Spain, caused the temple of Janus to be reopened in this year.
☽14	Mar.				☽ 1								
Ep. 23	Apr.				Ep. 0								
G	May		728		D								
	June												
	July	3										13	
	Aug.										16		
	Sep.			723				7					
	Oct.						39						
	Nov.									18			
	Dec.												
4689	Jan.				B 21	Imp Cæsar Divi F. C.N. [Augustus X			4				
○13	Feb.				○21	C. Norbanus C.F. C.N. [Flaccus							
☽15	Mar.				☽ 2								
Ep. 4	Apr.				Ep. 11								
F E	May		729		C B								
	June												
	July	4										14	
	Aug.										17		
	Sep.			724 Aug. 29				8					Towards the end of this year, or the beginning of the next, Augustus shut the Temple of Janus the second time.
	Oct.						40						
	Nov.									19			
	Dec.												

Julian Period. Years	Months	Olympiads.	Years of Rome.	Æra of Nabonassar.	Reformed Calendar of Julius Cæsar.	CONSULS.	Imp. Aug. Cæsar. Age of	Sole reign of	Æra of	Tribun. power of	Age of Tiberius.	Herod ye Great De jure, S.P.Q.R.	De facto.	REMARKABLE EVENTS.
4690	Jan.				22	Imp. Cæsar Divi F. C.N. [Augustus XI Cn. Calpurnius Piso Augustus abdicated, and Lucius Sestius was substituted.			5					Lucius Sestius having been the steady friend of Brutus, the Senate, gratified by this act of Augustus, decreed that the Emperor should be Perpetual Proconsul of the Republic and Tribune of the People for life.
○ 14	Feb.				○22									
☽16	Mar.				☽ 3									
Ep. 15	Apr.		730		Ep. 22									
D	May				A									
	June												15	
	July	CLXXXIX. 1								1				
	Aug.											18		
	Sep.			725				9						
	Oct.						41							
	Nov.													
	Dec.										20			
4691	Jan.				23	M. Claudius M.F. M.N. [Marcellus Æserninus L. Arruntius L.F. L.N.			6					The Cantabri and Ustures again revolted. The former perished rather than submit, and the prisoners taken were sold as slaves.
○ 15	Feb.				○23									
☽17	Mar.				☽ 4									
Ep. 26	Apr.		731		Ep. 3									
C	May				G									
	June												16	
	July	2								2				
	Aug.											19		
	Sep.			726				10						
	Oct.						42							
	Nov.													
	Dec.										21			
4692	Jan.				24	Q. Æmilius M.F. Lepidus M. Lollius M.F.			7					
○ 16	Feb				○24									
☽18	Mar.				☽ 5									
Ep. 7	Apr.		732		Ep. 14									
B	May				F									
	June												17	
	July	3								3				
	Aug.											20		
	Sep.			727				11						
	Oct.						43							
	Nov.													
	Dec.										22			
4693	Jan.				B 25	M. Appuleius Sex. F. [Sex. N. P. Silius P.F. Nerva			8					
○ 17	Feb.				○25									
☽19	Mar.				☽ 6									
Ep. 18	Apr.		733		Ep. 25									
AG	May				B D									
	June												18	
	July	4								4				
	Aug.											21		
	Sep.			728 Aug. 28				12						
	Oct.						44							
	Nov.													
	Dec.										23			

Julian Period.		Olympiads.	Years of Rome.	Æra of Nabonassar.	Reformed Calendar of Julius Cæsar.	CONSULS.	Imp. Aug. Cæsar.					Herod ye Great		REMARKABLE EVENTS.
Years	Months						Age of	Sole reign of	Æra of	Tribun. power of	Age of Tiberius.	De jure, S.P.Q.R.	De facto.	
4694	Jan.				26	C. Sentius C.F. C.N. Saturninus			9					
○ 18	Feb.				○26									The Senate appointed Augustus Consul for life.
☽ 1	Mar.				☽ 7	Q. Lucretius Q.F. Vespillo								
Ep. 0	Apr.				Ep. 6									The remaining Cantabri again revolted, and killed their masters. Agrippa was sent against them. They were almost exterminated, and the general tranquility was not disturbed.
F	May		734		C									
	June													
	July	CXC. 1											19	
	Aug.									5		22		
	Sep.			729				13						
	Oct.						45							
	Nov.													
	Dec.										24			
4695	Jan.				27	P. Cornelius P.F. Cn. N. Lentulus			10					
○ 19	Feb.				○27									A year of great peace. Augustus reforms abuses, and enacts wholesome laws.
☽ 2	Mar.				☽ 8	Cn. Cornelius L.F. Lentulus Marcellinus								Agrippa employed in embellishing the city.
Ep. 11	Apr.				Ep. 17									
E	May		735		B									
	June													
	July	2											20	
	Aug.									6		23		
	Sep.			730				14						Dec. 31.—The decennial period ends decreed by the Senate to Augustus. He therefore asked the renewal for five years, and made Agrippa Tribune of the People for the same time.
	Oct.						46							
	Nov.													
	Dec.										25			
4696	Jan.				28	C. Furnius C.F.			11					Jan. 1.—The five years of authority asked are extended to ten years. The second Decennial period decreed by the Senate begins.
○ 20	Feb.				○28									
☽ 3	Mar.				☽ 9	C. Junius C.F. Silanus								
Ep. 22	Apr.				Ep. 28									
D	May		736		A									The fifth Secular games were celebrated this year, for which solemnity Horace wrote his Carmen Sæculare. This an evidence of peace.
	June													
	July	3											21	
	Aug.									7		24		
	Sep.			731				15						
	Oct.						47							
	Nov.													
	Dec.										26			
4697	Jan.				B 29	L. Domitius Cn.F. Cn.N. Ahenobarbus			12					
○ 21	Feb.				○ 1									New commotions arising, the Temple of Janus is again opened.
☽ 4	Mar.				☽10	P. Cornelius P.F. P.N. Scipio								
Ep. 3	Apr.				Ep. 9									Agrippa sent to Syria; Augustus goes into Gaul.
C B	May		737		G F									
	June													Tiberius and Drusus repel the Alpine tribes.
	July	4											22	
	Aug.									8		25		
	Sep.			732 Aug. 27				16						
	Oct.						48							
	Nov.													
	Dec.										27			

Julian Period.		Olympiads.	Years of Rome.	Æra of Nabonassar.	Reformed Calendar of Julius Cæsar	Consuls.	Imp. Aug. Cæsar.					Herod ye Great		Remarkable Events.
Years	Months						Age of	Sole reign of	Æra of	Tribun. power of	Age of Tiberius.	De jure, S.P.Q.R.	De facto.	
4698	Jan.				30	M. Livius L.F. Drusus [Libo L. Capurnius P.F. L.N. [Piso			13					
○22	Feb.				○ 2									
☽ 5	Mar.				☽ 11									
Ep. 14	Apr.				Ep. 20									
A	May		738		E									
	June												23	
	July	CXCI. 1								9				
	Aug.											26		
	Sep.			733				17						
	Oct.						49							
	Nov.										28			
	Dec.													
4699	Jan.				31	M. Licinius M.F. M.N. [Crassus Cn. Cornelius Cn.F. Len- [tulus			14					
○23	Feb.				○ 3									
☽ 6	Mar.				☽ 12									
Ep. 25	Apr.				Ep. 1									
G	May		739		D									
	June												24	
	July	2								10				
	Aug.											27		
	Sep.			734				18						
	Oct.						50							
	Nov.										29			
	Dec.													
4700	Jan.				32	T. Claudius T.F. Nero P. Quinctilius Sex. F. [Varus			15					
○24	Feb.				○ 4									
☽ 7	Mar.				☽ 13									Mar. 6.—On the death of Lepidus, Augustus was created Pontifex Maximus by the Senate.
Ep. 6	Apr.				Ep. 12									
F	May		740		C									
	June												25	
	July	3								11				
	Aug.											28		
	Sep.			735				19						
	Oct.						51							
	Nov.										30			
	Dec.													
4701	Jan.				B 33	M. Valerius M.F. M.N. [Messalla Barbatus Æmilianus P. Sulpicius P.F. P.N. [Quirinus Valerius died, and for him was substituted C. Valgius C.F. Saturni- [nus Rufus He abdicated, and for him was substituted C. Caninius C.F. C.N. [Rebilus who died in office.			16					
○25	Feb.				○ 5									In this year Agrippa died, and Augustus was compelled by the revolt of the Pannonians to adopt Tiberius.
☽ 8	Mar.				☽ 14									
Ep. 17	Apr.				p. 23									
ED	May		741		BA									
	June												26	
	July	4								12				
	Aug.											29		
	Sep.			736 Aug. 26				20						
	Oct.						52							
	Nov.										31			
	Dec.													

Julian Period. Years	Julian Period. Months	Olympiads.	Years of Rome.	Æra of Nabonassar.	Reformed Calendar of Julius Cæsar.	Consuls.	Imp. Aug. Cæsar. Age of	Imp. Aug. Cæsar. Sole reign of	Imp. Aug. Cæsar. Æra of	Imp. Aug. Cæsar. Tribun. power of	Age of Tiberius.	Herod yᵉ Great De iure, S.P.Q.R.	Herod yᵉ Great de facto	Remarkable Events.
4702	Jan.				34	Q. Ælius Q.F. Tubero Paullus Fabius Q.F. [Q.N. Maximus			17					
○26	Feb.				○ 6									
☽ 9	Mar.				☽15									
Ep. 28	Apr.				Ep. 4									
C	May		742		G									
	June													
	July	CXCII. 1								13			27	
	Aug.											30		
	Sep.			737				21						
	Oct.						53							
	Nov.										32			Towards the close of this year, or the beginning of the next, the decree of the Senate was passed to shut
	Dec.													
4703	Jan.				35	Julus Antonius M.F. [M.N. Africanus Q. Fabius Q.F. Q.N. [Maximus			18					the Temple of Janus the third time. The suspension of this decree, occasioned by the incursions of the Dacians and Dalmatians, must have taken place in February.
○27	Feb.				○ 7									
☽10	Mar.				☽16									
Ep. 9	Apr.				Ep. 15									
B	May		743		F									
	June												28	Augustus went into Gaul—Tiberius into Pannonia and Dalmatia—Drusus into Germany.
	July	2								14				
	Aug.											31		
	Sep.			738				22						Tiberius and Drusus triumphed.
	Oct.						54							
	Nov.										33			
	Dec.													
4704	Jan.				36	Nero Claudius Ti. F. [Drusus Germanicus T. Quinctius T.F. Crispinus			19					
○28	Feb.				○ 8									
☽11	Mar.				☽17									
Ep. 20	Apr.				Ep. 26									
A	May		744		E									
	June												29	
	July	3								15				
	Aug.											32		
	Sep.			739				23						
	Oct.						55							Towards the close of this year occurred the death of Drusus.
	Nov.										34			
	Dec.													
4705	Jan.				B 37	C. Marcius L.F. L.N. [Censorinus C. Asinius C.F. Cn. N. [Gallus			20					Augustus, by virtue of his office as Pontifex Maximus, rectified the erroneous intercalation by the priests in Julius Cæsar's calendar. On this occasion, by a decree of the Senate, the name of the month Sextilis was changed to that of Augustus, or August.
○ 1	Feb.				○ 9									
☽12	Mar.				☽18									
Ep. 1	Apr.				Ep. 7									
GF	May		745		DC									
	June									16			3	
	July	4												
	Aug.											33		
	Sep.			740 Aug 25				24						Tiberius receives the supreme command of the Army in the place of Drusus, and is designated Consul the second time.
	Oct.						56							
	Nov.										35			
	Dec.													Dec. 31.—The second Decennial period expires.

Julian Period.		Olympiads.	Years of Rome.	Æra of Nabonassar.	Reformed Calendar of Julius Cæsar.	Consuls.	Imp. Aug. Cæsar.						Herod ye Great		O. L. J. Xt.		Remarkable Events.
Years	Months						Age of	Sole reign of	Æra of	Tribun. power of			De jure, S.P.Q.R.	De facto.	Incarnation of	True Birth of	
4706	Jan.				38	Ti. Claudius Ti. F. Ap. [N. Nero II Cn. Calpurnius Cn. F. [Cn. N. Piso II			21		Tiberius first made Tribune of the People for 5 yrs.	Age of Tiberius.			True Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ.		Jan. 1.—Augustus renews his authority for the Third Decennial period.
○ 2	Feb.				○10												
☽13	Mar.				☽19												
Ep. 12	Apr.		746		Ep. 18												
E	May				B												
	June													31			
	July	CXCIII. 1								17			34				
	Aug.			741				25									
	Sep.						57										
	Oct.																
	Nov.											36					
	Dec.															True Birth of our Lord Jesus Christ.	
4707	Jan.				39	D. Lælius D.F. D.N. [Balbus C. Antistius C.F. Vetus.			22								
○ 3	Feb.				○11												
☽14	Mar.				☽ 1										1		In March of this year Augustus shuts the Temple of Janus the third time in token of Universal Peace, and the Angel announces to Mary the INCARNATION of the Prince of Peace.
Ep. 23	Apr.		747		Ep. 0												
D	May				A						1						
	June													32			
	July	2								18			35				
	Aug.			742				26									Tiberius Tribune of the people for five years: he retires to Rhodes about June.
	Sep.						58										
	Oct.																
	Nov.											37					
	Dec.															1	Dec. 25.—BIRTH OF OUR LORD.
4708	Jan.				40	Imp. Cæsar Divi. F. [C.N. Augustus XII L. Cornelius P.F. P.N. [Sulla			23								Second year of Universal Peace.
○ 4	Feb.				○12												
☽15	Mar.				☽ 2										2		Jan. 1.—Circumcision.
Ep. 4	Apr.		748		Ep. 11												Feb. 2.—Presentation of our Lord in the Temple.
C	May				G						2						
	June													33			
	July	3								19			36				
	Aug.			743				27									
	Sep.						59										
	Oct.																
	Nov.											38					
	Dec.															2	
4709	Jan.				B 41	C. Calvisius C.F. C.N. [Sabinus L. Passienus Rufinus			24								Third year of Universal Peace.
○ 5	Feb.				○13												
☽16	Mar.				☽ 3										3		Jan. 6.—Adoration of the Magi.
Ep. 15	Apr.		749		Ep. 22												
B A	May				F E						3						Flight into Egypt.
	June													34			Massacre of the Innocents at Bethlehem.
	July	4								20			37				
	Aug.			744 Aug. 24				28									
	Sep.						60										
	Oct.																
	Nov.											39					
	Dec.															3	

Julian Period.		Olympiads.	Years of Rome.	Æra of Nabonassar.	Reformed Calendar of Julius Cæsar.	Consuls.	Imp. Aug. Cæsar.						Herod ye Great		O.L.J. Xt.		Remarkable Events.
Years	Months						Age of	Sole reign of	Æra of	Tribun. power of	Trib. pow. of Tib.	Age of Tiberius.	De jure, S.P.Q.R.	De facto.	Incarnation of	True Age of	
4710	Jan.				42	L. Cornelius L.F. Lentulus M. Valerius M.F. M.N. [Messallinus Cotta			25								Fourth year of Universal Peace.
○ 6	Feb.				○14												
☽ 17	Mar.				☽ 4												March 12-13.—Eclipse of the Moon preceding the death of Herod.
Ep. 26	Apr.				Ep. 3								ARCHELAUS.		4		Mar. 21—Death of Herod. Accession of Archelaus, Herod Antipas and H. Philip.
G	May		750		D						4						
	June	CXCIV. 1											1				
	July									21							
	Aug.																
	Sep.			745				29									
	Oct.						61										
	Nov.																
	Dec.											40					
4711	Jan.				43	Imp. Cæsar Divi F. [C.N. Augustus XIII M. Plautius M.F. [M.N. Silvanus			26							4	Fifth year of Universal Peace.
○ 7	Feb.				○15												
☽ 18	Mar.				☽ 5												
Ep. 7	Apr.				Ep. 14								2		5		
F	May		751		C						5						
	June	2															
	July									22							
	Aug.																
	Sep.			746				30									
	Oct.						62										Dec. 25.—In the Consulship of Silvanus, according to Athanasius, our Lord returned from Egypt when four years old.
	Nov.																
	Dec.											41					
4712	Jan.				44	Cossus Cornelius Cn. [F. Lentulus (afterwards surnamed Gætulicus) M. Calpurnius Cn. F. [Piso			27							5	Sixth year of Universal Peace.
○ 8	Feb.				○16												
☽ 19	Mar.				☽ 6												
Ep. 18	Apr.				Ep. 25								3		6		The fifth year of his Tribunitial power ended, Tiberius asks leave to return to Rome, but is refused.
E	May		752		B												
	June	3															
	July									23							
	Aug.																
	Sep.			747				31									
	Oct.						63										
	Nov.											42					
	Dec.																
4713	Jan.				B 45	C. Julius Augusti F. [Divi N. Cæsar (Son of M. Agrippa and Julia, adopted by Augustus.) L. Æmilius L.F. M.N. [Paullus			28							6	Seventh year of Universal Peace.
○ 9	Feb.				○17												
☽ 1	Mar.				☽ 7												
Ep. 0	Apr.				Ep. 6								4		7		Early in his Consulship Caius went to the East and was treacherously wounded in Armenia.
D C	May		753		A G												
	June	4															
	July									24							
	Aug																
	Sep.			748 Aug. 23				32									
	Oct.						64										
	Nov.											42					
	Dec.																
																7	

Julian Period.							Imp. Aug. Cæsar.							Our Ld. Jesus Christ.			
Years	Months	Olympiads.	Years of Rome.	Æra of Nabonassar.	Reformed Calendar of Julius Cæsar.	Consuls.	Age of	Sole reign of	Æra of	Tribun. power of	Second Tribunitial power of Tiberius.	Age of Tiberius.	Archelaus Ethnarch, Herod Ant. Tetrarch.	Incarnation of	True Age of	Vulgar Æra	Remarkable Events.
4714	Jan.				46	P. Vinicius M.F. [P.N. P. Alfinius P.F. Varus			29							1	Eighth year of Universal Peace.
○ 10	Feb.				○18												
☽ 2	Mar.				☽ 8								5	8			
Ep. 11	Apr.		754		Ep. 17												
B	May				F												
	June									25							Tiberius returns to Rome about the month of July.
	July	cxcv. 1															Lucius, the grandson of Augustus, dies suddenly at Marseilles, August 21, on his way to Spain.
	Aug.			749				33									
	Sep.						65										
	Oct.																
	Nov.											44					
	Dec.														8		
4715	Jan.				47	L. Ælius L.F. Lamia M. Servilius M.F.			30							2	Ninth year of Universal Peace.
○ 11	Feb.				○19												
☽ 3	Mar.				☽ 9								6	9			
Ep. 22	Apr.		755		Ep. 28												
A	May				E												
	June									26							
	July	2															
	Aug.			750				34									
	Sep.						66										
	Oct.																
	Nov.											45					
	Dec.														9		Dec. 31.—The third Decennial period expires.
4716	Jan.				48	Sex. Ælius Q.F. Catus C. Sentius C.F. C.N. [Saturninus			31							3	Tenth year of Universal Peace. Jan. 1.—The fourth Decennial period begins.
○ 12	Feb.				○20												
☽ 4	Mar.				☽10								7	10			Feb. 21.—Caius Cæsar, the eldest grandson of Augustus, dies at Limyra in Lycia.
Ep. 3	Apr.		756		Ep. 9												
G	May				D												
	June									27	6						June 27.—Tiberius Tribune of the people the second time, and adopted by Augustus; Marcus Agrippa adopted at the same time.
	July	3															
	Aug.			751				35									
	Sep.						67										
	Oct.																
	Nov.											46					
	Dec.														10		
4717	Jan.				B 49	Cn. Cornelius L.F. [L.N. Cinna Magnus L. Valerius Messalla [Valesus			32							4	Eleventh year of Universal Peace.
○ 13	Feb.				○21												
☽ 5	Mar.				☽11								8	11			
Ep. 14	Apr.		757		Ep. 20												Agrippa Posthumus receives the Toga Virilis.
F E	May				C B												
	June									28	7						
	July	4															
	Aug.			752 Aug. 22				36									
	Sep.						68										
	Oct.																
	Nov.											47					
	Dec.														11		

Julian Period.		Olympiads.	Years of Rome.	Æra of Nabonassar.	Reformed Calendar of Julius Cæsar.	Consuls.	Imp. Aug. Cæsar.						Archelaus Ethnarch.	Herod Ant. Tetrarch.	Our Ld. Jesus Christ.			Remarkable Events.
Years	Months						Age of	Sole reign of	Æra of	Tribun. power of	Trib. pow. of Tib.	Age of Tiberius.			Incarnation of	True Age of	Vulgar Æra.	
4718	Jan.				50	M. Æmilius L.F. Lepidus L. Arruntius L.F. L.N.			33								5	Twelfth year of Universal Peace.
○ 14	Feb.				○22													
☽ 6	Mar.				☽12								9		12			
Ep. 25	Apr.		758		Ep. 1													The sudden revolt of the Pannonians and Dalmatians in the spring of this year caused the most serious foreign war since the Punic. The Temple of Janus was therefore reopened.
D	May				A													
	June	CXCVI. 1																
	July									29	8							
	Aug.			753														
	Sep.							37										
	Oct.						[illegible]											
	Nov.											48						
	Dec.															12		
4719	Jan.				51	A. Licinius A.F. Nerva Silianus Q. Cæcilius Q.F. Q.N. Metellus Creticus			34								6	
○ 15	Feb.				○23													Agrippa Posthumus banished.
☽ 7	Mar.				☽13								10		13			
Ep. 6	Apr.		759		Ep. 12													
C	May				G													
	June	2											Judæa a Province of the Roman Empire; Coponius first Procurator.	Herod Antipas & Herod Philip Tetrarchs.				June.—At the time of wheat harvest Archelaus deposed, and banished. Cyrenius (Luke ii. 2) carries into effect the Census. Coponius Governor of the Jews.
	July									30	9							
	Aug.			754														
	Sep.							38										
	Oct.						70											
	Nov.											49						
	Dec.															13		Dec. 25.—Our Lord 12 years old.
4720	Jan.				52	M. Furius P.F. P.N. Camillus Sex Nonius L.F. L.N. Quinctilianus			35								7	
○ 16	Feb.				○24													
☽ 8	Mar.				☽14									11	14			
Ep. 17	Apr.		760		Ep. 23													Apr. 18.—Passover, at the end of which „ 25—Our Lord tarried behind, & 29 or 30, was found among the Doctors.
B	May				F													
	June	3																May or June.—Marcus Ambivius sent as Governor of Judæa.
	July									31	10							
	Aug.			755														
	Sep.							39										
	Oct.						71											In this year the Pannonians and Dalmatians sued for peace.
	Nov.											50						
	Dec.															14		
4721	Jan.				B 53	C. Poppæus Q.F. Q.N. Sabinus Q. Sulpicius Q.F. Q.N. Camerinus			36								8	
○ 17	Feb.				○25													
☽ 9	Mar.				☽15									12	15			About the month of March Tiberius returned to Rome, but was sent back not long after to Dalmatia.
Ep. 28	Apr.		761		Ep. 4													
A G	May				E D													
	June	4																
	July					On the Cal. of July were substituted M. Papius M.F. M.N. Mutilus Q. Poppæus Q.F. Q.N. Secundus				32	11							
	Aug.			756 Aug. 21														The slaughter of Varus and his Legions took place about the Autumnal Equinox, and the news arrived in Rome in October of this year.
	Sep.							40										
	Oct.						72											
	Nov.											51						
	Dec.															15		

Julian Period.		Olympiads.	Years of Rome.	Æra of Nabonassar.	Reformed Calendar of Julius Cæsar.	Consuls.	Imp. Aug. Cæsar.				Tiberius			Procurator of Judæa.	Tetrarch of Galilee.	Our Ld. Jesus Christ.			Remarkable Events.
Years	Months						Age of	Sole reign of	Æra of	Tribun. power of	Tribun. power of	Proconsular or Associate Government of	Age of			Incarnation of	True Age of	Vulgar Æra.	
4722	Jan.				54	P. Cornelius P.F. [P.N. Dolabella C. Junius C.F. M.N. [Silanus			37						Her. Ant.			9	Tiberius advanced from his winter quarters into Germany, where he spent the whole of this year.
○18	Feb.				○26														
☽10	Mar.				☽16										13	16			
Ep. 9	Apr.				Ep. 15														
F	May		762		C														
	June																		
	July	CXCVII. 1								33	12								
	Aug.			757															
	Sep.							41											
	Oct.						73												
	Nov.												52						
	Dec.																16		
4723	Jan.				55	M. Æmilius Q.F. [M.N. Lepidus T. Statilius T.F. [T.N. Taurus			38									10	Jan. 16.—Tiberius triumphed, and dedicated the Temple of Concord. Jan. 27.—Tiberius dedicated the Temple of Castor and Pollux. Feb.—Decree of the Senate giving Tiberius Proconsular power and making him Colleague of the Empire.
○19	Feb.				○27							1							
☽11	Mar.				☽17										14	17			
Ep. 20	Apr.				Ep. 26														
E	May		763		B														
	June																		
	July	2								34	13								
	Aug.			758															
	Sep.							42											
	Oct.						74												
	Nov.												53						
	Dec.																17		
4724	Jan.				56	Germanicus Cæsar [Ti.F. Aug. N. C. Fonteius C.F. [C.N. Capito			39									11	
○20	Feb.				○28							2							
☽12	Mar.				☽18										15	18			
Ep. 1	Apr.				Ep. 7														
D	May		764		A														
	June																		
	July	3								35	14								After the next Consuls were designated, Augustus anticipating one year, took the fifth Decennial government, and renewed the Tribunitial power of Tiberius.
	Aug.			759															
	Sep.							43											
	Oct.						75												
	Nov.												54						
	Dec.																18		
4725	Jan.				B 57	C. Silius P.F. P.N. L. Munatius L.F. [L.N. Plancus			40									12	
○21	Feb.				○ 1							3							
☽13	Mar.				☽19										16	19			
Ep. 12	Apr.				Ep. 18														
C B	May		765		G F														
	June																		
	July	4								36	15								
	Aug.			760 Aug. 20															
	Sep.							44											
	Oct.						76												
	Nov.												55						
	Dec.																19		Dec. 31.—The fourth Decennial period expires.

Julian Period.		Olympiads.	Years of Rome.	Æra of Nabonassar.	Reformed Calendar of Julius Cæsar.	Consuls.	Imp. Aug. Cæsar.				Tiberius			Procurator of Judæa.	Tetrarch of Galilee.	Our Ld. Jesus Christ.			Remarkable Events.
Years	Months						Age of	Sole reign of	Æra of	Tribun. power of	Tribun. power of	Associate reign of	Age of			Incarnation of	True Age of	Vulgar Æra.	
4726	Jan.				58	Sex. Pompeius Sex. [F. Sex. Appuleius Sex. [F.			41						Her. Ant.			13	Jan. 1.—The fifth Decennial period begins.
○22	Feb.				○ 2							4							
☽14	Mar.				☽ 1									Valerius Gratus.					
Ep. 23	Apr.		766		Ep. 0										17	20			Apr. 28.—Eclipse of the Sun.
A	May				E														
	June																		
	July	CXCVIII.1								37	16								
	Aug.			761															Augustus dies Aug. 19—Valerius Gratus Governor of Judæa.
	Sep.						Tiberius' sole reign. 1							1					
	Oct.																		Oct. 7.—Eclipse of the Moon; revolt of the Army in Pannonia.
	Nov.												56						
	Dec.																20		Agrippa Posthumus put to death.
4727	Jan.				59	Drusus Cæsar Tib. [F. Aug. N. C. Norbanus Flaccus												14	
○23	Feb.				○ 3							5							
☽15	Mar.				☽ 2														
Ep. 4	Apr.		767		Ep. 11										18	21			
G	May				D														
	June																		
	July	2									17								
	Aug.			762															
	Sep.						2							2					
	Oct.																		
	Nov.												57						
	Dec.																21		
4728	Jan.				60	Statilius Sisenna [Taurus L. Scribonius Libo												15	
○24	Feb.				○ 4							6							
☽16	Mar.				☽ 3														
Ep. 15	Apr.		768		Ep. 22										19	22			
F	May				C														
	June																		
	July	3									18								
	Aug.			763															
	Sep.						3							3					
	Oct.																		
	Nov.												58						
	Dec.																22		Germanicus recalled from Germany.
4729	Jan.				B 61	C. Cælius Rufus or Cæcilius L. Pomponius Flaccus Græcinus												16	
○25	Feb.				○ 5							7							
☽17	Mar.				☽ 4														
Ep. 26	Apr.		769		Ep. 3										20	23			
E D	May				B A														May 26.—Triumph of Germanicus; after which he is appointed to the supreme command of the Mediterranean provinces.
	June																		
	July	4									19								
	Aug.			764 Aug 19															
	Sep.						4							4					
	Oct.																		Piso sent as Governor of Syria.
	Nov.												59						
	Dec.																23		

Julian Period.		Olympiads.	Years of Rome.	Æra of Nabonassar.	Reformed Calendar of Julius Cæsar.	CONSULS.	Tiberius.				Procurator of Judæa.	Tetrarch of Galilee.	Our Ld. Jesus Christ.			REMARKABLE EVENTS.
Years	Months						Sole reign of	Tribun. power of	Associate reign of	Age of			Incarnation of	True Age of	Vulgar Æra	
4730	Jan.				62	Cl. Tiberius Nero Aug. [III. Germanicus Cæsar Tib. [f. II.						H. Ant.			17	
○ 26	Feb.				○ 6				8							
☽ 18	Mar.				☽ 5							21	24			
Ep. 7	Apr.		770		Ep. 14						Valerius Gratus.					
C	May				G											
	June															
	July	CCXCIX. 1						20								
	Aug.			765			5				5					
	Sep.															
	Oct.															
	Nov.									60						
	Dec.													24		
4731	Jan.				63	M. Junius Silanus. L. Norbanus Flaccus [Balbus									18	Germanicus visits Egypt, and spends the summer in Upper Egypt. On his return to Syria, difficulties arose with Piso, by whom it was supposed he was poisoned.
○ 27	Feb.				○ 7				9							
☽ 19	Mar.				☽ 6							22	25			
Ep. 18	Apr.		771		Ep. 25											
B	May				F											
	June															
	July	2						21								
	Aug.			766			6				6					
	Sep.															Germanicus died at Epidaphne. His remains carried to Antioch and there burned, probably in November.
	Oct.															
	Nov.									61						
	Dec.													25		
4732	Jan.				64	M. Valerius Messalla M. Aurelius Cotta									19	Early in January Agrippina arrives in Rome with the ashes of Germanicus. — Universal mourning.
○ 28	Feb.				○ 8				10							
☽ 1	Mar.				☽ 7							23	26			
Ep. 0	Apr.		772		Ep. 6											
A	May				E											
	June															
	July	3						22								
	Aug.			767			7				7					
	Sep.															
	Oct.															
	Nov.									62						
	Dec.													26		
4733	Jan.				B 65	Cl. Tiberius Nero Augustus IV. Drusus Cæsar Tib. F. II.									20	In the beginning of this year Tiberius went into Campania.
○ 1	Feb.				○ 9				11							
☽ 2	Mar.				☽ 8							24	27			
Ep. 11	Apr.		773		Ep. 17											
GF	May				DC											
	June															
	July	4						23								
	Aug.			768 Aug. 18			8				8					
	Sep.															
	Oct.															
	Nov.									63						
	Dec.													27		

Julian Period.							Tiberius.						Our Ld. Jesus Christ.			
Years	Months	Olympiads.	Years of Rome.	Æra of Nabonassar.	Reformed Calendar of Julius Cæsar.	Consuls.	Sole reign of	Tribun. power of	Associate reign of	Age of	Procurator of Judæa	Tetrarch of Galilee.	Incarnation of	True Age of	Vulgar Æra.	Remarkable Events.
4734	Jan.				66	D. Haterius Agrippa									21	
○ 2	Feb.				○10	C. Sulpicius Galba			12			H.Ant.				
☽ 3	Mar.				☽ 9											
Ep. 22	Apr.				Ep. 28							25	28			
E	May		774		B						Valerius Gratus.					
	June															
	July	cc. 1						24								
	Aug.															
	Sep.			769			9				9					Death of Junia, the sister of Brutus and widow of Cassius, 64 years after the battle of Philippi.
	Oct.															
	Nov.									64						
	Dec.															
4735	Jan.				67	C. Asinius Pollio								28	22	
○ 3	Feb.				○11	C. Antistius Vetus [or Veter			13							
☽ 4	Mar.				☽ 10											Drusus the son of Tiberius dies this year, being secretly poisoned by order of Sejanus.
Ep. 3	Apr.				Ep. 9							26	29			
D	May		775		A											
	June															
	July	2						25								
	Aug.															
	Sep.			770			10				10					
	Oct.															
	Nov.									65						
	Dec.															
4736	Jan.				68	Ser. Cornelius Cethegus								29	23	
○ 4	Feb.				○12	L. Visellius Varro			14							
☽ 5	Mar.				☽11											
Ep. 14	Apr.				Ep. 20							27	30			
C	May		776		G											
	June															
	July	3						26								
	Aug.															August 19. — Decennial games celebrated at the end of the tenth year of Tiberius.
	Sep.			771			11				11					
	Oct.															
	Nov.									66						
	Dec.															
4737	Jan.				B 69	M. Asinius Agrippa								30	24	
○ 5	Feb.				○13	Cossus Cornelius Lentulus			15							This year marked by constant proscriptions and accusations.
☽ 6	Mar.				☽ 12											
Ep. 25	Apr.				Ep. 1							28	31			
B A	May		777		F E											
	June										Pontius Pilate.					
	July	4						27								
	Aug.			772 Aug. 17												
	Sep.						12				1					Sep. 1.—Pontius Pilate sent as Governor of Judæa. Sep. 29.—The great day of atonement. St. John the Baptist commences his ministry.
	Oct.															
	Nov.									67						
	Dec.															
														31		

Julian Period.		Olympiads.	Years of Rome	Æra of Nabonassar.	Reformed Calendar of Julius Cæsar.	CONSULS.	Tiberius.				Procurator of Judæa.	Tetrarch of Galilee.	Our Ld. Jesus Christ.			REMARKABLE EVENTS.
Years	Months						Sole reign of	Tribun. power of	Associate reign of	Age of			Incarnation of	True Age of	Vulgar Æra.	
4738	Jan.				70	C. Calvisius Sabinus						H.Ant.			25	Jan. 6.—Our Lord baptized in Jordan, thus commences his ministry. „ —Temptation in the Wilderness forty days.
○ 6	Feb.				○14	Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Getulicus			16							
☽ 7	Mar.				☽13							29	32			Mar. 1.—Marriage at Cana. „ 29.—First Passover of our Lord's ministry.
Ep. 6	Apr.		778		Ep. 12											
G	May				D						Pontius Pilate.					
	June															
	July	CCI. 1						28								Tiberius leaves Rome this year for Campania with the secret intention of never returning.
	Aug.			773												
	Sep.						13				2					
	Oct.															
	Nov.									68						
	Dec.													32		Dec. 9.—Our Lord leaves Jerusalem for Galilee, passing through Samaria. His conversation with the woman of Samaria about the middle of that month.
4739	Jan.				71	M. Licinius Crassus									26	Jan. 1.—Capernaum becomes our Lord's stated residence.
○ 7	Feb.				○15	L. Calpurnius Piso			17							
☽ 8	Mar.				☽14							30	33			
Ep. 17	Apr.		779		Ep. 23											April 17.—Second Passover of our Lord's ministry.
F	May				C											May.—Early in the month He chooses his Apostles.
	June															
	July	2						29								Tiberius retires to the Island of Capri where he spends the remainder of his life.
	Aug.			774												
	Sep.						14				3					
	Oct.															
	Nov.									69						
	Dec.													33		
4740	Jan.				72	App. Junius Silanus									27	
○ 8	Feb.				○16	P. Silius Nerva			18							
☽ 9	Mar.				☽15							31	34			Early in March St. John the Baptist is put to death by Herod Antipas.
Ep. 28	Apr.		780		Ep. 4											April 6th.—Third Passover of our Lord's ministry.
E	May				B											Thurs., May 22.—The Transfiguration.
	June															Sund., June 1.—Pentecost.
	July	3						30								
	Aug.			775												
	Sep.						15				4					
	Oct.															Wed., Oct. 1.—Feast of Tabernacles.
	Nov.									70						
	Dec.													34		Tues., Dec. 9.—Feast of Dedication. Its Octave, Dec. 16, the last day of the feast; on that day the conversation in John x. 22.
4741	Jan.				B 73	L. Rubellius Geminus									28	Livia died this year at the age of 86. From this time the career of Tiberius unbridled.
○ 9	Feb.				○17	C. Fufius Geminus			19							
☽10	Mar.				☽16							32	35			Mar. 26.—CRUCIFIXION. „ 28.—RESURRECTION.
Ep. 9	Apr.		781		Ep. 15											
D C	May				A G											May 6, Thursday.—ASCENSION. „ 16, Sunday.—PENTECOST. Descent of the Holy Ghost.
	June															
	July	4						31								
	Aug.			776 Aug. 16												
	Sep.						16				5					
	Oct.															
	Nov.									71						
	Dec.													35		

Julian Period. Years	Julian Period. Months	Olympiads.	Years of Rome.	Æra of Nabonassar.	Reformed Calendar of Julius Cæsar.	Consuls.	Tiberius. Sole reign of	Tiberius. Tribun. power of	Tiberius. Associate reign of	Tiberius. Age of	Procurator of Judæa.	Tetrarch of Galilee.	Our Ld. Jesus Christ. Incarnation of	Our Ld. Jesus Christ. True Age of	Vulgar Æra.	Remarkable Events.
4742	Jan.				74	M. Vinicius Quartinus									29	
○10	Feb.				○ 18	L. Cassius Longinus			20			H. Ant.				
☽11	Mar.				☽ 17											
Ep. 20	Apr.				Ep. 26						Pontius Pilate.	33	36			
B	May		782		F											
	June															
	July	CCII. 1						32								
	Aug.			777												
	Sep.						17				6					
	Oct.															
	Nov.									72						
	Dec.															
4743	Jan.				75	Tiberius Cæsar Augustus v.								36	30	
○11	Feb.				○ 19	L. Ælius Sejanus			21							
☽12	Mar.				☽ 18											
Ep. 1	Apr.				Ep. 7							34	37			
A	May		783		E											
	June															
	July	2						33								
	Aug.			778												
	Sep.						18				7					
	Oct.															Oct. 18.—Sejanus publicly executed.
	Nov.									73						
	Dec.															
4744	Jan.				76	Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus								37	31	
○12	Feb.				○ 20	M. Furius Camillus Scribonianus			22							
☽13	Mar.				☽ 19											
Ep. 12	Apr.				Ep. 18							35	38			
G	May		784		D											
	June															
	July	3						34								
	Aug.			779												
	Sep.						19				8					
	Oct.															
	Nov.									74						
	Dec.															
4745	Jan.				B 77	Ser. Sulpicius Galba								38	32	
○13	Feb.				○ 21	L. Cornelius Sulla Felix			23							
☽14	Mar.				☽ 1											
Ep. 23	Apr.				Ep. 0							36	39			
F E	May		785		C B											
	June															
	July	4						35								Drusus the Son of Germanicus starved to death.
	Aug.			780 Aug. 15												
	Sep.						20				9					
	Oct.															Oct. 18.—Death of Agrippina.
	Nov.									75						
	Dec.													39		

Julian Period.							Tiberius.						Our Ld. Jesus Christ.			
Years	Months	Olympiads.	Years of Rome.	Æra of Nabonassar.	Reformed Calendar of Julius Cæsar.	Consuls.	Sole reign of	Tribun. power of	Associate reign of	Age of	Procurator of Judæa	Tetrarch of Galilee.	Incarnation of	True Age of	Vulgar Æra.	Remarkable Events.
4746	Jan.				78	Paulus Fabius Persicus						H Ant			33	
○14	Feb.				○22	L. Vitellius			24							
☽15	Mar.				☽ 2						Pontius Pilate.	37				
Ep. 4	Apr.				Ep. 11								40			
D	May		786		A											
	June															
	July	CCIII. 1						36								
	Aug.			781												At the end of the twentieth year of Tiberius, the Consuls celebrated the Decennial games, and for this were put to death.
	Sep.						21				10					
	Oct.															
	Nov.															
	Dec.									76						
4747	Jan.				79	C. Cestius Gallus								40	34	
○15	Feb.				○23				25							The Marriage of Caius Caligula placed by Dion Cassius in this year.
☽16	Mar.				☽ 3	M. Servilius Nonianus										
Ep. 15	Apr.				Ep. 22							38	41			
C	May		787		G											
	June															
	July	2						37								
	Aug.			782												
	Sep.						22									About Sept. 1, Marcellus sent by Vitellius to supersede Pilate.
	Oct.															
	Nov.															
	Dec.									77						
4748	Jan.				80	Sex. Papinius								41	35	
○16	Feb.				○24				26							
☽17	Mar.				☽ 4	Q. Plautius										
Ep. 26	Apr.				Ep. 3							39	42			April 9 or 10.—Passover. Vitellius goes to Jerusalem. Caiaphas removed from the High-priesthood.
B	May		788		F											
	June															
	July	3						38								
	Aug.			783												
	Sep.						23									
	Oct.															
	Nov.															
	Dec.									78						
4749	Jan.				B 81	Cn. Acerronius Proculus								42	36	
○17	Feb.				○25											
☽18	Mar.				☽ 5	C. Pontius Nigrinus	CALIGULA.									March 16.—Tiberius dies at Misenum.
Ep. 7	Apr.				Ep. 14							40	43			
A G	May		789		E D											
	June															
	July	4														
	Aug.															
	Sep.			784 Aug. 11												
	Oct.															
	Nov.															
	Dec.															
														43		

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